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# THE ARENA

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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# THE ARENA

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VOL. XXX.

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No. 1.

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## PHILADELPHIA—A STUDY IN POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

THE true root, the festering sore spot of Pennsylvania political corruption is the city of Philadelphia. It is here that fraudulent voting flourishes, a rank weed that is never cut down by the sharp sword of Justice. It is here that the political gang that rules the State with a rod of iron finds the votes necessary to its purpose. It is conservatively estimated that there are sufficient fraudulent votes cast in the city at each election, with the negro votes, which are almost a solid unit for the so-called Republican party, to give an overwhelming majority to the bosses against which the feeble Philadelphia reform party is powerless.

A scientific study of the political habits, customs and character of the citizens of this ill-starred city will well repay us by exhibiting many interesting phenomena. For this is the city whose inhabitants for a generation, and with many submissive protests, have drunk typhoid fever from its polluted Schuylkill River, who recently, and with the like submissive protests, allowed their mayor to publicly fling away unopened an offer of \$2,500,000 for street railway franchises that the next day he gave away to the members of the political ring that rule the State and city. For this gift of the city the Rapid Transit Company paid \$2,000,000, so the newspapers report a director of the

latter to have said, thus, between the city's gift and the company's purchase, \$2,000,000 disappeared, how and why may be easily guessed.

Such a study as we propose of the character of a community—always a difficult and delicate task—necessitates an investigation of details which escape the larger and broader views of general history and compels a descent to those apparently trifling incidents that have fallen into forgetfulness with the daily paper, which was often their only chronicle.

At the outset it should be said that the average morality, the general goodness and virtue of the individual citizen of Philadelphia is, if anything, higher than in other cities of its size. This may seem irreconcilable with the patient toleration in its officials of a tone, both intellectual and moral, very much below that of the rest of the country. Fancy, for example, a recent newspaper dispute by the mayor over the question whether he did or did not deliver a certain lewd speech to a body of young men whom he had been asked to address, the newspaper, one of the most reputable in the city, insisting upon the fact, notwithstanding his denials; or, for another example, equally recent, imagine the head of the police department under the same mayor, and, so far as appears, with his approval, and, indeed, under his directions, going to the most prominent merchant of the city and threatening that if a certain newspaper (alleged to be controlled by the merchant) did not cease its attacks on the administration of the mayor, the head of the department would make public the private life of the merchant ascertained by his detectives. Fortunately the courage and wisdom of the merchant were equal to the emergency. He had all the particulars of the interview taken down by his stenographer and published in full in the next day's papers. Public indignation ran so high that a huge mass meeting was held under the auspices of the best citizens and beautifully worded resolutions were passed requesting the mayor to remove the head of the police department. And there the whole matter ended; there was not enough virility in the community, not enough force of character, to give effect to its opinion.

Or another example: For some years the merchants of the heart of the city have had little blue and pink slips pasted on their fire insurance policies. One of these exacts "Extra premium for conflagration hazard due to inefficient building laws;" the other, "Extra premium for inadequate water supply." These little papers have cost the merchants of the city a pretty penny, and much indignation has been expressed—to the incompetent city officials you may in your simplicity conjecture. Not at all; to the district attorney, to whom complaint was made that the increased rates were the result of *a conspiracy of the underwriters*. This sounds like the doings in "Alice in Wonderland" or "Behind the Looking Glass." The ordinary business man who found himself charged with extra premiums, because of insufficient building laws and so on, would naturally, one would think, apply himself to the remedying of the laws. Not so, however, these "wise men" of Philadelphia. Like the old woman in Mother Goose whose pig wouldn't go to market, and who blamed the stick, the dog, the water, everything but the pig, they, with like prescience, detected the real cause of their troubles to be the unlucky insurance companies, whom they proceeded to attack for their obedience to the economic law which prescribes extra premiums for extra risks. They gave the usual majority at the next election for the Republican machine, which was really responsible for their miserably incompetent city government, and thus for their pecuniary sufferings.

It is fair to state, however, that some years previous an attempt was made to have city councils enact proper building restrictions which would prevent the erection of the great fire traps that now adorn the city, but the councils refused. In like manner an effort was made to get a new and better water supply, which has resulted in a new pipe being laid in part of the city which for the present depends for its water upon tug-boats in the Delaware River. So there is a filtering plant being put in to purify the polluted Schuylkill, notwithstanding that there raged during the past winter a typhoid fever epidemic, not less, but rather greater than usual,

But if these examples seem trivial let us take up some of the larger transactions of the citizens, beginning, say, a generation back, and observe what they have to reveal of character. In the year 1870 the State legislature created what was commonly known as the Public Building Commission, the purpose of which was to build for the city a new city hall. The act named a number of men, chiefly politicians, who were given the most absolute powers. They had the right to fill vacancies in their own body, to make contracts for the new building, and to compel the city to give them as much money each year as they chose to ask. After eight years of this tyranny the citizens, in 1877, by their councils, refused to pay the yearly tribute exacted for that year, but the Supreme Court (*Perkins vs. Slack*, 86 Pa. State Reports, 270) held that they had no alternative but to do exactly what this arbitrarily named commission commanded. In 1893, sixteen years having apparently been spent in thinking over the situation (Philadelphia is proverbially slow), another mild attempt was made to get rid of this "Old Man of the Sea" that had for so long hung about their necks. An act was passed in that year abolishing the Public Building Commission, but this was held unconstitutional, for various technical reasons, and the Commission was allowed thereafter to pursue its way undisturbed until 1901, when the act creating it was again repealed. By that year, however, the Commission had become virtually *functus officio* through the practical completion of the unsightly structure with which it has disfigured and blockaded the center of the city.

Coming down to a little later date there was an old institution, the Trustees of the Philadelphia Gas Works, which had managed or mismanaged the gas works of the city for many years. Politicians constituted the bulk of its trustees, and about the year 1880 the charges of fraud became so persistent that the city councils resolved to investigate. The chairman of the investigating committee was apparently selected, with a sort of proleptical sense of fitness, on the principle of setting a thief to catch an alleged thief or thieves, for he was subsequently sent to jail for embezzling city money; one of the few men in

many years who was actually convicted and punished for official misconduct in Philadelphia.

It was found and so reported by the committee that the most frightful mismanagement existed, to give it no worse name. Coal was bought above the market price, men were employed who were not needed, supplies were bought from political favorites, the valuable by-products, coal tar, etc., were sold at half the regular market price to certain favored persons. On the recommendation of the committee an equity suit was brought in May, 1881, against the trustees. The case dragged its slow length along for years; it was not until 1882 that the trustees could be compelled to even answer the bill of complaint, for every delay known to ingenious counsel was employed by them to obstruct the progress of the case. Certainly it is not an overstatement of the matter to say that for faithful and honest trustees the conduct of the defendants was extraordinary, and not of the kind to inspire any great confidence in their innocence. After seven and a half years of legal labor, with attachments for witnesses, reports to the court, and every kind of interlocutory proceedings, all the testimony was at last taken, a master was appointed, and the cause was ripe for hearing according to the Pennsylvania equity practice. Then, like a stroke of lightning, without apology or explanation, in December, 1888, the whole case was given up and abandoned by the city. It may have been that the counsel for the city considered its case hopeless, but it is hard to suppose that there was no possible chance of winning, and if so, that the discovery was only made at the last moment after all the expense and labor had been undergone. Indeed, it is hard to understand why the defendants themselves, if they had been faithful trustees, did not insist on a final judgment that would vindicate their reputations, soiled by the imputations of the suit. Whatever the reason, and whatever the moral effect of it upon plaintiff and defendants, the fact remains that the labor of eight years or more was deliberately thrown away, and without a struggle the city gave up the contest.

And now we take up the tale a few years later. There was

a bank in the city in which it was the habit of the State treasurer to deposit large sums of the public money entrusted to him, sums much greater than the amounts deposited with other banks of more capital and better credit. It was a politicians' bank, and it may have been a mere coincidence that some of them were large borrowers from it for the purpose of stock-gambling—"Shaking the plum tree" was the picturesque phrase used by one of them, for the process. This bank, with a finer sense of the befitting than one might have credited to these rough, practical men, was appropriately called the "People's Bank," in delicate allusion possibly to the source of its wealth.

In the year 1898 the cashier of this bank committed suicide and the bank closed its doors, having been completely gutted. Two of its heaviest borrowers, both politicians of wide reputation, and the State treasurer of that year were indicted for conspiracy to convert to their own use the public money of the State of Pennsylvania, deposited in the bank. The most extraordinary measures were resorted to by these "eminent statesmen" to save themselves, and their case in its preliminary stage before trial was carried to the Supreme Court (Quay's Petition, 189 Pa. State Reports, 517) and the evidence was stated in detail by the prosecuting officer of the Commonwealth, the district attorney, in part as follows :

"The prosecution does not depend upon verbal testimony, but upon the written evidence created by the conspirators themselves in the pursuit of the object of their conspiracy. This evidence shows that the public funds of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for years have been used by the conspirators for their private and unlawful gain. Interest has been allowed by the People's Bank on the deposits of public money and paid to the accused, in some cases placed to the individual deposit of the accused in their bank account, and checked out by them along with their own moneys in the same account. In other instances cashier's checks and drafts have been made payable to the accused for certain sums of interest on the public money, and these documents, bearing the indorsement of the accused, showing the receipt by them of the interest money paid, are in existence and in the possession of the Commonwealth. The

books show that hundreds of thousands of dollars of the public money deposited in the People's Bank were set apart for the use of M. S. Quay and used by him, and that he was charged no interest thereon. The books show that hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of stocks were bought for the said M. S. Quay with this money; that whenever he failed to use his full allowance of public money thus set apart for him, interest was carefully calculated upon the balance not used by him in the purchase of stocks, and paid to the State treasurer. The district attorney could not have failed or refused to proceed upon this evidence and to bring the accused into court to confess or explain this testimony."

The Supreme Court refused to interfere and the case was tried and the defendants were all acquitted.

It was one of these defendants that the present Governor of Pennsylvania in his now famous essay on Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, lauded as the superior in statesmanship of Clay and Webster.

In this same year, 1898, a scandal broke out in the city councils. There was a scheme to lease the water works of this much suffering community to a company called the Schuylkill Valley Water Company. Who or what this company was nobody ever knew definitely, but a charge was openly made by one councilman, with all the particularity possible of names, place, and amounts, of an attempt to bribe him to favor the ordinance which was to deliver what was practically the only water supply of the city into the hands of this unknown company. Indictments were found against a number of persons; bail was exacted from one of \$100,000, so grave were the charges and so compromising the evidence. The Supreme Court was again appealed to and passed upon the validity of the proceedings in the court below, but that was all, not a single man indicted was convicted, but the honest but unfortunate councilman who made the charges was attacked in his business, was assailed in his reputation, and was, be very sure, not reelected to councils; he was not a desirable member.

Still more recently, in the early part of 1902, a gang of alleged ballot box stuffers—the evil from which, above all others,

the city suffers—was put on trial; one of them had a few years back pleaded guilty and was sent to jail, the others fled the jurisdiction, and afterwards returned and were put on trial and acquitted. The ballot boxes that were opened by the court in the trial showed plainly that fraud had been committed, but nobody was punished except the ill-advised criminal who pled guilty.

It may be, of course, that all these ineffectual efforts to rectify the evils of bad government, to bring to justice alleged wrong doers, failed for perfectly legitimate reasons. It is possible that it is a mere accident that it always happens thus in Philadelphia and that nobody is punished, while the existence of punishable offenses in great number is conceded. Unfortunately a much more sinister explanation is suggested to the intelligent student when he is told of a recent action of the district attorney in a similar class of cases. In December, 1902, that official was about to try another batch of alleged political criminals, the members of a school board indicted for bribery in the appointment of teachers. On the day of the trial he suddenly refused to try the defendants before the jury drawn for that particular court and transferred the case to another court just across the corridor of the same building and before a different panel of jurors. The vigorous protests of the defendants' counsel exhibited clearly how much importance, in their judgment, attached to the change thus effected in the jury panel.

Supposing the reader and myself consulting physicians called in to make a diagnosis of these symptoms of Philadelphia character; what should be our conclusion? Is it too sweeping a generalization to say that the main disease is twofold? First, there is what may be called, for want of a better name, a sort of moral *locomotor ataxia*, an inability to put into action the community's really high sense of right and wrong conduct. The citizens lack the virtue militant, that individually disagreeable, but socially valuable quality—pugnacity—the quality that leads an Englishman to spend £20 to avoid the illegal exaction of a shilling. They are law abiding, conservative to the point of allowing a rogue to rob them, if he only preserves the ap-



pearances and technicalities of legality. They lack political aggressiveness. That they do not lack an appreciation of the rottenness of their political life and a desire for better conditions may be seen in the innumerable societies they possess, looking to that end: Municipal Leagues, Voters' Alliances, Ballot Reform Associations, Civic Clubs. It is impossible to enumerate all the contrivances and machinery that keep actively working year after year, yet accomplish nothing of real value; that are continually marching but "never arrive." One bold, confident, self-reliant, unselfish man, like Folk in St. Louis, Jerome in New York, or Clarke in Minneapolis, would be worth the whole collection of this elegant and useless bric-a-brac of reform. In one brief sentence: they do not punish political criminals in Philadelphia. What is the use of detecting frauds on the ballot if you never punish the criminals that are guilty of them! What is the use of your reform machinery, with all its fine language and doctrinaire maxims, if it simply, when the time to act comes, does what the Republican bosses desire; aye, even anticipates their commands, as in the late nomination for mayor, when the Municipal League actually endorsed the candidate of the bosses before he was nominated by their masters? How can the breath of political life be put into the nostrils of such a people? They are very good, denounce wrong and uphold virtue in language truly affecting; but it is all vague and general; concrete wrong, particular and definite wrongdoing they carefully steer clear of. They remind the observer of Lowell's clever definition: *Abstract wrong—Easy to oppose*. They did not dare bring suit against their mayor for negligence in throwing away an offer of \$2,500,000: it might subject them to a non-suit. They gave up their feeble attempt to abolish the Building Commission after the first abortive effort. They spent years in suing the Gas Trust and then when all was ripe for the final issue, they gave it up. They have no stomach for a "fight to a finish," they prefer to voluntarily accept defeat rather than risk a battle. They have none of that persistent energy under defeat that turns it into final victory. Had they been in charge of the American Revolution, they would have

gotten no further than the mass meetings, and beautifully worded resolutions of which they are so fond. After passing these last they would have considered the Revolution settled and would have pronounced the throwing over of the tea in Boston Harbor highly illegal and not to be thought of by law-abiding citizens. And so they would disapprove the high-handed proceedings of the splendid foreman of the Minneapolis grand jury, Hovey C. Clarke, who recently put aside the prosecuting officer of the State and by his hard, relentless energy, single-handed, exiled the mayor and drove out the thieving city government.

Perhaps the most enlightening explanation of Philadelphia character, with its patent contradiction of a high private and a low public morality, may be got from some acute remarks of Walter Bagehot, explaining the principle which distinguishes progressive from non-progressive societies. He points out that the deciding element is whether that conservative sense, the reverence for and obedience to established custom and law, which he names as the principal and necessary characteristic to the beginning of all societies, is strong enough to repress all variability, all tendency to change. If society be so congealed by the "cake of custom" to use his own apt phrase, that it fails to break the crust, make new departures, change the old and bad for the newer and better, progress becomes impossible, as in China and in many unimproving savage tribes.

Now the very essence of much of Philadelphia's high average morality lies in this conservative "cake of custom" spirit, its regard for old families, ancient and long-established traditions and habits, dislike of the new because it is new. This spirit it is that makes the Philadelphian so law-abiding, so admirable in all the lesser duties, but which at the same time hinders the exercise of those higher duties of citizenship that alone make reforms possible. In his reverence for law and for the forms and institutions of his social machinery, he forgets that which alone makes them of any worth; he fears to transgress the letter of the law to enforce its spirit; he fears to destroy in order to build up.

Permit an illustration of this, well deserving, to the scientific mind, of the epithet beautiful. Not many years ago there was a candidate for mayor of the city, young, and too frank to conceal some private peccadillos which need not be specified. For some reason of the party bosses it became desirable at the last minute to discredit his candidacy with the good citizens of Philadelphia. Just before the nomination (which was equivalent to an election) the city was flooded with accounts of this poor young fellow's misdemeanors. Clergymen of every denomination were brought forward to denounce him, and then, by a quick turn of the party managers, his name which had almost been agreed on was withdrawn and another man, not at all better in a political sense and from a truly public point of view, was substituted, the highly conservative moral sense of the community having been utilized to accomplish, without its knowledge, the political objects of its bosses. Their reverence for private virtue was so great and constraining as to utterly destroy their perception of the real point at issue, which was the public capacity and probity of the candidates.

In conjunction with this first peculiarity we may note another which may be distinguished, perhaps, from it, although the two undoubtedly have much interplay and mutual reaction one on the other. We distinguish it from the mere lack of aggressiveness and of disregard for the "cake of custom" by calling it an intellectual rather than a moral defect, although undoubtedly there is an intellectual quality involved in this conservative regard for custom which has so much to do with the Philadelphian's lack of aggressiveness. This second quality is not unknown in other American communities, but nowhere is it so conspicuous as in Philadelphia; it is a species of political stupidity, an intellectual defect, an inability to perceive that it pays the individual citizen to see, not that a Republican or a Democrat is elected, but that honest and competent officials are set to manage the business affairs of his city. The average Philadelphian does not see what a city government, such as he has, costs; he does not see that if the franchises given away in his streets were properly sold to the companies that receive

them his taxes would be almost nothing. And, of course, he never rises to that still wider intellectual sweep of the horizon which would tell him of how tremendous a loss it is for a community to lose its respect for and confidence in its public officials. It is useless to undertake to point out the demoralizing effect upon the whole community of the constant presence of this atmosphere of corruption and incompetence in high places. Such a consideration is beyond a ken that does not comprehend the sources of the losses of material wealth.

Is it any wonder that public office in Pennsylvania instead of being a badge of honor, as it should be in every well regulated community, is rather something to be apologized for and excused? Or is it any surprise that honorable men when they do hold it feel the, to them, undeserved sting of this public contempt and resent it as the recently elected Governor did in his inaugural? "There is no more dangerous public vice than the prevalent affectation of disrespect for those engaged in the performance of the work of the cities, the State and the Nation" were his words. Recognizing the fact, unfortunately he stopped short of prescribing the remedy, which would seem to the plain man to be such conduct on the part of public officials as to deserve and command respect. Here, for example, is a specimen of this "affectation of disrespect" from the minutes of the Philadelphia Chapter of American Architects, of November 8, 1901: "Be it resolved that the program issued (for a competition for designs of the State Capitol) \* \* \* is calculated only to encourage favoritism and injustice, that it obligates the Commission in no way to select the best design or architect, and that, therefore, we advise all architects in Pennsylvania not to enter the competition."

This resolution referred to the commission created by the State legislature and including the Governor as one of its members, which had just formulated a program inviting architects to make designs for the new Capitol at Harrisburg.

So strong was this "affectation of disrespect," as the new Governor happily expresses it, that not only was this formal action taken, but when one of its members did enter the compe-

tition, he was asked to resign, and failing to comply with the request, was finally expelled from the Chapter. A distinguished architect from New York, who was asked to act with the Commission, declined on the ground of the unfairness of the program proposed, and only consented to act as adviser on the express understanding that he was not responsible for the program. All this is part of the history of the case of Hutton *vs.* Philadelphia Chapter of the Institute of American Architects, recently decided by Court of Common Pleas No. 5, of Philadelphia. Here was a plain business man's opinion not merely of the character of the public officials of the State, but of the very character of the State government itself, as embodied in its governmental acts. It was no fanciful, idealistic theorist or political opponent that perpetrated this "affectation of disrespect," but a body of practical men earning their living and soberly, as a measure of business caution, refusing to have any transactions with the State officials.

Could any one add a single line to this graphic picture of the sordid game of loot which makes up political life in Pennsylvania!

It is the fashion in Philadelphia to decry a plain statement of the facts of the situation, however true and colorless of all prejudice as the above recital is intended to be. It is the work of a jaundiced pessimist, is the cry. "Things are not so bad, the bosses are good fellows, and we are fairly comfortable," these respectable highly moral citizens exclaim. What would the evil-doers, the semi-respectable bosses, all the whited sepulchres of decent wrong-doers do without these respectable and timid people who always rush to their defense! It is the same class that they say begged and implored Clarke in Minneapolis to "let up" on his criminals. What such people need is to hear the cry of some fiery prophet like Carlyle thundering in their ears the truth of their mean world, that they must not forget "that ideals do exist; that if they be not approximated to at all the whole matter goes to wreck." Somebody must remind such people that there are ideals, that honorable official conduct and decent living do exist and flourish in all healthy societies, and

that they dare not be ignored but at grave peril to the very life of the society. Loyalty to these is of higher sanction than loyalty to party, to city, to State, or to country. It is disloyalty to these to remain silent in the presence of such transactions as daily take place in Philadelphia—transactions many of which are so scandalous that they are only whispered, and none of which are given here, first, because to give them would be highly libellous, and because like all such deeds of darkness, they are never capable among decent people of the proof which would justify their publication; for it is only among rogues that the exact knowledge of them exists which makes proof possible. But the currency and credence given to the common rumors of them are evidence at least of the opinion generally held in the community of their truth.

Moreover, it may be asked how is the situation ever to be bettered if loyalty to the city and dread of pessimism are to forbid all mention of the subject. Silence is golden, truly, to the rogues that rob and steal and ask of decent people for nothing better than the ignoring of their performances as though they were not. The counsel of silence is the counsel of roguery.

And outside of Philadelphia the cynical observer of her citizens and their affairs may remark: "Well, whose business is it? If Philadelphia and Pennsylvania like this corruption is it not a matter of State rights? Let them have corrupt or incompetent officials, they pay the bills. What difference does it make to the rest of the country?" Unfortunately this is not altogether true. Political history carefully studied shows the profound truth of the Scriptural saying, "No man liveth to himself."

THEOPHILUS BAKER.

*Philadelphia, Pa.*

## AN OVERLOOKED AMERICAN SHELLEY.

"The great world grows in glory; near and far  
God's blinding splendors blaze upon our eyes;  
And thunders, as of newer Sinais,  
Crash triple grandeurs of deep prophecies;  
And large loves, white as Christ's own Angels are,  
Fling shining sweetnesses on all the spheres;  
And calm, vast hymns, high as the morning star,  
Throb throneward from the green isles of the seas.  
Yea, all the days are as a mother's tears—  
Brimful with unsaid meanings."

RICHARD REALP.

MOTHER NATURE probably puts to her growing children no question more pressing and important to their destiny than the discovery of *true genius*, and the adjustment of social duty toward such genius when discovered, for on the intellectual and emotional fertilization by genius of the world's material life must intimately depend the welfare of society and the ultimate welfare of each member of it.

We are here painfully and slowly climbing the "Great Ladder of Jacob" upward to the stars, and each age is vouchsafed its special planetary lights. For, in an evolutionary sense, the progressing earth never retraces a point in its own pathway.

That thousands of mortal motes are born upon this planet—to drift like leaves upon its mystic streams, or to flutter in its celestial radiance like ephemeræ, without strongly personal wills or self-radiant consciences—seems to be apparent, nor is it to be wondered at, since centuries of antecedent weakness or lack of parental energy suggest a rational cause, and, furthermore, as man has so long oppressed and stifled his fellowman till we see on all sides the warped victims of social and individual selfishness, cruelty, and neglect. But it is probably just as true that an overruling Providence has in all ages leavened

the heavier dough of society with the virile and compelling yeast of genius, sufficient to give to it directive will and divining intuition. Whether through a Confucius or a Buddha, a Jesus or a Joshua, a St. John or a Socrates, a St. Paul or a Plato, the divine afflatus has descended and set afire the waiting stubble upon all planes of material, intellectual, and emotional progress.

An Alexander or Miltiades, Scipio or Hannibal, Napoleon or Washington, Fulton or Edison may bring about this awakening on physical planes; as Aristotle, Galileo, Newton, Bacon, Darwin, or Spencer may on intellectual planes; or Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Moliere, Milton, Mendelssohn, or Wagner on emotional and moral planes. And the resulting influence seems frequently to be independent of the personal limitations or temperamental aberrations of such genius. The scientific fact has long been recognized that the more delicate and high-strung the instrument or organization, the more sensitized and exposed will it be to perturbations in the surrounding atmosphere, and in that very degree will reflect and register more keenly the life throes passing through itself and its environment.

These thoughts on genius have been suggested to me by the work of a remarkably poetic yet surprisingly overlooked genius (now some years dead) whose writings have been lately and imperfectly collected. I refer to the poems and orations of Richard Realf, whose exceptional services to his country and its literature have been misjudged and beclouded by temperamental mistakes of youth. My attention had been brought to this volume, edited by Richard Hinton, somewhat accidentally; and as I was sitting on a California piazza with the librarian of a prominent eastern institution, I asked him if he knew the book. To my surprise he said he did not, and believed few people did. Yet here, as I read, I found a genius of exceptional fascination and splendor.

Richard Realf was born in 1834, near Arundel Castle, England, like Burns and Keats of simple rural parentage. Yet with only his mother, Martha, as teacher, he became a "child of wonder for learning," reading well at a little over three years of age and showing early and marked oratorical power



before little congregations of lads he collected, and a poetic precocity that attracted the attention of Lady Byron, Lady Peel, Mrs. Jameson, Miss Mitford, and Miss Martineau, who all encouraged his muse. He especially attracted the attention and practical sympathy of Mrs. Parnell Stafford, a relative of the great Irish leader, who paid for much of his education.

In his whole career and quality of temperament and inspiration we are reminded strongly of the greater Shelley. They were similarly sensitive, delicate, full of courage, chivalry, gentlemanliness, and high-strung to that same dangerous pitch which, under sudden pressure of added pain, joy, passion, or material or spiritual fascination, could occasionally lose self-control and be easily maligned as "vicious" or "insane" by critics quicker to detect ordinary weaknesses than to accord extraordinary strengths.

It is quite possible that the Byronic impulse in England, or some inherited strain in ancestry, may have led to some indirection of youth which brought him early over to New York, where the eminent Dr. Loomis met and took such interest in him as to secure him the position of helper at the Five Points House of Industry. The testimony here, as elsewhere, seems overwhelming as to his natural goodness and generosity of heart. "Singulantly tender and affectionate, with warm and ready sympathy for the poor." "Ever ready at the toil of teaching and serving." "Always ready to do his share in every disagreeable job, brimful of fiery energy which seemed never to flag; never showing nervous vexation." "Everybody seemed to love him. He made friends on every hand, and the memories he created kept his presence a glowing radiance."

Such is the testimony of those closest to him in the most trying years of his inspired career, whether at hospitals, lecture halls, social colonies, editorial rooms, camp fires and battlefields, or veteran reunions where his eloquent orations and poems stirred with unexampled power.

His deep sympathy with mankind and his intense love of liberty led him soon to join John Brown in Kansas, and subsequently to fight valiantly through the entire war of emancipa-

tion. Yet with singular self-reliance and probity of judgment, after brave service in the Border War, he would not approve of Brown's reckless assault on Harper's Ferry, but went South to judge slavery optically at close quarters, thus risking his own life to his enemies and his reputation to his friends.

One of his comrades in the Kansas war testifies: "His splendid face (of which one portrait reminds one of Rossetti's) was radiant with a grand enthusiasm. If wagons stuck in mud, or fuel was to be gathered, or sick comrades needed care, he was always first to help. Poetry bubbled from his heart like a perennial spring, and as we lay looking up into the heavens at night he improvised or recalled choice poems of his own or others."

That Realf's military career was one of honor, courage, ability, and personal uprightness cannot be questioned, says the clear testimony of officers and soldiers, some of whom clung to his friendship for life. Serving throughout the war of emancipation and participating in all the grand operations, from Murfreesboro' to Atlanta, he was personally brave to rashness, and won the high honor of twice being named in general corps and division orders for gallantry; once at Mission Ridge, where, seizing the shot away colors he rallied the line, and again at Franklin, where one historian calls him "bravest of the brave."

That he loved and fought for the essence of human right and liberty and became American, heart and soul, at that time, because our country represented principle not prejudice, is evidenced in one of his letters from the field, in which he lays down the grand modern and socialistic ideal of true "patriotism" as *moral courage for mankind*. Akin to the brave words of the great German leader, Bebel, "I recognize only two parties on earth, that of the honest producer versus the dishonest plunderer; and only one patriotism—*Justice*"—so Realf writes (in words of living fire that ought to be blazoned on every doorpost throughout our land): "I hold that he alone is '*American*' who is true to the *idea* of the *American Republic*. There are many *alien* natures on these shores, but many American hearts

beyond the seas! And I think we shall have to learn that our estimates of 'consanguinity' and 'nationality' are a good deal aside of the mark."

General Miller, in speaking of Realf, says: "He was aide on my staff; intelligent, punctual, faithful, always on duty, earnest, sober, discreet. I certainly regarded him as an officer of rare attainments, efficient and intelligent in duty, his character above reproach. His duties were arduous, discharged with such courtesy and tact as to render valuable service to commander and people, and I found it expedient to retain him till mustered out of service. He was a favorite among officers, popular with the people, especially kind to the poor, the friend of the lowly and ignorant, and often their advocate. The rich and powerful who came found him respectful and polite, but not very sympathetic"—closing words which have something of the sad but awful significance of the *Dies Irae* ending Mary's "Magnificat":

"The hungry hath he filled with good things,  
But the rich hath he sent empty away!"

His battle songs were many and popular, though often dropped carelessly on the march and gathered by local papers and ephemeral publications; but many have rung about camp-fires and veteran reunions. "My Sword Song," "The Joy Gun," and his lines on "Emancipation" are justly popular. In his "How Long?" we have a veritable American Marsellaise:

How long, O God, how long  
Must fettered Freedom writhe beneath her chains  
And send the wailing of the captive's song  
Across the purple plains?

How long, O God, how long  
Shall she be haunted homeless through the earth;  
Nor Thou—Just One—against the crimson wrong  
Launch Thy broad lightnings forth?

O have Thine eyes not seen  
With what high trust she bore her bitter shames;  
Nor marked how calm and Godlike and serene  
She stood among the flames?

And dost Thou not discern  
 How the fierce, pitiless rabble casteth lots  
 For her white robes—alas! so rent and torn,  
 And smeared with purple spots?

O! if she be Thy child,  
 And Thou art God, burst now this dread eclipse!  
 And let her pass forth free and undefiled  
 With Thy Breath on her lips.

In his cry, "We Need You Not," he sweeps aside the  
 parizing Tories of commercialism:

Out of the way there! ye who stand  
 Between us and the blessed Light  
 That streams up where the Promised Land  
 Dawns faint and far upon our sight!

\* \* \* \* \*

Out of the way there! ye who think  
 God's battles can be bought and sold,  
 God's Voices silenced by the chink  
 Of silver and the touch of gold!

\* \* \* \* \*

Out of the way! ye cannot buy  
 Our Israel with your subtle creeds  
 While all the wilderness doth lie  
 In manna for our human needs.  
 Back to your flesh pots and your chains,  
 Your brackish water and your thirst;  
 Thank God our *Manhood* still remains!  
 Stand back! We will not be accurst!

To Realize the purgations going through his own soul and that  
 of the nation were the mighty steps of moral evolution casting  
 out the beast. He knew the Master's words, that "evil must  
 come" from the nature of men and things, but "woe" came only  
 to him who would not grow upward.

God's glory lights no mortal brows  
 Which sorrow hath not wasted;  
 No wine hath he for lips of those  
 His lees who never tasted.  
 Nor ever till in bloodiest stress  
 The heart is well approved  
 Does the All-brooding Tenderness  
 Cry, "This is my beloved!"

That his own spiritual purifying was not born of the simper-  
 ing prayers of Phariseism, but of the real agonies of an essen-

tially human and yet heroic soul, is constantly evident. To some friend, chiding him for deserting his muse for the Civil War, he writes:

Leaning here with my sword drawn, on my shield  
 Ribbed with the strokes of battle's deadliest hate,  
 I have no leisure to unbend my brow  
 Into the mood of sonnets! Aye, and thou  
 Wilt deem me manlier that I do not yield  
 The stern hour into music . . . Some day, perhaps,  
 The word within may find an utterance,  
 Only not now, while God's great thunder claps  
 And still small voices of great covenants  
 Are talking in my soul.

That only the purest consecrations to principles of liberty and emancipation tore this gentle poet from nature and human love and tossed him upon the storms of battle was repeatedly revealed in the sweeter longings of his genius:

O that some poet with awed lips on fire  
 Of the Ineffable Altars, would arise  
 And with his consecrated songs baptize  
 Our souls in harmony, that we might acquire  
 Insight into the Essential Heart of Life,  
 Beating with rhythmic pulses. There is lost  
 In the gross echoes of our brawling strife  
 Music more rare than that which did accost  
 Shakespeare's imagination when it swept  
 Nearest the Infinite. Our spirits are  
 All out of tune; our discords intercept  
 The strains which, like the singing of a star,  
 Stream downward from the Holies to attest  
 Beyond our jarring restlessnesses—Rest.

Note how delicate and sensitive his rhythmic ear to nature's voices and accords:

O Earth, thou hast not any wind that blows  
 Which is not *music*; every weed of thine  
 Pressed rightly flows in aromatic wine;  
 And every humble hedgerow flower that grows,  
 And every little brown bird that doth sing,  
 Hath Something Greater than itself, and bears  
 A living Word to every living thing.  
 . . . A Spirit broods amid the grass.

Vague outlines of the Everlasting Thought  
Lie in the melting shadows as they pass;  
The touch of an Eternal Presence thrills  
The fingers of the sunsets and the hills!

. . . Viewless arms  
Lean lovingly toward us from the air,

\* \* \* \* \*

The sapphire foreheads of the mountains wear  
A light within light, which ensymbols the  
Unutterable Beauty of Perfection!

Realf could etch a portrait and seize a dramatic situation that appealed to him, with marvellous salience. His pictures of Burns and Byron are excellent, but his harp's chords hung more in tune with Shelley's voices, and they were brothers at heart. This he strikingly reveals in his "Liberty and Charity," a splendid tribute to Shelley's spirit, where, after quoting the latter's lines,

"O wherefore should ill ever flow from ill  
And pain still keener pain forever breed?  
We all are Brethren!" etc.

Realf writes:

So sang the wondrous singer all compact  
Of inspiration and prophetic fire,  
All built of instincts whose divineness tracked  
Music to its first springs, and did acquire  
The secret of the Everlasting Fact  
To which the poets of the world aspire,  
And made the land which chased him o'er the seas  
Drunk with the wine of his fierce melodies!

He being dead yet speaketh; his great songs  
Run up and down the listening universe,  
Whitening the cheeks of Tyrannies and Wrongs,  
Smiting Oppression with a lyric curse;  
Fusing the alien thoughts of alien throngs  
So that they dwell in spiritual intercourse,  
And breathing like the sweet wind of the south  
On wan lips wasted by the troubl'ous drouth.

\* \* \* \* \*

He saw Heaven's rivers of compassion roll  
To utmost ends of being; and he strove  
With all the hoarded splendor of his soul  
To make the lean earth bless itself with Love

And crown itself with Love's grand aureole,  
Whereby the rhythmic garlands that he wore  
Were wonderful for beauty—iris hued  
With the great glow of God's Infinitude!

He touches with a democracy as broad as Shelley's and a pathos as tender as Burns' the woes of the "little people"—the seamstress, the Magdalen, the condemned, the cellar mother clinging to the child which officious and stilted charity strives to take away:

Do you think because I live  
In a cellar underground,  
From poverty's yelping hound  
A sort of fugitive,  
That the angels never come  
And look with love on the love I give?

Realf, like Shelley, has been unjustly ostracized by many shallow critics for what was, in the case of these genuine poets, in no sense a wanton wilfulness or irreverence toward love and birth, but, on the contrary, a moral struggle for spiritual integrity in these regards, much keener and more fraught with anguish of soul than smug conventionality ordinarily exacts of itself. His "Birthday Lily" and song to a mother on her "First-Born" are as exquisitely tender, sensitive and divinely pure as were ever penned by human soul; and all his work is redolent of this quintessent delicacy of feeling toward true womanhood, childhood, and old age. Can anything be lovelier than his lines to his little girl?

I hear her low voice in the hall,  
Her liquid laugh among the flowers;  
And pulse leaps unto pulse, and all  
My life goes seeking her for hours.  
And when she rises to my knee,  
And lightly nestles toward my cheek,  
With love that clings so utterly,  
I clasp her, but I cannot speak.

Or was ever cry more genuinely a heartbreak than his moan at her death?

Is the grave deep, dear? Deeper still is Love!  
 They cannot hide thee from thy father's heart.  
 Thou liest below, and I stand here above,  
 Yet we are not apart!

The lyric patter of thy little feet  
 That made a poem of the nursery floor—  
 Thy sweet eyes dancing toward me down the street,  
 Are with me evermore!

Mine eyes ache for thee! God's heaven is so high!  
 We cannot see its singers; when thou dost  
 With thy lark's voice make palpitant all the sky,  
 I moan and pain the most!

The famous lines of his "Indirection" deserve their popularity with the elect, for very stateliness and classic beauty:

Fair are the flowers and the children, but their subtle suggestion is fairer;

Rare is the roseburst of dawn, but the secret that clasps it is rarer;  
 Sweet the exultance of song, but the strain that precedes it is sweeter;  
 And never was poem yet writ but the meaning outmastered the metre.

\* \* \* \* \*

Back of the canvas that throbs, the painter is hinted and hidden;  
 Into the statue that breathes, the soul of the sculptor is bidden;  
 Under the joy that is felt lie the infinite issues of feeling;  
 Crowning the glory revealed is the glory that crowns the revealing.

\* \* \* \* \*

Space is as nothing to *spirit*, the deed is outdone by the doing;  
 The heart of the wooer is warm, but warmer the heart of the wooing;  
 And up from the pits where these shiver, and up from the heights  
 where those shine,

Twin Voices and Shadows swim starward, and the Essence of Life is *divine*.

I doubt if anything in literature gives more tragically the sense of the world's cruelty to that celestial child within each heart, that pristine purity of each soul, with which it comes from Heaven (and that Wordsworth laments in his "Shades of the Prison House") than does Realf's poem, "My Slain"; nor can any notes ring truer or more mature than these on the slow ripening of the great *Love Element* in the soul of man:

I do believe a grand thought never dies;  
 I do believe that after love is best,  
 When the strange fire that lay within the eyes  
 And the wild singing of the heart's unrest



Have passed away, and we are calm and wise,  
 And think upon the love that makes us blest;  
 I do believe there's more of Heaven in this  
 Than all the eloquence of earlier bliss.

We reel beneath the first as from a blow;  
 We watch its splendor till our eyes are dim;  
 We revel in its nectar till we grow  
 Dizzy and drunken, faint in every limb;  
 And so we sleep and dream, then wake to know  
 Our rapturous songs have deepened to a hymn,  
 Whose sweeter music, like a heavenly psalm,  
 Freshens our souls with drops of holy balm.

It was because the precious prize of a true and eternal love, that he at last attained late in years, was crucified by the brutality and grossness of material connections that had betrayed and misunderstood him, as well as because of the neglect of conventional critics and the despair induced by blindness, old age, and lonely poverty in the far West, where he was striving desperately to gather to him his beloved ones, that, broken and hopeless, like Chatterton he took opium and dropped into the long sleep. And in his lonely and forgotten room, as the death damp settled o'er his brow and he fell on final sleep, his broken heart, like those of Keats and Shelley, wrote its own immortal requiem:

*"De mortuis nil nisi bonum!"* When  
 For me this end has come and I am dead,  
 And the little, voluble, chattering claws of men  
 Peck at me curiously, then let it be said  
 By some one brave enough to speak the truth,  
 Here lies a great soul killed by cruel wrong.  
 Down all the balmy days of his fresh youth  
 To his bleak, desolate noon, with sword and song  
 And speech that rushed up hotly from the heart,  
 He wrought for Liberty, till his wound,  
 (He had been stabbed) concealed with painful art  
 Through wasting years, mastered him and he swooned.  
 . . . . . If he missed  
 World-honors and world-plaudits, and the wage  
 Of the world's deft lacqueys, still his lips were kissed  
 Daily by those high angels who assuage  
 The thirstings of the poets.

So he died rich. And if his eyes were blurred  
With big films—silence! he is in his grave.  
Greatly he suffered; greatly, too, he erred,  
Yet broke his heart in trying to be brave.  
Nor did he wait till Freedom had become  
The popular shibboleth of courtiers' lips.  
He smote for her when God Himself seemed dumb!

\* \* \* \* \*

He was aweary—but he fought his fight,  
And stood for *simple Manhood*, and was joyed  
To see the august broadening of the Light,  
And new earths heaving Heavenward from the void.  
He loved his fellows, and their love was sweet—  
Plant daisies at his head and at his feet.

JOHN WARD STIMSON.

*Nordhoff, California.*

## THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE.

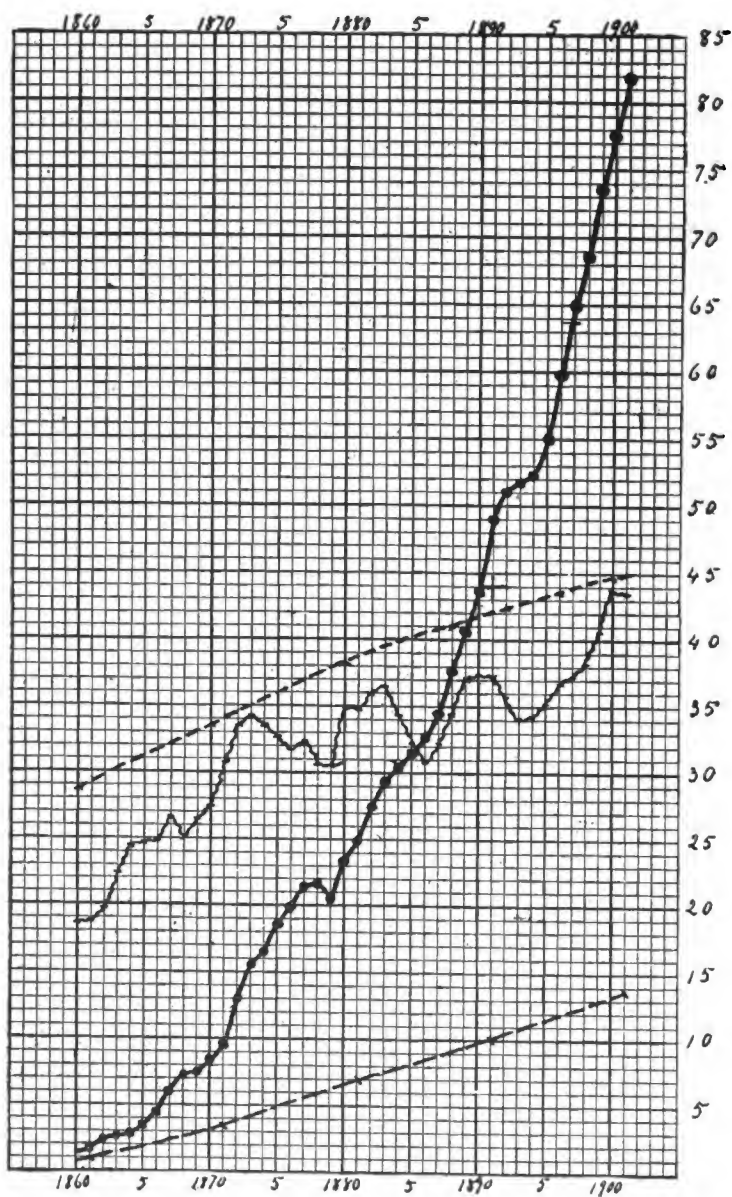
THE most important fact in the industrial history of Europe in the last half century is the rapid increase of coöperation. The movement began in the eighteenth century, but had no great strength till within the last few decades. In 1777 the tailors of Birmingham established a coöperative workshop, the first in English record. In the early years of the nineteenth century Robert Owen gave a vigorous impulse to coöperative ideas. The Economical Society of Sheerness, organized in 1816, was still doing business at the old stand when I was in England a short time ago. By 1830 there were 250 societies in England with three or four hundred coöperative stores (selling on credit and putting profits in a fund to establish coöperative workshops, etc.), and in 1844 the famous Rochdale Society opened a store on the plan of selling for cash at current retail prices, giving the shareholders a fixed interest (five per cent.) and *dividing the profits among the customers, after reserving a small percentage (two and a half per cent.) for education and propaganda*. It was this scheme of equity, thrift, and education that led to the large development of recent times.

EXPLANATION OF CHART.—The beaded line represents the growth of coöperation in the United Kingdom, one square horizontal to the year, and one square vertical to each million pounds sterling of annual coöperative trade.

The lower dotted line represents population, one square vertical to each million increase of population.

The upper dotted line is for manufactures, and the variegated irresolute line stands for international commerce. The scale of these two lines is one square vertical to £20,000,000, it being impossible to get them on the diagram with the other scale.

From 1861 to 1901 population has grown from 29,000,000 to 41,500,000; manufactures have risen from about £585,000,000 to £900,000,000; international commerce has climbed from £377,000,000 to £870,500,000 and coöperative business (productive and distributive) has developed from £1,512,117 in 1861 to £81,782,949 in 1901, while the membership of coöperative societies has increased from 48,184 to more than 2,000,000.



THE ENGLISH ROCKET.

The beaded line in the accompanying diagram shows the development of coöperation in the United Kingdom from 1861 to 1901. I call it the English Rocket, because of the directness and vigor of the upward movement it represents. The data were furnished me by Mr. J. C. Gray, the General Secretary of the British Coöperative Union, and I have platted them on the scale of one square horizontal to the year and one square vertical to £1,000,000 of annual coöperative business. The lower dotted line shows the movement of population for the same period. Population is doubling in about eighty years, while coöperative business is doubling in less than a dozen years.

The upper dotted line is for manufactures, and the zigzag, chain-lightning exhibit represents international commerce, or the sum of British exports and imports each year. In the last forty years, 1861 to 1901, population has increased forty-three per cent.; manufactures, fifty-two per cent.; international commerce, 130 per cent., and coöperative business over 5,300 per cent. So that coöperation in England has grown more than forty times as fast as her international trade, 100 times as fast as her manufactures, and 130 times as fast as the population. When we remember that her international trade and her manufactures are England's special pride, the most important and energetic elements of her competitive business, we may realize in some degree how marvelous has been the progress of British coöperation.

Some of the reasons for this remarkable growth of coöperation are most interesting. I went into forty cities and towns in nine European countries, and many places in twenty-six of our States, visiting coöperative stores and productive works and other coöperative institutions, studying the methods and results of coöperative industry, and trying to ascertain the causes of the vigorous expansion of coöperation that is so marked a characteristic of recent years both in Great Britain and on the Continent, and in some localities and industries in our own country. The results of my studies, so far as they relate to causes, may be briefly summed up as follows:

(1) Coöperation means union in place of conflict, harmony instead of antagonism. Buyer and seller are no longer opposed, for the seller is the buyer's agent. Consumers deal with their own stores and factories. In coöperative production the antagonism between labor and capital vanishes, for the workers and capitalists are the same people. Just so far as the coöperative principle is applied union and harmony take the place of antagonism and conflict.

(2) Coöperation means the diffusion of wealth. In the first place profits are widely distributed among consumers and workers. In the last forty years the coöperators of the United Kingdom have done a business of \$5,000,000,000 with \$565,000,000 of profits which have remained in the hands of the working people, instead of going to build the fortunes of the capitalists. Many of the stores pay ten to fifteen per cent. dividends on purchases, after selling at the regular market prices, and some societies pay twenty or twenty-five and even thirty per cent. dividends. The Rochdale pioneers, who laid the foundations of the modern movement, began in November, 1843, with a membership of twelve poor weavers and £5 capital, and opened their first store in April, 1844, with twenty-eight members and £28. When I was there some months ago they had a membership of more than 12,000, and their business for 1901 amounted to \$1,400,000, with a net profit of \$220,000.

The Peoples Coöperative Pharmacies of Brussels pay seventy per cent. dividends. The association has nine shops, supported by a hundred affiliated societies, with 14,000 members, representing 45,000 work people. The medicines are of the finest quality and cost almost nothing compared with the inflated prices of the ordinary apothecary.

In the second place wages are higher and salaries lower than in competitive business in the same locality. I found this everywhere, in England, Scotland, France, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Belgium, etc. While visiting coöperative works I made it a point to go into competitive stores and factories of the same kind in the same localities, and I found the wages of the coöperators five to twenty-five per

cent. higher than in competitive business of the same kind in the same place. In addition to this, in many coöperative societies, the workers have a share of the profits. The salaries of the managers are as moderate as the wages of labor are high. For \$1,500 or \$2,000 a year the coöperators get the services of managers who would command \$5,000, \$10,000 or even \$25,000 in similar positions in our competitive system. This is not due to any lack of ability in the coöperative managers. They have built up an organization in Great Britain that would do credit to our ablest financiers—a giant federation of industries or People's Trust with 2,000,000 members and a business of \$400,000,000 a year—an organization so powerful that it can compel great railway corporations to get down on their knees to it and can defy the combined attack of competitive tradesmen. Throughout Europe the coöperative managers are the finest body of men I have ever come in contact with. The coöperators believe in a reasonable equalization and fair diffusion of financial benefits. The managers have enough to give them a comfortable living. And the happiness and honor of directing large affairs and rendering important service under conditions that accord with high ideals of justice and brotherhood more than make up for the added money returns they might obtain in competitive business.

(3) Coöperation means the diffusion of power. It destroys industrial mastery and private monopoly. In true coöperation the workers are partners and have a voice in the election of the directors.

These are the three fundamental elements of full coöperation—union, diffusion of wealth, and diffusion of power. There are many forms of coöperation which are more or less imperfect in respect to one or more of these principles. The labor copartnership people find much fault with the coöperators who give the workers as such no share in profits or direction; while many of the Rochdale people think that coöperative union of consumers is enough since every worker is a consumer also. The best forms of coöperation I have seen make both the workers and consumers partners in the business.

The strangest thing is to find two coöperative enterprises competing with each other. In Rochdale, for example, I found a new coöperative store competing with the original society, and the war between the two coöperative stores is much more intense than between the coöperators and the competitive traders. There is a tendency also in this country for coöperators to fight each other because of differences in regard to methods, etc. Coöperators are not always fully imbued with their own principles, but there is a growing tendency to work together in cordial support of every one who is trying to go toward coöperation, however imperfect his methods or attainments may be when compared with the ideal of full coöperation.

(4) It offers a solution of the problem of the trust. The evils of the trust arise from the concentration of wealth and power. Coöperation diffuses wealth and power, and, therefore, abolishes the evils of concentration. The benefits of industrial organization are secured without the dangers and difficulties of private monopoly. The trusts are coöperative inside. A more extended application of coöperative principles to the trusts so that they may become coöperative on the outside as well as on the inside will remove their disadvantages and retain their benefits.

(5) Coöperation secures safety. Wherever the coöperators are thoroughly organized the store is sure of its custom, and the coöperative manufacturer is sure of his market.

(6) It aids the adjustment of supply and demand. The chaotic production of competitive industry with its alternate gluts and famines has no place in the coöperative world.

(7) It stimulates industry. The competitive system devitalizes the very nerve of energy by denying the workers any share in the profits or control; while coöperation makes the workers partners with a right to share in the profits and a voice in the management. At Shieldhall, near Glasgow, I went through twenty-eight factories of the Scottish Coöperative Wholesale Society, with 2,500 employes making clothing, boots and shoes, furniture, canned goods, confectionery, soap, stockings, underwear, etc., and the energy and efficiency of the workers was one



of the most noteworthy characteristics of the institution. It was the same with the coöperative flour mills of Edinburgh; the stores and factories of the Leeds Society, which has 48,000 members and some of the finest properties in the city; the coöperative builders of London and Paris; the Le Claire paint shop; the iron workers of Paris and Guise, the big coöperative stores of Basle, Geneva, Milan, Rome, Vienna, Berlin, Brussels, etc.—everywhere the coöperative employes have a life and energy far ahead of competitive workers in the same locality. The worker knows he has a better chance, and he puts his heart into his work in a way that is inconceivable to the ordinary workman.

(8) It creates power not only by stimulating industry but through organization and education, developing a public sentiment that tends to eliminate elements of individual and social waste. When the coöperative societies federate into great coöperative wholesale societies, as in England, their strength is multiplied a thousandfold. It is coöperation raised to the second power, yes, to the hundredth power. In Glasgow the competitive tradesmen banded together to kill the coöperative stores by a giant boycott. But the Coöperative Union sent speakers and literature into the district, told the people the facts of the case, and the result was that the coöperative societies grew more rapidly than ever before.

(9) It favors economy. This results from the stimulation of industry, the better payment of labor, the moderate cost of management, and the stoppage of the wastes of conflict. Coöperative industry is not like the milk business, with a dozen competing carts following each other through the same streets every morning, but like the postal service that maps out the whole city and gives each part its fair proportion with no duplication. The cost of superintendence is much less under coöperation than under competition. Every workman is a part owner, and a supervisor of all the rest. If they don't do right his profits are endangered, and so he watches them. The pay of coöperative managers is less than in competitive business, as we have seen. If the steel trust were coöperative, President

Schwab might get \$8,000 or \$10,000 a year, but not \$1,000,000. The salary of the president of a great university might be thought enough for him, and certainly he would not receive more than the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court instead of twenty times the salary of the President of the United States, as at present.

Coöperation raises the wages of common labor; but this does not diminish economy, on the contrary it increases it. No fact of political economy is more thoroughly established than that, within reasonable limits, the best paid labor is the cheapest from an economic point of view. The product per worker is so much greater with well paid labor that the cost per unit of goods is less than with low paid labor, so that our manufacturers are able to undersell European manufacturers in their own markets. Even in this country of high wages manufacturers have been known to increase their profits by doubling wages and improving the condition and spirit of their working people.

(10) Coöperation favors good quality, pure food, honest work, reliable goods. Coöperation does not make shoddy clothes or wooden nutmegs. There is no fraud or adulteration in her manufactures. There is no object in putting water in your own milk or sand in the sugar you are going to eat. A man is not likely to put paper soles in his own shoes, nor chicory in his coffee. The butter from the coöperative creameries of Denmark and New Zealand has the highest reputation in the London market. While in Rome I wanted some olive oil and asked a leading member of Parliament where I could go to be certain of getting the best quality. He told me to go to the coöperative store. I afterward asked the same question of several others, including the manager of one of the largest hotels and the president of the leading bank in the city, and in every case the advice was to go to the coöperative stores if I wished to be sure of getting what I asked for. I found a similar confidence in the integrity of coöperation in other places.

(11) It favors temperance. Intemperance diminishes the profits of all concerned, and public sentiment among the co-operators will not tolerate it.

(12) It improves the conditions of labor—higher wages, shorter hours, more light and air, better sanitation, purer food, more care for safety of buildings, elevators, machinery, etc., dignity of partnership, uplift of responsibility and hope. There is no sweating among coöperators, and they believe in the living wage, not only for themselves but for others, and will not buy of firms that underpay their help. The coöperative hosiery factory of Leicester, for example, closed its account with the house that was giving it the lowest prices on materials because it found that the reason the house could sell so cheaply was that its people did not belong to the trades unions and got low pay. Coöperation also increases the steadiness and permanence of employment. In one coöperative society near Dublin no member can be dismissed except by referendum vote of the association. That is the strongest rule I have met with, but throughout the coöperative field the permanence of employment is much greater than in competitive business.

(13) Coöperation helps the trades unions. John Burns told me that the coöperative societies were a source of great strength in time of strike. In some strikes the workingmen had drawn out as much as \$400 apiece from the coöperative associations to help them through their time of struggle. Hon. Kier Hardie and other labor leaders of Great Britain also assured me that the trades unions were in heartiest sympathy with the coöperative movement. In fact, the great body of coöperators are trade unionists. And the same sympathy and relationship between the trades unions and coöperation prevails upon the Continent.

(14) It develops a nobler manhood and a higher type of character. Industry, energy, sobriety, self-respect, self-reliance, intelligence, sympathy, and public spirit are all favored by coöperation. The fact that the most important product of the industrial system is not merchandise but manhood is fully realized by the coöperators. They say, "We must help make men as well as money;" and again, "One of the things coöperative production has to do is to produce a new moral character in the world."

(15) Coöperation favors good government, not only

through the development of a nobler manhood but by abolishing the great aggregations of wealth and power in the hands of monopolists, which form so large a part of the influences tending to the corruption of government.

(16) Coöperation places man above the dollar, and lifts our whole civilization to a higher plane. In the best forms of coöperation each individual partner has one vote and no more, no matter how many shares of stock he may own. Thus the human elements in production take precedence of capital, and sentiments of equality and fraternity are developed.

There are four groups of relationships among men—conflict, mastery, partnership, and devotion. The competitive system is composed of conflicts and masteries. Coöperation is partnership, and when there is love at the heart of it the partnership becomes a devotion. The world over the relations of partnership and devotion are recognized as superior to the relations of conflict and mastery. The same great law of survival that applies to individuals and races applies also to institutions and relationships. Wherefore conflict and mastery are ultimately sure to give place to partnership and devotion. In other words, coöperation is sure to vanquish competition. There is no better measure of progress or test of civilization for a community than the degree to which its members have learned to coöperate with each other for their common purposes. At the beginning there was almost no coöperation; at the limit of development there will be nothing else, no other relationship left among men.

FRANK PARSONS.

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## THE REIGN OF TERROR IN FINLAND.

“**R**USSIA is the rock against which the sigh for freedom breaks,” said Kossuth, the great statesman and patriot of Hungary. Although fifty years have passed, and sigh after sigh has broken against it, the rock still stands like a colossal monument of bygone ages. It is pointing toward the northern star, as if to remind one of the all-enduring fixity. Other stars may go round as they will; there is one fixed in its place, and under that star the shadow of despotism hopes to endure forever.

While yet in Finland I used to fancy Russia as a giant devil-fish, whose arms extended from the Baltic to the Pacific, from the Black Sea to the Arctic Ocean. Then I would think of my native land as a beautiful mermaid, about whom the giant's cold, chilly arms were slowly creeping, and I feared that some day those arms would crush her. That day has come. The helpless mermaid lies prostrate in the clutch of the octopus. Not that the constitution of Finland has been annulled, as has been so often erroneously stated, and quite generally believed. The Russian government has made only a few inroads upon it. The great grievance of the Finns is not with what has been absolutely done in opposition to their ancient rights and privileges, nor in the number of their rights which have in reality been curtailed, but with the fact that they have henceforth no security. The real grievance of the Finns is that the welfare of their country no longer rests upon an inviolable constitution, but upon the caprice of the ministers.

In order to understand the conditions that have prevailed in Finland since it became an appanage of the Russian crown it is well to recall the historical facts. For nearly 700 years Finland had been united with Sweden in a similar way as Canada

is united with England. The war of Finland, 1808-1809, gave Finland to Russia, but Alexander I. realized that although he might exterminate the Finns, he could never conquer them. Accordingly he was obliged to grant many privileges to the people, and to declare a "union" between the two countries. He forthwith appointed a committee to adjust the laws of the country. The Finns, however, took this as the first sign of bad faith, and when the committee convened in St. Petersburg a memorial was drawn up and presented to the emperor stating that the committee, under the laws of the land, could consider itself only as a deputation, and that the constitutional law-making body, the Landtag of Finland, consisted of the duly elected representatives from all the four estates and could meet only within the boundaries of the country.

In accordance with this memorial and the fundamental laws of the land, the ever-honored Emperor Alexander I. convoked a diet at Borgo, March 28, 1809. On the following day he took a solemn oath that Finland should retain forever the Lutheran creed and its own constitution, have its own monetary system and its own custom houses; that it should be allowed to manage its own local affairs, reserving to the Czar, however, the veto power and the appointment of the governor-general.

The words and the many kind acts of Alexander I. received very favorable comment, and aroused a national enthusiasm which found expression in poetry and song. The words of Arvidson, a young university student, echo the national sentiment, "Swedes we are no longer; Russians we cannot become; therefore, let us be Finns."

There was, however, a large and very respectable part of the community which heard all this with sorrow and dread. In fact, the peasantry had serious cause for apprehension. Their crops had been eaten; their cattle had been killed; their lands were devastated, and their farms in ruins. Famine and pestilence, the inevitable concomitants of war, raged throughout the land. The death lists for the years 1808 and 1809 show 105,260 deaths out of a population of 900,000. Scarce anything was done to alleviate the distress of the overtaxed and overburdened

peasant. But with their characteristic vigor, now that peace was assured, the men of Finland began to cultivate their land. They "built their cities on bleak, barren crags," says their historian; "cut canals through the solid rock with an indomitable perseverance that reminds one of the efforts of the ancient Egyptians; they dried lakes and reclaimed morasses, transforming them in a few years into fertile pastures; they carried the rich soil of agricultural oases scores of miles to agricultural deserts, and created shady groves and smiling gardens where nature had left nothing but brown, bare rock; they set their water-courses to turn mills, erected manufactories in pine forests, and opened up trade with the commercial centers of the world."

The intellectual and moral development of the people kept pace with the material advancement. The national enthusiasm emanating from the university pervaded the country. Newspapers came to be read more generally, as learning became disseminated among the masses. Although the administration of the country and the higher education was still conducted in the Swedish, the Finnish language gradually gained a wider field of usefulness, and its guardian, the peasant, a greater respect and more rights.

But by the appointment of General Arsenii Zakrewski in 1823 to succeed the lenient and humane Count Steinheil as governor-general, an overwhelming obstacle was thrown in the way of further development. Two years later, by the ascension to the throne of Nicholas I., the restrictive tendencies of Zakrewski were accentuated. In fact, the long reign of Nicholas I. was a period of reaction throughout the empire. In Finland a strict censorship was established, and, for some time, all but religious publications were forbidden. Such men as Professor Arvidson and the famous explorer, A. E. Nordenskiöld, were expelled from the university and exiled from their native land.

These impediments, however, instead of bringing the Finns into closer sympathy with Russian ideals, manners and customs, drew a sharper line of demarcation between the two

countries. With the persevering Finns these obstacles became the stepping stones to national advancement. The restriction of their rights fostered an intense love of liberty. The suppression of news created an eager desire for learning. It is true that there were but few publications; but the forbidden fruit was devoured with greater relish, and passed from hand to hand as a precious boon. The fear that their nationality might be entirely suppressed led the best men of Finland to assiduous efforts to prevent such a calamity. The education of the masses was encouraged and urged as the best method of counteracting the reactionary policy of the government. A systematic collection of the old folk-lore was begun, and bore rich fruit. The researches of Dr. Elias Lonnrot among the poetry-loving peasantry of Karjala resulted, in 1849, in the publication of the *Kalevala*—a collection of national poems so systematically arranged by Dr. Lonnrot as to form a complete epic. It was soon translated into Swedish, French, German, and, more latterly, into English. A general cry of admiration went up from literary Europe. Like the discovery of the ruins of Heliopolus, it spoke of the grandeur of the original structure. All critics were unanimous in praising this and its “grand cosmogonic conception,” as Prince Kropotkin spoke of it, as “inspired with so pure an ideal (the word, a sung word, dominating throughout the poem over brutal force), so deeply penetrated with the best human feelings, so beautiful in its simplicity.”

To the Finns it was a revelation. It was soon read, re-read, and absorbed in every home. In the *Kalevala* everything that was beautiful and ennobling in the national character was reflected as in a mirror, and the longer the nation paused to admire it the more enchanting the reflection appeared. The hearts of the people began to pulsate in rhythmic harmony with its poetic cadence, and minds to mold themselves after the national ideals. Artists took their models, poets and novelists their characters from the national epic; there was no province of human intelligence and action that was not refreshed and fertilized by its universal study.



Fortunately for Finland, Nicholas I. died in 1855, and the liberal-minded Alexander II. became emperor. Soon after, in 1863, he convoked the Landtag, which had not met for half a century. Some of the most important results were the abolition of the censorship, and the establishment of a free public school system throughout the land. The emperor also promised that the Finnish language should be placed on equality with the Swedish in conducting the national administration and the higher education. Otherwise its use was left to local option. Although this promise was not carried into effect until twenty years later, the rapid intellectual, social and material development of the nation dates from this time—or rather from the publication of the Kalevala. Henceforth the Landtag was convoked regularly, as provided by the new law, at least once in five years, and it passed many important measures. As the popular language became the language of the administration, the peasantry became the central supporting column of the national structure.

But to the reactionary party now in power in Russia this marvelous development of the Finns appeared as a menace. A country where people passed from place to place without a passport, and where porters did not listen at the doors of the lodgers, they considered a hotbed of revolution. But there has been no sentiment of separatism in Finland. All that the Finns desire is to be left alone to cultivate their own lands and enjoy their old liberties. The Finns have always been loyal to their ruler. With them honesty is duty. A dishonest man cannot prosper, cannot even open up a place of business in Finland, whose inhabitants form "a large family of 2,500,000 people." Against this family the Russian reactionists have carried on a virulent campaign. During the reign of Alexander III. they were very active, but not successful. The ascension of Nicholas II. to the throne in 1894 appeared very auspicious to the Finns. He not only took the usual oath, but even showed many signs of sympathy towards the Finns.

In 1898, however, the reactionists succeeded in getting one of their tools appointed as governor-general. No sooner had

General Bobrikoff taken his high office than he declared that the Finnish right to separate political existence was an illusion; that there was no substantial foundation for it in any of the acts or words of Alexander I. The people were amazed, appalled. But this was not all. Podbiedonosteff, the procurator of the holy synod, and other men as reactionary as he, discovered the fact, or gave birth to the idea, that the fundamental rights of Finland could be interfered with if these fundamental rights interfered with the welfare of the Russian Empire. In other words, they discovered a loophole which they termed legal, on the principle that the parts should suffer for the whole, and that this principle was an integral part of the plan of Russian government.

The abrogation of maintenance of Finland's ancient rights would seem by this decision to rest on the arbitrary interpretation on the part of Russia as to whether or not they interfered with the welfare of the empire. It is possible that according to the individual opinions of Russian autocrats they might all interfere with the standard of welfare which certain individuals have arbitrarily established to fit the occasion.

In justice to the Russian government it should be stated, however, that the joy of persecution was not the motive which led to the arbitrary acts. During the time that Finland was under Swedish control, the Finns had learned to dislike everything Russian. These anti-Russian tendencies were accentuated, after Finland became an appanage of the Russian crown, by the restrictive and often reactionary policy of the imperial government. Such a form of government was repugnant to the Finns, who had learned to be governed by good laws well administered, and by an enlightened public opinion. At the same time, owing to their larger liberties, their higher culture, and their susceptibility to western ideals, the Finns exerted an attractive influence over the peoples of the Baltic provinces, and even of Russia proper. A Finn would very seldom become Russianized, while many Russians became Finnicized. Unlike his Russian brother, the Finn enjoyed the privileges of free conscience, free speech, and free press.

To the average Russian such a life was enchanting, and many were so fascinated that they became citizens of Finland. In order to do so, however, they were obliged to go through the formality of changing their nationality and becoming subjects of the Grand Duchy. Doubtless this was distasteful to the Russians, but so many and so great were the advantages accruing from such a change, that not a few renounced their nationality.

Such a state of affairs seemed unnatural and antagonistic to the propaganda of the Pan-Slavistic party. Instead of Russian ideals pervading the province, provincial ideals, manners and customs were gradually spreading into the empire.

But there seemed to be no honorable way of checking the progress of the rapidly growing Finnish nationality. The Finns maintained that their rights and privileges and their laws rested upon an inviolable constitution, which could be changed only by a vote of the four estates of the Landtag. That body would never yield.

It was at this juncture that the procurator of the holy synod conceived the idea that the fundamental rights of the Finns can be curtailed in so far as they interfere with those of the empire. Acting according to this new idea the imperial government in 1899 took for its pretext the army service of the Finns. Heretofore, according to a hereditary privilege, the Finns had not been called upon to serve in the Russian army, and their army service had been only three years to the Russian's five. The officers of the Finnish army were to be Finns, and this army could not be called upon to serve outside of the Grand Duchy. This was the first fundamental right of the Finns to be attacked by the Russian government. In some mysterious way the very insignificant army of Finland "interfered with the general welfare of the Russian Empire."

Immediately following the Czar's startling proposal for a disarmament conference in 1899 came his call for a special session of the Finnish Landtag to extend the laws of conscription, and the time of regular service from three to five years. Furthermore, the new law provided that instead of serving in their

own country, the Finnish soldiers were to be scattered among the various troops of the empire. By this means it was hoped to Russianize them.

The representatives of the people had no time to consider the measure before the Czar's decree was issued, February 17, 1899, declaring that thenceforth the laws governing the Grand Duchy be made in the same manner as those of the empire.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the deep feeling of indignation and grief that pervaded the country. It has found a freer expression outside of the Grand Duchy than within its boundaries. Wherever the human heart is beating in sympathetic harmony with universal progress, the oppressed Finnish people have found moral support. In spite of this, one by one the Finns have been deprived of their hereditary rights and privileges. To the Finns this new order of things seems appalling. It is like the drawing of the veil of the dark ages over their beloved country. They have lost everything that is dear to the human heart; their language, their religion, and their independence. They can do nothing but mourn in silence and mortification, for a strict Russian censorship prevents the expression of their just indignation and grief.

The present condition of Finland is apathetic. Last fall the loss of crops was almost complete, and pestilence and famine are devastating the country, which has been drained of its vitality by an excessive migration and military conscription. The young men of Finland are forced to serve five years in the Russian army, and the country is suffering from a lack of men to till the soil. The credit of the country has been ruined, and panic is spreading rapidly. Wholesale migration of the more thrifty has made the already difficult problem of readjustment more complicated. Those who remain behind are literally suffering from physical, intellectual, and moral starvation. There is left nothing to refresh, fertilize, and energize the nation's vitality. The Finns are utterly helpless.

In this sad extremity of their people the best men of Finland are exerting their utmost in the endeavor to alleviate suffering and infuse hope and inspiration among the masses. The young

Finnish party has become exasperated by the humiliation that has been heaped upon the long-suffering people of their native land, and its leaders have advised active resistance. The old Finnish party has adopted the policy of passive resistance and protest. But the inroads upon the constitution of Finland, in the form of imperial decrees, rules and regulations by the governor-general and his subordinates have been so many and so sweeping in their character that even the most conservative are beginning to lose patience. As long as the unconstitutional acts affected only the political life of the people, many were able to bear it, but when the new rules attacked the time-honored social institutions and customs, indignation could no longer be suppressed. For instance, the order to open private mail caused a general protest. The postal director and his secretary refused to sign the order and resigned. No less obnoxious was the order forbidding public meetings and directing the governors of the different provinces of Finland to appoint only such men to fill municipal rural offices as will be subservient to the governor-general. The governor of the province of Ulasborg resigned, while several other provinces were already governed by pliant tools of General Bobrikoff.

The long-suppressed anxiety of the people has changed into a heart-rending sigh of anguish. These words of a national poet express the general sentiment, "Better far than servitude a death upon the gallows." A vicious circle has been established. The high-handed measures cause indignation, and the governor-general is determined to suppress its expression. There is no safety in Finland for honest and patriotic men. The judiciary has been made subservient to General Bobrikoff. Latest advices are ominous. April 24, 1903, was a black day in the history of Finland. It witnessed the inauguration of a reign of terror which, by the ordinance of April 2 and the rescript of April 9, General Bobrikoff had been authorized to establish.

Bobrikoff returned to Finland with authority, if necessary, to close hotels, stores and factories, to forbid general meetings, to dissolve clubs and societies, and to banish without legal pro-

cess any one whose presence in the country he considered objectionable. The expulsion will be ratified by the Czar, unless the nature of the case requires an immediate banishment. Persons thus deported are directed to live in a designated part of the empire.

The first four victims in Helsingfore were Count Mannerheim and Messrs. Castren, Hamelstam, and Wolff.

Later ex-Senator L. Mechelin and several leaders of the young Finnish party also received notices to leave Finland within a week, otherwise they would be deported.

For 700 years Finns have been free men; now they have become Russian serfs, and it is well to make close connections between the Finnish railway system and the Trans-Siberian Road. Finns are long-suffering and patient, but who could endure all this?

While the expression of indignation is suppressed in Finland, outside of the Grand Duchy, especially in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, Russia's relentless tyranny has made the highest officers of state as resentful as the man in the street. Indeed, entire Scandinavia is aflame with indignation and apprehension. The leading journals are warning Scandinavians "that the fate of Finland implies other tragedies of similar character, unless pan-Scandinavia becomes something more than a political dream."

It is apparent that Russia's actions in Finland will draw the people of Scandinavia into a closer union, and that Scandinavian statesmen in future will exert their utmost in the endeavor of forming an alliance of all the powers who are interested in checking the westward march of the relentless bear. It is evidently more important for England to check Russia's movements westward than eastward. Recent events in the far East have brought Japan and England together. Mutual interest may fuse Western Europe into an offensive and defensive alliance against Russian government.

It is interesting to note that while the constitutional government is being crushed in Finland, its advocates are rapidly increasing in Russia proper. The Stendisk or Baptists, the most

progressive part of Russian peasantry, are making rapid progress in their movement for religious and political equality. Young Russia is constantly sighing for higher culture, for larger liberties, and for a freer conscience. Even the Czar has recognized this and issued a decree establishing religious freedom in Russia. Some day Russia will cease to be the rock against which the sigh for freedom breaks.

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## THE ABUSES OF INJUNCTIONS.

THE proper function of judges is to decide law-suits between individuals, but of late the idea seems to be growing in the judicial mind that they are called upon to govern communities. For instance, there have been many occasions on which a Federal judge, arriving at some city in his circuit, finds a strike in progress, thinks that there is a likelihood of a disturbance of the peace, and immediately proceeds at the instance of the employers to issue a blanket-injunction, forbidding all the members of various trade unions, their abettors and friends, and, in fact, the general population, to perform certain acts which he deems prejudicial to the public weal. It is quite clear that such action is in the nature of municipal government, and in no sense a judicial act at all. Our forefathers were very careful in separating the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government, and many are the warnings which they gave us as to the danger of allowing one branch to encroach upon the others, but an injunction of the kind described, if it forbids lawful acts, is virtually a piece of legislation, for it makes them unlawful, and if the court enforces obedience to it it assumes executive functions. Such an injunction is, therefore, a double act of usurpation. In a State like West Virginia, for example, where there have been many flagrant cases of usurpation of the kind, the Governor and legislature must feel very small when a Federal judge comes in sight, for he seems to wield a far-reaching and irresponsible power which they cannot pretend to. He visits them not as a circuit judge but as an imperial satrap.

It is sometimes urged in defense of government by injunction that it ought to prevail where the ordinary government has shown itself inefficient. But clearly, if our courts are to take



the place of our governors and mayors and sheriffs, that power should be given to them by our constitutions, or, at least, by legislative act, and not seized upon by them without any statutory sanction. There exists already the remedy of mandamus by which a negligent official may be forced to do his duty. But this new injunction remedy puts the judge into the civil officer's shoes and supersedes him. The judge becomes legislator and executor of the law, and he is himself the sole judge of the validity of his actions. He makes lawful acts unlawful, tries the alleged breaker of his new-made law without jury and upon affidavits, without opportunity for cross-examining or even seeing the witnesses, and then he fixes the punishment, although, by the very fact of having forbidden the acts himself, he has virtually become an interested party in the case. It is disobedience to *him*, disregard for *his* dignity, which is really at stake, and yet he is the sole judge and executioner. Tyranny could go little farther in Russia or Turkey.

It is obvious that an injunction must enjoin acts which are either lawful or unlawful. If they are unlawful, they are already forbidden by law, and the penal code is a standing injunction against them. Why, then, issue another injunction? If, on the other hand, the acts are lawful, why should they be forbidden? It is a dangerous legislative power to put into the hands of a single judge, and we have seen numerous examples of its abuse. Judges have enjoined the holding of meetings by societies in their own halls, and forbidden the use of ordinary persuasion on the part of members of labor unions, thus annulling, without any color of right, the freedom of meeting together and of speech, which we had supposed to be among our most unquestionable privileges. Our Federal judges are the worst sinners, and the way in which they make interstate commerce and the circulation of the mails a pretext for substituting their authority for that of the State judiciary is calculated to bring the courts into disrespect, and at the same time to centralize power in the Federal courts in a way which would have shocked the framers of the Constitution. Thomas Jefferson early uttered his fears in the premises, and history is proving

them well-founded. "It has long been my opinion," he says (Works, VII., 216), "and I have never shrunk from its expression, that the germ of dissolution of our Federal government is in the constitution of the Federal judiciary—an irresponsible body (for impeachment is scarcely a scarecrow), working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little to-day and a little to-morrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisdiction."

Many people think (and among them not a few judges) that an injunction interferes in some subtle way before the act anticipated is performed. This is nonsense. An injunction does nothing before the act but to forbid it, just as a law forbids a crime. It does not and cannot touch the prospective offender until he has offended. It has no miraculous antecedent power of prevention. It can do only two things—make unlawful a lawful act, and provide for summary punishment for disobedience by proceedings in contempt. The very unusual case of the vacation of a labor-injunction by the judge who granted it recently occurred in the Wabash Railroad suit, and many have regarded it as a sign that the courts are changing their policy. This may be, but it also teaches another lesson. Here is an injunction which the judge himself who made it declares to have had no just foundation, and which, notwithstanding, actually prevailed for four weeks, until it was vacated, and during that time anyone who had disobeyed its illegal directions would have been sent to jail. Should a judge have the power to make a law, which, after four weeks, he himself repeals as iniquitous? I submit the question to Judge Adams.

In view of the fact that government by injunction deprives the prisoner of trial by jury, some reformers have concluded that it was only necessary to provide for such a trial. Such a remedy would be most inadequate. The jury could only consider the question of fact, whether or not the accused has disobeyed the injunction, while the main issue, namely, whether the judge had any right to enjoin the act, would be altogether beyond the scope of their functions. Such a law could only throw sand into the trade unionists' eyes and prevent them from

seeking real relief. The wisest course of action would be in the direction of securing judges who sympathize with people rather than with dollars. Avoid voting for judges who, as lawyers, have been more loyal to corporate interests than to the Commonwealth, and, in the case of the Federal, district and circuit judges, let us begin an agitation for their election by the people for terms of years. Unfortunately this would require an amendment of the United States Constitution.

After all a sound public opinion may be the best corrective of this unfortunate departure from conservative precedents. Let us all say what we think of this new judicial tyranny, and if any judge forbids us to exercise our right of free speech or of assembling peaceably together, let us openly disobey his order and associate ourselves, however humbly, with John Hampden and Patrick Henry, for ship money and tea tax were no less dangerous symptoms of tyranny than government by injunction.

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## THE NORTH STAR OF CONDUCT.

FROM the beginning poet and philosopher have been comparing human life to a voyage. We are out, they tell us, upon the Ocean of Time. Man is in his little venturesome bark. The heavens blacken overhead. The sea-rocks lift around him. His ears are full of the snorting of typhoon and the roar of maelstrom. How shall he make his way through the mountainous green billows to the serene shores—to the pleasant land?

And all philosophy, all religion, has bent its energies to discern through the cloud-rack and the up-whirled mist of ocean the steadfast North Star of guidance. All literatures and all cultures have been an effort to find some unifying principle of conduct in this hazardous, this momentous, voyage from the Unknown to the Unknown.

Century after century some new ideal of success seizes upon the imagination of mankind. For a time it bends all minds to its mould—all but the minds of the stalwart few who dare to think in advance of their age.

The ancient world was spellbound by the glamor of military greatness. Back of the dust of Nineveh, the stones of Carthage, we hear only the tramp of armed men and the hoarse blare of the bugles of battle. Even Greece gloried more in the spear of Achilles than in the chisel of Phidias; in the victories of Philip than in the odes of Pindar.

It is easy to understand how that youth of Athens cried out: "Those trophies of Miltiades, they will not let me sleep!"

But happily the world does not stand still. The Renaissance sent out a new aspiration upon mankind. Men turned from the clash of battle to the quiet of the New Learning. The conflict of arms was somewhat obscured by the stiller conflict of studies. The struggle of man was passing into the realm of mind. Science took root; Art broke leaf; Poetry blossomed.

And here we are now at the end of centuries with a new ideal, a new passion—the passion of commercialism.

“If the King of Mexico has any gold,” said Cortez, clamoring at the gates of Montezuma, “let him send it out to us. For I and my companions have a disease of the heart which is cured by gold.”

This echo of old seems the voice that one hears coming out of the Moloch of modern trade. This blind god too often, indeed, makes men forgetful of the higher interests of life. He whispers his false hope, and leaves them at the end with only ashes in their hands.

War, learning, commercialism—each has had its hour as man’s guiding star. War sometimes may seem a sad necessity. Learning, if it makes us humble, is a noble end. Business industry that provides for the needs of the body is worthy of earnest thought.

But these things are cankered at the heart when they have the worm of self at the heart.

Self is the center of the brute. The unself is the center of man. Man must find the center and live by it, or make utter failure of his life, although he may build cities and rule kingdoms. And no man fails who devotes his life to human welfare, albeit he may be stripped of the world’s honor and sent forth to break stones upon the common highway.

Coleridge spoke well in that fine reflection: “When every man is his own end, all things will come to a bad end. Blessed were those days when every man thought himself rich and fortunate by the good success of the public wealth or glory. We want public souls.”

What we need for our ideal in this world, and in all worlds, is character, organized and consecrated to human and heroic ends—the spirit that turns from the common greed to the common good.

We need

The fine audacities of honest deed;  
The homely old integrities of soul;

The swift temerities that take the part  
Of outcast right—the wisdom of the heart;  
Brave hopes that Mammon never can detain  
Nor sully with his gainless clutch for gain.

EDWIN MARKHAM.

*West New Brighton, N. Y.*

## THE CORRUPTION OF GOVERNMENT BY THE CORPORATIONS.

**I**N no direction has the evil influence of the great corporations and monopolies been so far-reaching and insidious as in the corrupting and debauching of political life. Steadily and with alarming rapidity during the past quarter of a century corporate wealth has been moving toward supremacy in government and in the machinery of commercial and business life.

The recent bold and offensive intermeddling on the part of the Standard Oil Company with a measure before the United States Senate was well calculated to startle the most optimistic patriot. And what is very noticeable in this case is that the measure against which the greatest of all the corporations protested could not be regarded other than as an opening wedge, being mild rather than drastic in its provisions. It is not, however, by telegrams or by outspoken demands that the corporations and trusts rule the nation. But their power is seen by regularly defeating all measures that are demanded by practically the whole electorate excepting the predatory bands fattening off of the people. Witness, for example, the fate of the Hoar Anti-Trust Bill and the Littlefield Bill in the last Congress. While probably not nearly so radical as they should have been, yet both these measures were calculated to insure to the people a far larger measure of their rights, and to curb lawless and corrupt wealth, only measurably, it is true, but in a wholesome manner. Yet both these bills failed of passage.

In the corrupting of State legislatures and the National government and in the influencing of courts the railroads have unquestionably taken the lead; while year by year their control has been narrowed, until to-day the great lines are conducted by a handful of men who so "thoroughly understand each

other" that the results are virtually the same as though the railways were as completely under the management of one organic body, as are the Standard Oil or Steel Trusts. Moreover, the railroad monopoly has more than any other agency—unless it is the lawmakers—assisted in building up the other oppressive, lawless, and corrupt trusts and monopolies, and in crushing out all free competition. We shall confine our illustrations of trust methods, therefore, chiefly to the railroads; but case after case could be cited to conclusively prove that their corrupt practices have been imitated by other trusts and corporations, so that these illustrations are strictly typical.

As far back as the seventies and eighties of the last century leading statesmen and jurists beheld with the gravest apprehensions the rapid advance of corrupt corporate wealth, and the threatened capture of the republic by a plutocracy whose growth was even then becoming giant-like. Hence, we find the Hon. David Davis, long a Justice on the United States Supreme Bench, and later a United States Senator, uttering these solemn and prophetic words:

The rapid growth of corporate power and the malign influence which it exerts by combination on the National and State legislatures, is a well grounded cause of alarm. A struggle is pending in the near future between this overgrown power, with its vast ramifications all over the Union, and a hard grip on much of the political machinery on the one hand, and the people in an unorganized condition on the other, for control of the government. It will be watched by every patriot with intense anxiety.

\* \* \* \* \*

Great corporations and consolidated monopolies are fast seizing the avenues of power that lead to the control of the government. It is an open secret that they rule States through procured legislatures and corrupted courts; that they are strong in Congress, and that they are unscrupulous in the use of means to conquer prejudice and acquire influence. This condition of things is truly alarming, for unless it be changed quickly and thoroughly, free institutions are doomed to be subverted by an oligarchy resting upon a basis of money and of corporate power.



The Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, ex-Judge of the Supreme Bench and ex-Attorney General of the United States, clearly saw that the irrepressible conflict between the corporations and monopolies on the one hand and the people on the other involved the very life of free institutions. Thus we find him declaring that :

All public men must take their side on this question. There can be no neutrals. He that is not for us is against us. We must have legal protection against these abuses. This agitation once begun, and the magnitude of the grievance being understood, it will force our rulers to give us a remedy against it. The monopolies will resist with all their arts and influence, but fifty millions of people, in process of time, will learn the important fact that they are fifty millions strong.

And in 1880 the New York Chamber of Commerce drew from Judge Black a strong letter on the menace of the great railroads, from which the following are extracts :

They express their determination to charge as much as the traffic will bear ; that is to say, they will take from the profits of every man's business as much as can be taken without compelling him to quit it. In the aggregate this amounts to the most enormous, oppressive, and unjust tax that ever was laid upon the industry of any people under the sun. The irregularity with which this tax is laid makes it still harder to bear. Men go into a business which may thrive at present rates, and will find themselves crushed by the burdens unexpectedly thrown upon them after they get started. It is the habit of the railroad companies to change their rates of transportation often and suddenly, and, in particular, to make the charges ruinously high without any notice at all. The farmers of the great West have made a large crop of grain which they may sell at fair prices if they can have it carried to eastern ports, even at the unreasonably high rates of last summer. But just now it is said that the railway companies have agreed among themselves to raise the freight five cents per hundred weight, which is equal to an export tax upon the whole crop of probably \$75,000,000. The farmers must submit to this highway robbery or else keep the products of their land to rot on their hands.

A grain dealer of Baltimore gets a reduction or drawback which is denied to others, and he makes a fortune for himself while he ruins his competitors by underselling them. A single

mill at Rochester can stop the wheels of all the rest if its flour be carried at a rate much lower. By discriminations of this kind the profits of one coal mine may be quadrupled, while another, with all its fixtures and machinery, is rendered worthless. Such wrongs as these are done not only in the few sporadic cases, but generally and habitually on a very large scale. Certain oil men, whose refinery was on Long Island, got rebates amounting to \$10,000,000 in eighteen months, and seventy-nine houses (I believe that is the number) engaged in the same business were broken up. The creditors of the Reading Railroad, having coal lands of their own, made discriminations between themselves and others which drove all competition out of the field, gave them the monopoly of the Philadelphia market, and enabled them to charge for their coals as they charge for their freights—whatever they pleased. Thus producers, dealers, and consumers all suffer together.

Commenting on Judge Black's letter, the *Brooklyn Eagle*, December 2, 1880, said: "While the people of the United States have been dreaming of an enlarged and a perfected liberty, a tyranny with the heart and structure of a devil-fish has been growing about them."

James A. Garfield, afterwards President of the United States, thus characterized the railroad peril:

The modern barons, more powerful than their military prototypes, own our greatest highways and levy tribute at will upon all our vast industries. And, as the old feudalism was finally controlled and subordinated only by the combined efforts of the kings and the people of the free cities and towns, so our modern feudalism can be subordinated to the public good only by the great body of the people, acting through their government by wise and just laws.

And United States Senator Windom, afterwards Secretary of the Treasury, in a letter to the President of the Anti-Monopoly League, observed that:

The channels of thought and the channels of commerce, thus owned and controlled by one man, or by a few men, what is to restrain corporate power, or to fix a limit to its exactions upon the people? What is then to hinder these men from depressing or inflating the value of all kinds of property to suit their caprice or avarice, and thereby gathering into their own coffers the wealth of the Nation? Where is the limit to such power as

this? What shall be said of the spirit of a free people who will submit without a protest to be thus bound hand and foot?

The means by which the corporations have gained ascendancy and entrenched themselves in government throughout its various ramifications while securing concessions and privileges that have enabled them to systematically rob all the people and to enjoy immunity while defying the laws that would have promptly placed less powerful offenders than their officials in the penitentiary, have been devious and various.

Strong lobbies, supplied with great corruption funds; bribery, direct and indirect; banquets; railroad passes; free carriage of freight and express matter; oftentimes stock information; the retaining at princely fees of law partners of statesmen, when important measures in the legislature and the National government were involved; liberal contributions to campaign funds whenever the political machine has been in the hands of a party boss who could be trusted; the selection of corporation attorneys and protégés of the trusts for legislative and other prominent and vitally important places in the various branches, or, where their own servants were not available, the selection of parties who were known to be so subservient to the partisan boss as to obey all his commands; the systematic relegating to political oblivion of the ablest men who could not be bought and who persisted in defending the rights of the people against corporate aggression—these are some of the most prominent means employed by trusts, monopolies, and corporations in their struggle for virtual mastery of the republic. And here are a few definite and typical facts touching some phases of this uninterrupted march to power by corrupt methods.

In 1873 there occurred a great railroad quarrel in New York, which led to the appointment of a legislative committee to look into the alleged corrupt practices of the Erie Railway, under the management of Mr. Jay Gould. The "gentlemen's agreement" or the "community of interest" among the great railway corporations of that time was less perfect than now, and the law-makers were not so complacent to the railway magnates as to-day; so the results of this investigating committee's work

was more than a mere perfunctory or whitewashing report, which is all that is expected nowadays. Indeed, the revelations brought to light at that time were described by the committee in its report, as follows:

It is further in evidence that it has been the custom of the managers of the Erie Railway, from year to year, in the past, to spend large sums to control elections and to influence legislation. In the year 1868 more than \$1,000,000 was disbursed from the treasury for "extra and legal services."

Mr. Gould, when last on the stand, and examined in relation to various vouchers shown him, admitted the payment during the three years prior to 1872, of large sums to Barber, Tweed, and others, and to influence legislation or elections; these amounts were charged in the "India-rubber account." The memory of this witness was very defective as to details, and he could only remember large transactions; but could distinctly recall that he had been in the habit of sending money into the numerous districts all over the State, either to control nominations or elections for senators and members of assembly. Considered that, as a rule, such investments paid better than to wait until the men got to Albany, and added the significant remark, when asked a question, that it would be as impossible to specify the numerous instances as it would be to recall to mind the numerous freight cars sent over the Erie road from day to day.

It is not reasonable to suppose that the Erie Railway has been alone in the corrupt use of money for the purposes named; but, the sudden revelation in the direction of this company has laid bare a chapter in the secret history of railroad management such as has not been permitted before. It exposes the reckless and prodigal use of money, wrung from the people, to purchase the election of the people's representatives, and to bribe them when in office. According to Mr. Gould, his operations extended into four different States. It was his custom to contribute money to influence both nominations and elections.

It was during this investigation that Mr. Gould made his famous declaration of political faith in the following words:

I do not know how much I paid toward helping friendly men. We had four States to look after, and we had to suit our politics to circumstances. In a Democratic district I was a Democrat; in a Republican district I was a Republican, and in a doubtful district I was doubtful; but in every district and at all times I have always been an Erie man.

The legislative committee, as noted above, believed that it was not reasonable that the Erie road was alone in its corrupt practices. The correctness of this assumption was emphasized by the following testimony brought out by a committee of the New York Constitutional Convention, whose chairman was the Hon. George Opdyke:

EDWIN D. WORCESTER, *Sworn*:—I am treasurer of the New York Central Railroad Company, and have been for two years; was assistant treasurer for two years previous.

*Question.* Do you know of the New York Central Railroad Company paying out considerable amounts of money during the sessions of legislatures?

*Answer.* Yes, considerable amounts of money.

*Question.* I think you have succeeded in procuring legislation for two or three years past?

*Answer.* Yes, we succeeded in getting the legislation.

*Question.* Were the expenses attending the application paid by the President of the road?

*Answer.* I can state the amount of money he had; the whole amount of money paid was \$205,000.

*Question.* Did he ever state to you any purpose for which it was to be applied?

*Answer.* Well, I don't remember that he did.

*Question.* How are the items or entries made in your books with reference to the expenditure of this \$205,000?

*Answer.* There were no entries made with regard to those disbursements.

*Question.* Was the authorization given before or after the advances or disbursements were made?

*Answer.* It was after that the board confirmed the advance, but did not state what should be made of the item.

*Question.* What is the condition of the item on your books?

*Answer.* It is charged to the treasurer's office and remains there. The action of the treasurer in advancing the money was confirmed by the board.

*Question.* The year previous about what money was expended?

*Answer.* I think it was something like \$60,000 that was charged to expenses pertaining to the legislature.

In January, 1880, Mr. Gowen, then President of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad, appeared before a committee of the National House of Representatives, and during his testi-

mony he made this astounding remark touching the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company:

I have heard the counsel of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, standing in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, threaten that court with the displeasure of his clients if it decided against them, and all the blood in my body tingled with shame at the humiliating spectacle.

In the famous suit brought by the widow of General Colton against the late C. P. Huntington, letters from the railway magnate were placed in evidence that gave a vivid picture of the methods by which senators, congressmen, judges, governors, editors, and others had been influenced by the corporations in their struggle for advantage and enrichment. These letters were at the time of the trial published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and later were incorporated in the division of Colonel C. C. Post's thoughtful book, "Driven from Sea to Sea," entitled "Bodies Without Souls." Space forbids our quoting more than a few brief extracts from this voluminous correspondence, so freighted with amazing evidence of corrupt practices.

On November 8, 1874, in a lengthy letter from Mr. Huntington to General Colton, the former says:

I have sent out some copies of Tom Scott's bill as amended by me. \* \* \* It would be well for you at once to write some letters for the influential men of San Francisco to sign, to send to all our members of Congress and senators, to go for the bill as we want it.

Under date of November 20 Mr. Huntington makes the following observation concerning Congressman Luttrell:

I am glad to learn that you have Luttrell under your charge, but you must be careful and not let him get anything to strike back with, as he is a cuss, and I do not think it safe for Stanford to talk with him on our matters, as it would be just like him to get up in Congress and lie about what S. said to him. He must have *solid reasons* or he will go back on you.

In another letter on the same day Mr. Huntington says:

Scott is prepared to pay, or promises to pay, a large amount of money to pass his bill, but I do not think he can pass it, al-

though I think this coming session of Congress will be composed of the hungriest set of men that ever got together, and that the d—— only knows what they will do.

Here are some very significant and suggestive words that occur in a letter dated December 1, 1874 :

Have any of our people endeavored to do anything with Low and Frisbie? They are both men that can be *convinced*. \* \* \* I will see Luttrell when he comes over and talk with him, and may be he and we can work together, but if we can brush him out it would have a good effect, and then we could, or at least would try, to get some better timber to work with. \* \* \* And in this connection it would help us very much if we could fix up Cal. Pacific income and extensions on the basis that was talked of, even if we had to *pay something to convince* Low and Frisbie.

In the following extracts we catch a glimpse of one method of the corporations in tampering with the press before they became so powerful as to buy or browbeat the great journals :

It is not possible to control the agent of the Associated Press in San Francisco? \* \* \* Scott has a wonderful power over the press, which I suppose he has got by giving them free passes for many years over his roads.

\* \* \* \* \*

I sent Hopkins an article yesterday cut from the *Commercial Advertiser*; to-day I met one of the editors, Norcutt; he told me Scott paid for having it published; that he would not have let it go into the paper if it had been left to him, etc. With this I send slip from to-day's *Times*. \* \* \* I have just learned that the slip from the *Times* (or the matter contained therein) has gone to Europe by cable. Scott is spending money to get these things sent out, and the fight will go on for some time.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am doing all I can to have the government take 6,000,000 acres of land and give the railroad company credit for \$15,000,000, but the prospect of their doing it is not as bright as I wish it was. I wish you would have the newspapers take the ground that this land ought to be taken by the government and held for the people, so that when they wanted it they could have it, etc. Something that the demagogues can vote and work for.

\* \* \* \* \*

I wish you would have it sent to the Associated Press here that the contract is let to build the S. P. R. R. bridge over the Colorado River.

It would seem that Luttrell was not pliant in the hands of Huntington and his associates. Hence the railroad magnate desires his political death :

I notice what you say of Luttrell ; he is a wild hog ; don't let him come back to Washington ; but as the House is to be largely Democratic, and if he was to be defeated likely it would be charged to us, I think it would be well to beat him with a Democrat ; but I would defeat him anyway, and if he got the nomination put up another Democrat and run against him, and in that way elect a Republican. Beat him !

But a year later Mr. Huntington seems to have changed his opinion of Luttrell, while Piper has fallen into disgrace, for he writes on June 7, 1876 :

I hope Luttrell will be sent back to Congress. I think it would be a misfortune if he was not. Wigginton has not always been right, but he is a good fellow and is growing every day. Page is always right, and it would be a misfortune to California not to have him in Congress. Piper is a damned hog and should not come back.

And five days later he observes :

I notice what you say of Wigginton, Luttrell, and Piper. The latter should be defeated *at almost any cost*.

This systematic hounding of incorruptible statesmen and those loyal to the people into political oblivion by the corporations has been one of the most marked features of their persistent battle for political supremacy. The case of Attorney-General F. S. Monnett, of Ohio, who for striving to execute the Anti-Trust Law against the Standard Oil Company was driven from political life by the Republican machine of that State, is one of many recent illustrations of this character.

Congress and the press were but two of many agencies and tools which this typical example of corporate greed proposed to use. Hence, on September 27, 1875, Mr. Huntington writes :

Cannot you have Safford call the legislature together and grant such charters as we want at a cost of, say \$25,000 ?



And here are some highly significant extracts :

In view of the many things we have now before Congress and also in this sinking fund that we wish to establish, in which we propose to put all the company's lands in Utah and Nevada, it is very important that his friends in Washington should be with us, and if that could be brought about by paying Carr, say \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year, I think we could afford to do it, but of course not until he had controlled his friends. They could hurt us very much on this land matter, although I would not propose to put the land in at any more than it is worth, say \$2.50 per acre. I would like to have you get a written proposition from Carr, in which he would agree to control his friends for a fixed sum, then send it to me.

I received three letters from Washington this morning. They all tell me that Scott is there in great force, and says he will pass his bill in spite of Huntington and the Central Pacific. He cannot do it, but it was a great mistake in not letting this matter remain as we fixed it last winter, but these damned interviewers may kill us yet.

It cost money to fix things so that I would know his bill would not pass. I believe with \$200,000 I can pass our bill, but I take it that it is not worth that much to us.

\* \* \* \* \*

Scott is making a terrible effort to pass his bill, and he has many advantages, with his railroads running out from Washington in almost every direction, and on which he gives free passes to every one which he thinks can help him ever so little. The Texas Pacific seems to own almost everyone in the whole country. \* \* \* Scott is working mostly among the commercial men. He switched Senator Spencer of Alabama and Walker of Virginia this week, but you know they can be switched back with the proper arrangements when they are wanted; but Scott is asking for so much that he can promise largely to pay when he wins.

\* \* \* \* \*

Scott is developing more strength for his Texas and P. than I thought it possible for him to do. He has men all over the country to bring influence to bear on their member of Congress. They have considerable money, as they have convinced several parties that I thought we had sure. I am doing all I can, but it is the liveliest fight I was ever in. I sent a man to Richmond, Va., on Saturday, and one to Albany to-day, to get resolutions

passed by the legislatures against subsidies. If I can get them I think it will control two members of the Railroad Committee, and we want them very much. Of course you will see the necessity of keeping such matters to yourselves.

The Railroad Committee of the House was set up for Scott, and it has been a very difficult matter to switch a majority of the committee away from him, but I think it has been done, but Scott is very able, and then he promises everything to everybody, which helps him for the day and in this fight, and just what he may yet do I cannot say.

I told Senator Gordon of Georgia if he could get up a party of the best men of the South, we would pay all their expenses, which I suppose would not be less than \$10,000, and I think it would be money well expended.

Mr. Huntington is constantly alluding to Thomas A. Scott's use of free passes. In the following extract, that refers chiefly to a false note sounded by one of the railway company's daily organs, we also find reference to one of Mr. Scott's forms of influencing votes:

If it was known that the C. P. did not control the S. P. I think we could beat him all the time, although he has about the same advantage over us in Washington that we would have over him in Sacramento. If he wants a committee-man away he gets some fellow (his next friend) to ask him to take a ride to New York, or anywhere else, of course on a free pass, and away they go together. Then Scott has always been very liberal in such matters. Scott got a large number of that drunken, worthless dog Piper's speeches printed, and sent them broadcast over the country. He has flooded Texas with them. The *Sacramento Record-Union* hurts us very much by abusing our best friends. There was a number of that paper came over some little time since that abused Conkling, Stewart, and some other of our friends, with Bristow's name up for President. Gorham took it around and showed it. He showed it to Conkling, with the remark that he did not suppose he cared anything about it, but that he would show him what the railroad organ said about him. If I owned that paper I would control it or burn it.

The above fairly shadows forth the varied methods of procedure touched upon in this voluminous correspondence; and how typical are they of the devious ways by which this grand

old republic, of, for, and by the people, has passed into the hands of corporate wealth, until it has, in fact though not in theory, become largely a government of the corporations, by the corporations, and for the corporations—a government of the few for the vast enrichment of the few, through the exploitation of the toilers and the plunder of the consumers.

In 1894 Mr. Havemeyer, the head of the Sugar Trust, appeared before a United States Senate Committee. Of his testimony and some facts suggested by the same, Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, in his excellent and authoritative work, "Wealth Against Commonwealth," observes :

The President of the Sugar Trust, before a special committee of the United States Senate, testified that this "politics of business" was the custom of "every individual and corporation and firm, trust, or whatever you call it." Asked if he contributed to the State campaign funds, he said: "We always do that. \* \* \* In the State of New York, where the Democratic majority is between 40,000 and 50,000, we throw it their way. In the State of Massachusetts, where the Republican party is doubtful, they probably have the call. \* \* \* Wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is very large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because that is the party which controls the local matters"—which includes the elections to Congress and the Presidential election. Federal judges find the Sugar Trust not subject to the Anti-Trust law. The Attorney-General has not got decisions in the suits against it for refusal to answer census questions. Congress forces the people to buy sugar of it only, and at its price. The Secretary of the Treasury drafts for a committee of Congress a tariff like that the trust needs. Our President is the head of the "dominant party that gets the contribution," and he joins the sugar lobby by recommending, unofficially, legislation in its favor.

By what law gives it, and by what law does not take from it, the Sugar Trust can issue \$85,000,000 of securities on \$10,000,000 of property, and collect \$28,000,000 a year of profits. Control of government, with its Presidents, Congress, Federal Judges, Attorney-Generals, and Cabinet Secretaries, would be a great prize. Probably none of the trust's "raw material" would be so cheaply bought as this if it could be purchased by campaign contributions of a few hundred thousand dollars.

In this connection we would point out the significant fact that every Attorney-General appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate since the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law has been a great corporation, trust, or railway lawyer. Great jurists, like Justice Holmes, of Massachusetts, who has recently been elevated to the Supreme Bench, and who have made records that were not pleasing to corporate interests, have been systematically passed over for those who have won princely fees from trusts, corporations, or railways, and who have been long accustomed to view the trust oppression and corporation aggressions through the spectacles of the corporations.

The observation of President Lincoln, to the effect that you can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time, is doubtless correct, but the fact remains that every day these corrupt parasites of wealth retain their hold on government makes the peaceable triumph of the principles of popular government and the reign of equal rights for all and special privileges for none less probable; while all the time the moral ideals of the people and the nation collectively are being lowered, and the old ideal of right rather than might, of justice and fraternity rather than wealth by indirection and power by corrupt practices, which made the republic of Jefferson the pride and glory of humanity's noblest sons, is weakening its hold on the minds of the people.

There never was a time when the principles of free government called more urgently to men of conviction and conscience to unite and consecrate all life holds dearest to the cause of democracy—to the establishment of freedom, justice, and fraternity—than to-day. And the first step required for the actualization of this greatest of all twentieth century achievements is the securing of majority rule through the initiative and referendum, and the popular ownership of all public utilities.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## THE LUST OF MONEY.

**B**ISHOP Potter finds in "the lust of money" the fruitful source of "divorce, crime, and corruption," and eloquently bemoans the fact that "the one eager, dominant hunger that salutes us from one end to another of our broad land is the passion, the greed, of gain." From time immemorial the "love of money" has been the prolific and inexhaustible theme for sermonizers, and it is charged with begetting more vices than Priam did children, and like Priam surviving them all.

Notwithstanding all the diatribes picturing money as the "root of all evil" and "a vertiginous pool sucking all into its vortex to destroy it;" in spite of all the homilies in praise of poverty as the only blessed state and wealth as an obstacle to entrance into the kingdom of heaven; regardless of the beatitudes guaranteed to be found in "plain living and high thinking"—the love of money is the master passion of the age. The liturgy of the day reads: *man's chief end is to make money*; and it spurns the theory that more than one uses is more than one needs, and is only a burden to him—that it is better to be possessed, yea, burdened and cursed by it, than not to possess it at all. Competition in all spheres is so ruthlessly keen that in many cases we have to smother all considerations of personal feeling in favor of material interests. The rush of existence compels us to consider how best we may outwit our fellow-men; in fact, personal advancement has become the fever of the moment—man eating man, man eaten by man: a hard fact, but one that must be recognized by all students of latter-day human nature, when every man is striving to gain some private end. "Every man for himself, and the Devil take the hindmost." This is the Devil's own creed, but it is the creed of modern hurry, hustle, and lust of money.

Ours is not only a thrifty age: it is a spendthrift age, given to immoderate and extravagant indulgences. The philosophy of Horace, "vivitur parvo bene," is obsolete. It is not sufficient "to keep the wolf from the door." To sustain our dignity and to maintain our self-respect, under the eyes of people not socially our immediate neighbors, it is necessary to "put money in thy purse," to display the unmistakable token of success in a plethora of money.

Sydney Smith declared "poverty is infamous in England;" Nelson was driven to deplore that "the want of fortune is a crime I can never get over." Time has added to the verity of the order of precedence to be assigned to the classification of good friends as laid down by Diogenes, "Money, means, and content." There is not in the world to-day a sadder sight, one so suggestive of coming woes, one so possibly reproachful and humiliating, as an empty pocket-book. In our fundamentally industrial society a person should be economically successful if he would enjoy the esteem of his fellow-men. A man endowed with riches is sure to be turned into somebody quite different from the being he was before. "Where affluent fortune empties her horn," it is sure to follow that "lavish honor showers all her stars."

When we say that a man is worth so many dollars, the expression does not convey the idea that moral or other personal excellence is to be measured in terms of money, but it does very distinctly convey the idea that the fact of his possessing many dollars is very much to his credit. And, except in cases of extraordinary excellence, efficiency in any direction that is not immediately of industrial importance, and does not redound to a person's economic benefit, is not of great value as a means of respectability and influence. The word *success*, by the popular meaning given to it, embraces first wealth, then distinction, and perhaps happiness. The man who has something in bank is a successful man. Industrial success and financial triumphs most readily and surely attract the approving regard and plaudits of the world. "*In pretio pretium nunc est; dat census honores; dat census amicitias.*" (Money nowadays is

money; money brings offices; money gains friends). Integrity, personal and moral worth, and high intellectual endowments will, of course, count for something now as always; but the reputation for these excellences alone will not penetrate far enough into the very wide environment of modern society to satisfy even a very modest ambition for public recognition and social distinction. The open sesame to these coveted honors must be found elsewhere:

“’Tis money makes the man, and he who ’s none  
Is counted neither good nor honorable.”

All the world over men have been struggling for the command of the power that great wealth gives. It is simply the continuing effort to replace the feudal system, the aristocracy of birth and rank, into what we have to call the plutocracy. The process began long ago. The Medici showed, hundreds of years ago, the possibilities of a new line of princes—the merchant princes; and their enormous multiplication to-day speaks only of the increased opportunities in the modern world to accumulate great fortunes.

Money getting, and, still more, money accumulation, represents a composite natural faculty or personal quality with which some are endowed in various degrees, and of which others, the great mass, are quite devoid. It is not in the power of all “to place poverty at a sublime distance,” or financially to enjoy even “the glorious privilege of being independent.”

The mass of the people are never free from debt, with peace of mind disturbed, sleepless nights, digestion impeded—equivocation and want of straightforward dealing: all the grave sufferings and deteriorations that follow an empty exchequer. The faculty of acquiring and hoarding is not possessed by all alike. The acquisition and management of money, like art and mechanical inventions, are often a family trait. It is said that it is easy enough for a man to be rich who is left a fortune; but this is not entirely true. It is no uncommon experience to see men of average intelligence, who inherited a fortune, die a public charge.

The very large number of people constantly staggering under pecuniary difficulties will not agree with Franklin that "the way to wealth is as plain as the way to market," but their experience proves that "strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, . . . and few there be that find it." In extenuation of the cowardice of his nephew, Col. Newcome declared, "A poor devil can't command courage any more than he can make himself six feet high." Very true, and it is an equally plain proposition that no one can command the money talent. Like calling spirits from the vasty deep, any man can do it; but, as Hotspur says, "will they come when you do call for them?"

It is an interesting inquiry to learn wherein the deficiency of financial success lies in so many, and wherein the sufficiency of it lies in so few. It is a still more interesting study why this deficiency is so frequently found in the man of genius, and this sufficiency so common in the man of mediocre abilities; although such inquiries are apt to result in hardly anything more important than the speculation as to the distribution of good and evil in violation of ethical rules, leaving the wicked to flourish while the righteous beg their bread. The man of genius, as a rule, is, as Macaulay said of the Irish, distinguished by qualities that tend to make him interesting rather than prosperous; while the man of mediocrity not infrequently gets into the place and reaps the profit that should be the reward of the man who creates. Many of this latter class stalk in the byways of public and private life "by poverty depressed," finding little comfort in the consoling philosophy of Professor Huxley that "failure is one of the commonest disguises assumed by blessings."

The golden rule of getting rich is to be found in the maxim, "Light gains make heavy purses." Nothing develops a tendency to save so much as having already laid by something. The ability not merely to make money, but to hold on to it, is the corner-stone of all wealth. It may not be the most amiable of traits; it may develop into sordid avarice, harshness, and meanness; its ends may be narrow and selfish: but it is indis-



pensable for that "incarnation of fat dividends" which the *opium furiata cupido* of the day requires as the most ascertainable and satisfactory measure of one's standing.

We have more scientific and economic knowledge than can be accommodated to the just distribution of the produce it multiplies. The cultivation of those sciences that have enlarged the limits of the empire of man over the external world and enabled man to enslave the elements has left man himself a slave: instead of lightening it has added a weight to the curse on Adam. We are in danger of exemplifying in an exceptional way the saying, "He that hath, to him shall be given: and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath," and driving the vessel of State between the Scylla and Charybdis of anarchy and despotism. It is questionable whether it is possible to moralize the new plutocracy, so as to make it more efficient than the decadent old aristocracy. We have, it is true, many shining examples of the noble use of money—of great wealth associated with virtues as well as power. But we cannot get away from the conviction that human nature, after all, does not change greatly in the course of ages, and that a position won by the remorseless manipulation of business on the stock market may be made to serve as bad ends as that of a dictator by grace of the sword.

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## THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC LEAGUE.

**T**HE object of this paper is to put the readers of the *ARENA* on their guard against the pretensions of an organization calling itself the National Economic League. Professing to be wholly devoted to the spread of economic truth and securing the endorsement of prominent thinkers by artfully concealing its real purpose, this league appears to me, in the light of the works it publishes and disseminates, to be a bald-faced conspiracy against the truth, promoted by men who are doing all they can to subvert our institutions and make plutocracy dominant throughout the land. In furtherance of its design this National Economic League is putting forth two books, written by Freeman Otis Willey, and entitled, "The Laborer and the Capitalist" and "Education, State Socialism, and the Trust." In their appearance great is the rejoicing of such men as Lyman J. Gage, Joseph H. Manly, Gustav H. Schwab, and others of their kind. A few clergymen are also found to endorse the scheme, and two laboring men, the letters of each of whom are a grim and unconscious satire on all the books stand for. One of them writes concerning "The Laborer and the Capitalist," "I am reduced to the submerged tenth. I get very little over a dollar a day. The book I feel sure will be one that will make a mark;" and the other, "Were I not so poor I would place the book in the hands of several of my acquaintances who are looking farther than to-day."

The wonderful things that people will know who read these books are set forth in a printed circular which, it appears, is not intended for advanced thinkers, but which occasionally goes astray. Among these wonderful things are the following:

Whoever reads "The Laborer and the Capitalist" and "Education, State Socialism, and the Trust" will know that the belief

that if the wealth now in the hands of the few had been equally distributed among the people at the time and place of production everybody would be faring sumptuously, is not true; will know almost to a mathematical certainty, that if the wealth now in the hands of a few had been distributed equally at the time and place of production, the portion going to each individual would hardly have sustained life, to say nothing of maintaining an individual in luxury; will know that the belief that the subdivision of labor, so that one workman performing a small part, as in the manufacture of shoes, for example (one lasts, another trims, etc.), renders the mechanic's task monotonous, and necessarily retards the mental growth, is the very opposite of truth; will know not only for himself, but will convince others, that the belief that the land, and, indeed, all the wealth of the land, is concentrating in the hands of the few is not only not true, but, on the contrary, will know that all the wealth of the land, instead of concentrating in the hands of the few, is diffusing among the many; will know that corporations and large aggregations of wealth do not render it harder for people of small means to become sharers in the profits of manufacturers, etc., but, on the contrary, that these corporations and combinations of wealth, have greatly increased the opportunities of men and women of small means to invest their earnings and become sharers in the profits of manufacture, trade, etc.; will know, as a matter of fact and record, that the corporate organizations throughout the country, even those called "trusts," are a means by which the profits of industry are fairly distributed among the people.

These assertions make it plain why Lyman Gage and his like endorse these books and why certain sycophantic clergymen are so eager to cry, "ME TOO." One thing indeed the books do stand for as claimed, and that is industrial peace, peace between capital and labor, the peace of the lion and the lamb, with the lamb inside.

The mildest terms we can truthfully use in designating Mr. Willey's work is that it is subtle, deceptive, shallow, ill-reasoned, ignorant, and insincere. It presents such an unfathomable slough of misstatement and illogic that it is hard approaching or dealing with it. Of course, the books contain some truths, and much *appearance* of candor. For this reason they are all the more alluring and dangerous. Thus, for example,

we will take his statement of Socialism, as given in "The Laborer and the Capitalist." He says:

If we assume that the Socialistic sentiment is growing faster than any other political theory, faster than the voting population, the question as to what the arguments of Socialism are becomes very important.

As I cast my mind over the subject with a view to answering this question, I am reminded of a certain rule of conduct adhered to by Abraham Lincoln, which is very applicable to the present case.

Into whatever debate he entered he never understated the cause or the arguments of the opposing party. The more important the question at issue, the more pains he took to state the opposite side clearly. In the practice of the legal profession it not infrequently happened that he placed the law and evidence, which had been supposed to contradict his theory of the case, before the court and jury in a stronger light against himself than even his adversaries had thought of or were capable of doing. This course was not only generous toward others, but it was a winning card for himself, for the reason that when he came to state the still stronger logic of his own side, the justice of his cause was all the more clearly seen.

If ever there was a time when all the arguments on both sides of a great question needed to be clearly stated and carefully considered, that time is now, in the present controversy between conservative capital and the rapidly growing sentiment of Socialism.

After this imposing preamble we naturally expect to get something clear, candid, and profound. Instead of this we run almost at the outset against a subtle falsehood, whether told in ignorance or with intent to deceive we have no means of knowing. He represents the Socialist as demanding the renunciation of the ownership of *private property*. Now what the Socialist really does demand is the abolition of *private capitalism*. If Mr. Willey does not know the distinction between the two he should not write books. If he does know he has practised wilful deception under the pretense of great virtue.

There is a vast difference between private property and private capitalism, as every intelligent person knows. It will not be sufficient for Mr. Willey to fall back upon a quotation

from some ignorant or careless Socialist. He must state what Socialism is in essence, not what it is at times claimed to be even by its professed followers. Christianity and other great movements have often been misstated and even misunderstood by their most ardent supporters, and the same is true of Socialism. If Mr. Willey is incapable of intelligently and fairly presenting this great subject he should let it alone, or at least not write against it.

Again, this much commended author is incapable of understanding that the only equality not already enjoyed, at least in theory, which Socialism may inevitably bring about in the remote future is economic equality. Could he have understood this he never would have penned anything so pitifully inane as the following:

Let us go down to first principles as nearly as possible. We will begin with the universally accepted proposition that no two human beings are constituted exactly alike. It therefore follows that no two can always think exactly the same thoughts, nor are they affected exactly the same by environment. We cannot all occupy the same spot of earth at the same time, nor strike the same vein of success. Some are born in the centers of education and refinement, others amid ignorance and barbarism; some are rugged, others are frail. In short, our mental capacities are not equal, our physical strength is not equal, and our opportunities are not equal. Some must be wiser than others, some richer, and some both wiser and richer, etc.

This in perfect accord with natural law. The difference in the results we behold are based upon the difference in constitutions. To change this basic principle, or the results that flow from it, would destroy human happiness, since we know and appreciate only through differences (contrasts). If all were as tall as the tallest there would be no tall people; if all were as short as the shortest there would be no short people; if all were as wise as the wisest there would be no wise people; if all were as happy as the happiest there would be no happy people. If there were no difference in color we would know no color; if there were none of that which we call evil we could not appreciate the good; in fact, without evil it would be impossible to give good a name that could be understood. Therefore, if differences were stricken out, greatness, goodness, variety, indeed, all that we admire, appreciate, and love would be gone,

and a monotony would reign a million times more cruel to beings constituted as we are than any differences we have ever known in the conditions of life that now environ us.

Now all of this like much else that this author has written is not only partly nonsense in itself, but is totally wide of the mark, even if it were all true. Socialism seeks no such dead level, nor is any such dead level possible.

As has been said the only equality not already enjoyed in theory that may be inevitable under Socialism is economic equality. There may, indeed, be no rich and no poor, but this will not eliminate differences of temperament, intellect, or attainment. Indeed, these differences will doubtless become greater through division of labor, enlarged opportunity, and a wider individual freedom.

Once more we drop a hook into this bog of unreason and pull up the following:

To the end that financial talent shall redound to the public good, Nature has ordained that we shall buy of and sell to others, precisely as others buy of and sell to us; so that in the long run the benefits arising from the exchange are shared by all. This fundamental and almost universally overlooked truth may be illustrated as follows:

Jones is a shoe manufacturer; you are the people. Jones manufactures shoes; you (the people) purchase them of him at market price and pay the money.

Now, what will Jones do with the money? He can neither eat, drink, nor wear it. He must turn around and pay every cent back to you (the people) for the products of your labor. He must pay you the market price, mark you, as you have paid him the market price.

Now, Jones has bought of you (the people) precisely as much as you have bought of him (the manufacturer); and, both having made your exchanges according to prices ruling in the general market, it necessarily follows that you (the people) have gained as much as Jones (the manufacturer).

This is the result of an infinite and irrevocable law of exchange and mutual dependence which unites all interests in one and strikes a just balance between capital and labor, between capital and capital.

\* \* \* \* \*

This is the law of exchange and mutual dependence. This law made it impossible for Vanderbilt to gain \$100,000,000 without benefiting the world at least another \$100,000,000. He was forced to buy as much of the people as they bought of him. He was compelled to increase the trade of others precisely as much as he increased his own. He could not purchase of himself; he could not sell to himself; the people were his customers, and he was theirs. So far as Vanderbilt's energy, financial ability, and material success were above the average, so far was he bound to increase the business of the world above the average.

These utterances are intended as a defense of the present system, and, while the present system remains, they in a measure express the truth. But they are not altogether true, and they manifest something of that art of deception which is so conspicuous in this work. Very much said here of Jones and Vanderbilt could be said with equal truth of a highway robber. He, too, if he would have the necessities of life must pay back to the people what he takes from them, must in the end pay it all back, but the trouble is he does not pay it back to those from whom he has taken it. Neither does Jones nor Vanderbilt. The highwayman takes his money from his victims, lives on it, and pays out his surplus possibly to saloon-keepers and harlots; Jones takes his from his customers and laborers and may pay it out in the same way, or, if he be a moral man, he may pay it out to servants, yacht-builders, and caterers. Of course, it all goes back into circulation, but what shall we say of a writer that would claim that there is necessarily justice or equity in it.

In some respects the ethics of the highwayman are superior to those of Jones. The former robs his victim once of what he happens to have on his person and lets him go to live and earn more; the latter may rob continuously as long as his victim can produce anything worth the while and then turn him out to die.

Every sensible man knows, as a matter of course, that there are honest and noble-minded capitalists who are doing all they can for labor, and who find it impossible to advance wages

without incurring danger of bankruptcy. That so many of this class are constantly threatened with failure is an argument against the competitive system, of which too often both employer and employee are alike victims, rather than in favor of it, as this author with shameless perversion tries to show.

The following is an example of Mr. Willey's method of answering a fair and plain statement of fact. He quotes from Mr. Bryan as follows:

"I want to make a sweeping assertion, that in all the history of the human race the capitalistic class never conceived of or carried out a reform to the benefit of the people. Do not misunderstand me; I do not mean that no capitalist was ever a reformer; but I say that capitalistic classes have never been looked to; are not looked to to-day, and never will be looked to for the reforms which society needs."

And then harangues in the following irrelevant manner:

We have rarely met with anything more calculated to intensify class prejudice than the foregoing utterances of Mr. Bryan. His theory is that the capitalistic class never conceived of or carried out a reform to the benefit of the people. Let us see:

Thomas Jefferson was one of the capitalists of his day, and the author of the Declaration of Independence. John Hancock was one of the richest men of his time, and his name stands first on that same immortal document. Robert Morris, Treasurer of the Colonial Government, was a capitalist, and made great financial, as well as other sacrifices, for the success of the American cause. John Adams, the great defender of the Declaration of Independence, was a capitalist, and a large one for his day. Alexander Hamilton, first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, was rich for his time. Benjamin Franklin, who was, perhaps, the greatest power in the Constitutional Convention, was also a capitalist, and left large legacies at his death. Washington, who led the American army to victory, was one of the wealthiest men of the New World.

Indeed, must it not be admitted, that capitalists performed an honorable, even a leading part, in the planning and directing of the War of the Revolution, and in launching the American Republic upon the tide of national destiny, under the freest and best constitution that has ever appeared on earth, thus consummating the greatest reform of which history has any account?



In this way he continues for several pages, making statements which Mr. Bryan admits in advance, or which have nothing whatever to do with the subject.

As a specially fine specimen of this author's brilliancy I quote his reply to a questioner :

A mechanic of rare intelligence, who has charge of a large number of workmen, and is receiving high wages, lately remarked to us with a great deal of emphasis that, say what we might, the fact still remains that the laborer was obliged to ask "leave to toil." We asked him this question: "Which would you regard as the most humiliating, to be obliged to ask leave to toil, as you now do, or to ask leave not to toil, as you might be obliged to do under the Socialist regime?" He replied that the question had never been put to him in just that way before, and his thoughtful look indicated that a new idea of much value had dawned upon him.

Is this man ignorant of the fact that laborers to-day have not only to beg leave to toil, but have to beg leave to rest, to take a day off on account of sickness at home, that they are often refused and many times lose their job in consequence of a necessary disobedience to some "lordly fellow worm?" Probably he had not thought of this, for his mind may have been centered on the danger to himself of being obliged to do some useful work in case socialism should come into vogue. There is nothing probably which would frighten his class any more, and this may partly account for the sudden activity of this National Economic League. Let Willey not be disturbed. Socialism will require nothing of him. It will guarantee him a place to earn an honest living, but if he wishes to refuse he can do voluntarily what thousands are now forced to do under the competitive system, he can retire from the work of the world and starve.

In order to prove the butter rancid one need not eat an entire firkin of it, and possibly enough has been said about the so-called "Judge" Willey and his economic work. He is simply an out-and-out defender of the present social system, denying everything against, and asserting everything in favor of that system. He confuses the labor movement with socialism, gives

capital an economic priority to labor, makes profit the cause of higher wages, argues in favor of trusts as they are, denies the utility of public ownership, either actual or theoretical, doubts the efficacy of our postoffice system compared with what private ownership would make it, and is sure the government could never afford to take over the railroads. On this last point he favors his readers with the following:

In order for our government to own what are called public utilities, it must first purchase them of their present owners.

The railroads in the United States would alone cost the government at least twelve billion dollars. The government, not having sufficient money to pay down, would, of course, be obliged to give bonds to secure the payment thereof.

Suppose the present owners could be induced to receive bonds bearing  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest; the present incomes of the roads would not pay interest on the debt, to say nothing of paying the principal. Let us be sure that we are right about this.

The net income of the railroads in the United States for 1899 was \$389,666,474. Three and a half per cent. interest on \$12,000,000,000 is \$420,000,000. Difference \$30,332,516.

That is, should the government purchase the railroads and bond itself for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., as aforesaid, the present net income of the railroads would fall short of paying interest on the debt by over \$30,000,000 per annum.

Therefore, the present net income of the railroads would need to increase about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum in order to meet the interest of the debt at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

But suppose the government should undertake to cancel the debt at the rate of, say, \$200,000,000 per annum. The net income of the railroads would need to increase at least 36 per cent., while sixty years would be required to settle the account in full. A part of these extra charges might be met by an increase in the carrying trade, while a part would in all probability have to be met by an increase in fares and freight charges, or taxes in other directions.

In short, as the case now stands, it is beyond the power of this government to purchase the railroads and pay a fair rate of interest on the debt that would necessarily be incurred, and make reasonable progress in the way of canceling that debt without charging the people much more for transportation than they are now paying, or by increasing taxation in other directions, as before stated.

In this little statement he forgets to say why the government should pay at least twelve billion dollars for the railroads if they are not worth it, as evidently they are not when they will not earn a fair rate of interest on that sum. Again, he forgets that the expense of operating might be greatly reduced under public ownership, but these are small matters with this great author who habitually forgets everything which it is not for the interest of his clients to remember.

The only real issue before the people of this country to-day is that of plutocracy against democracy. Questions of tariff, taxation, temperance, and even of public ownership dwindle into insignificance in comparison with it. Are we to be a free people, governing ourselves, advancing toward a higher, purer democracy, or are we to come under the domination of the lords of wealth who own the press, direct the teaching of our colleges, restrain our pulpits, control commerce, corrupt legislatures, and dictate the national policy? The National Economic League with its endorsers and supporters is for the reign of the dollar.

Socialism stands first and last and all the time for the supremacy of man. It embodies the instinct of self-preservation against its ancient and deadly foe, the lust for power generated by the possession of wealth. The first great problem of socialism is not the public ownership of public utilities, but the people's ownership of themselves, the people's rule. What a pity that all the best elements of all political parties cannot see this issue and unite for glorious victory.

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## SOME AUTHENTICATED GHOST STORIES.

**I**S the modern so-called historical novel, with its braggart, devil-may-care hero, to give place to the romance through whose pages stalks the phantom form of the unladen ghost? Are Bulwer Lytton's "A Strange Story" and George McDonald's "The Portent" to prove the forerunners of a great host of psychical novels, even as the famous D'Artagnan romances of the elder Dumas were the precursors of the romantic historic novels of recent years?

Such a result seems not improbable. The investigations of advanced psychologists and students of psychic science have opened up new fields of knowledge wherein lies rich material for the imagination of the novelist; while the widespread and general belief in ghosts—or, to be more exact, in various super-normal phenomena—indefinite and vague though it be, would yet insure a large clientele to the writer bold enough to thus depart from the beaten track.

Already we have many indications of the advent of a new class of novels in whose plots the restless spirits of the departed play an important part.

Since the appearance a few years ago of Mr. Samuel Clemens' remarkable life of Joan of Arc, which was originally published in the *Century Magazine*, and whose authorship was for some time a matter for much speculation, many prominent literateurs have occupied themselves with subjects dealing with apparitions and other psychic phenomena.

Mr. Andrew Lang has been scarcely less happy than Mark Twain in his treatment of the weird and the uncanny.

Even more remarkable is the spectacle of the grave, warm-hearted, and serious Dr. John Watson turning aside from other matters to pursue the elusive ghost. True, Dr. Watson is some-

thing of an idealist; he is also a Scotchman, and the weird and the mysterious have always possessed a strange fascination for the Scotch, stern Presbyterians though they be.

However, no such reasons as the above can be urged to account for the numerous extremely uncanny tales which within the last year and a half have appeared from the pen of that high-priestess of New England realism, Mary Wilkins-Freeman.

Nor is this all. Numerous popular English and American magazines are giving considerable space to stories in which the supernatural and the occult play a large part. In our own country such periodicals as *Everybody's Magazine* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, edited by the talented son of the famous Baptist divine, Rev. George C. Lorimer, are offering as leading attractions the psychical stories of Mrs. Wilkins-Freeman and Ian Maclaren.

A recognition of the general and increasing interest in psychic phenomena is probably largely responsible for this sudden friendly attitude toward the ghostly visitor of shrewd publishers and editors in intimate touch with the reading public. But in the case of the authors I imagine that either personal psychic experiences or a conviction of the basic truth underlying psychic manifestations, due to the rapidly accumulating mass of evidence gathered by scientists and scientific bodies, are in part at least accountable for their giving some of their best efforts to the creation of psychic romances.

However fascinating to the popular mind may be the ghost story which claims to be nothing more than the creation of a fertile imagination, its consideration in the pages of the ARENA would doubtless be considered foreign to the purpose of a magazine given primarily to advanced or progressive thought and research.

When, however, we come to consider psychic phenomena which, according to the testimony of men and women prominent in society, of known veracity, and of undoubted sanity, have actually taken place—phenomena which have been carefully examined and critically investigated by one of the most scientific bodies in the English-speaking world—the subject

assumes an importance akin to that of other questions occupying the thought of experimental scientists to-day. Without losing any of the fascination attaching to the ghost story, it yet becomes a legitimate subject of scientific speculation, and one which is at present commanding the most serious consideration of many of the world's most prominent psychologists and psychic investigators.

At the time of his death the late Frederic W. H. Myers had nearly completed a most remarkable and exhaustive work, which has since been published, entitled "Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death." The volume may almost be said to epitomize the twenty-one years' work of the English Society for Psychical Research, and contains scores upon scores of descriptions of apparitions and other extraordinary psychical phenomena, many of which far exceed in interest any invention of the novelist's brain. The cases herein mentioned, it should be remembered, have all been carefully investigated according to the rigidly critical methods of modern scientific research, with a view to testing their authenticity and obtaining data of real value to prove whether or not the alleged phenomena were fully discussed in their various bearings at the time of the occurrence; whether they were subjective (that is, visible to one person only) or objective (that is, apparent to more than one person at the same time). The corroborative testimony and the detailed accounts of these supernormal happenings are given in Mr. Myers' work with the completeness essential to a scientific treatise intended for students and to enable the reader to weigh the pros and cons of the subject.

Thinking that a few typical cases from this remarkable book will be of interest to the readers, I condense in the briefest possible way the following four stories, all of which appear in the greatest detail and fully authenticated in the work in question.

CASE I. Baron von Driesen, a well-known Russian nobleman, who appears to be a devout man, had retired on the night in question after reading a chapter in the Gospel. This was eight days after the death of his father-in-law, M. Ponomareff, with whom he had not been on the best of terms, owing to some

differences of opinion on certain subjects. The Baron had just put out the candle when he heard the sound of footsteps shuffling in the adjoining room, which stopped before the door of the bedroom. He called out, but receiving no answer struck a match, when he saw his father-in-law standing before the closed door in his blue fur-lined dressing-gown, black trousers and white waistcoat. "What do you want?" asked the Baron. M. Ponomareff stepped to the side of the bed and said, "Basil Feorodovitch, I have acted wrongly toward you. Forgive me! Without this I do not feel at rest there," pointing with his left hand to the ceiling while holding out his right, which was cold and damp, to the Baron, who grasped it saying, "Nicholas Ivanovitch, God is my witness that I have never had anything against you."

At this M. Ponomareff bowed, and moved away through the opposite door into the billiard-room, where he disappeared. On the following day, according to the custom of the Greek Church, a liturgy for the repose of the soul of the deceased was to be celebrated. On reaching the church Baron von Driesen told his confessor, Father Basil Bajenoff, of the apparition, when to his amazement the priest informed him that he too had received a midnight visit from M. Ponomareff, who had begged him to reconcile his son-in-law to him. In regard to the occurrence the priest made the following statement:

"To the account I heard from Baron B. F. Driesen in the presence of his wife's brothers \* \* \* as to how M. Nicholas I. Ponomareff appeared to him \* \* \* and begged the Baron to be reconciled to him, I may add that to me also did he appear *at the same time* and with the same request, which fact, before hearing the Baron's narrative, I communicated to all those present at the liturgy for the rest of the soul of the late M. N. I. Ponomareff."

CASE II. The second case describes one of the most remarkable dreams on record. The dreamer was the famous Assyriologist, Professor Hermann V. Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, who has had charge of the excavations at Nippur. I give below a part of the professor's own account of his dream:

One Saturday evening, about the middle of March, 1893, I had been wearying myself, as I had done so often in the weeks preceding, in the vain attempt to decipher two small fragments of agate which were supposed to belong to the finger-rings of some Babylonian. The labor was much increased by the fact that the fragments presented remains only of characters and lines, and that dozens of similar fragments had been found in the ruins of the Temple of Bel at Nippur, with which nothing could be done; that in this case, furthermore, I had never had the originals before me, but only a hasty sketch made by one of the members of the expedition sent by the University of Pennsylvania to Babylonia.

I could not say more than that the fragments, taking into consideration the place in which they were found and the peculiar characteristics of the cuneiform characters preserved upon them, sprang from the Cassite period of Babylonian history (circa 1700-1140 B. C.); moreover, as the first character of the third line of the first fragment seemed to be KU, I ascribed the fragment, with an interrogation-point, to King Kurigalzu, while I placed the other fragment as unclassifiable with other Cassite fragments upon a page of my book where I published the unclassifiable fragments. The proofs already lay before me, but I was far from satisfied. The whole problem passed yet again through my mind that March evening before I placed my mark of approval under the last correction in the book. Even then I had come to no conclusion. About midnight, weary and exhausted, I went to bed and was soon in deep sleep. Then I dreamed the following remarkable dream:

A tall, thin priest of the old pre-Christian Nippur, about forty years of age and clad in a simple abba, led me into the treasure-chamber of the temple, on its southwest side. He went with me into a small, low-ceiled room, without windows, in which there was a large wooden chest, while scraps of agate and lapis-lazuli lay scattered on the floor. Here he addressed me as follows:

"King Kurigalzu (circa 1300 B. C.) once sent to the Temple of Bel, among other articles of agate and lapis-lazuli, an inscribed votive cylinder of agate. Then we priests suddenly received the command to make for the statue of the God Ninib a pair of ear-rings of agate. We were in great dismay, since there was no agate as raw material at hand. In order to execute the command there was nothing for us to do but cut the votive cylinder into three parts, thus making three rings, each of which contains a portion of the original inscription. The



first two rings served as ear-rings for the statue of the god; the two fragments which have given you so much trouble are portions of them. If you put the two together you will have confirmed my words. But the third ring you have not yet found in the course of your excavations, and you never will find it."

With this the priest disappeared. I awoke at once and immediately told my wife the dream, that I might not forget it. Next morning—Sunday—I examined the fragments once more in the light of these disclosures, and, to my astonishment, found all the details of my dream precisely verified in so far as the means of verification were in my hands. The original inscription on the votive cylinder read: "To the God Ninib, son of Bel, his lord, has Kurigalzu, pontifex of Bel, presented this."

Mrs. J. C. Hilprecht confirms the facts in this strange dream. There were some points, however, that were not cleared up until Prof. Hilprecht visited the Orient and was able to examine the engraved fragments, which completed the verification and proved that the communication which had come to him in the night-time was in every detail true and accurate.

CASE III. It will be remembered that the famous English statesman, Lord Brougham, used to relate an interesting incident which came as the sequel of a boyish compact between himself and a friend, signed in the blood of the agreeing parties, by which the one who should die first pledged himself to appear to the survivor, if such a thing were possible, and thus solve the doubts which both entertained of a life after death. Many years later, while Lord Brougham was taking a bath in Sweden, the vision of his friend, who was then in India, appeared vividly before him. Later he learned that his friend had died at about the time of or a little prior to the appearance of the apparition.

In Mr. Myers' volume are given several cases of this kind, one of the most interesting of which is related by Captain G. R. Russell Colt. Captain Colt had a very dear brother, Oliver, who was in the Crimea and who had written home in rather low spirits. In response Captain Colt wrote him a cheery letter, but told him that if anything should happen, he was to appear to him in their old room at Inveresk House, where they had passed so many happy hours in boyhood. This room was long

and narrow, with a window at one end and a door at the other. The bed stood on the right of the window, facing the door. One night Captain Colt awoke suddenly and beheld by his bedside, facing the window and surrounded by a phosphorescent haze, the kneeling figure of his brother Oliver. At first he thought it must be a trick of fancy or the moonlight playing on a towel; but on looking again he saw the figure still kneeling, while the rain beat heavily on the window. The Captain rose, shut his eyes, walked through the apparition and reached the door of the room. He then looked back. The vision turned its head and looked lovingly and longingly at him, and he saw on the right temple a bullet-hole with a red stream flowing from it. A fortnight later he received news that his brother had been shot and killed at the storming of the Redan, and officers who saw the body testified that the death-wound was exactly where he had seen it. The storming of the Redan began at noon on the eighth of September. The vision appeared to Captain Colt at a few minutes after two o'clock on the morning of the ninth.

CASE IV. In many respects this story is one of the most extraordinary to be found among the narrations of apparitions. The facts are given by the wife of an Englishman well known to some of the members of the Society for Psychical Research, but whose name for obvious reasons has been withheld from public print. The account of this lady's experience is given in great detail. Briefly it is as follows:

Mrs. P. was married in 1867 and lived happily for two years, when her husband became greatly depressed in spirits and his health began to fail. Something seemed to be preying upon his mind, but all inquiries failed to elicit more than the reply that there was "nothing the matter with him, and that his wife was 'too fanciful.'" Things continued in this way until Christmas, 1869. The husband and wife went upstairs to their chamber early, about nine-thirty, and the husband went immediately to bed. Their baby girl, however, usually awoke about this time and after drinking some warm milk would sleep for the rest of the night. As she was still sleeping Mrs. P. lay

down on the outside of the bed, wrapped in her dressing-gown, waiting for her to wake and thinking over the arrangements for the following day. The door was locked and the lamp was burning brightly on a chest of drawers at the opposite side of the room. Suddenly she saw standing at the foot of the bed, between her and the light, the figure of a man dressed in naval uniform and wearing a peaked cap pulled down over his eyes. As he was back to the light his face was in the shadow. She spoke to her husband, saying, "Willie, who is this?" Mr. P. turned and looked in astonishment at the strange visitor, crying out, "What on earth are you doing here, sir?" The apparition slowly drew itself erect and said in a commanding but very reproachful voice, "Willie! Willie!" The husband immediately sprang out of bed and moved toward the figure as if to attack it, when it moved quietly away in the opposite direction from the door and disappeared as it were into the wall. As it passed the lamp a deep shadow fell upon the room, as if a material person had intervened between the light and the spectators. Mr. P. instantly took the lamp and unlocking the door made a thorough search of the house. When he came back he informed his wife that the apparition was that of his father, who had been dead fourteen years. Early in life he had been in the navy, but his son had only once or twice seen him in his uniform. Mrs. P. had never seen her husband's father. Later Mr. P. became very ill and revealed the fact that he had been on the eve of acting upon the advice of evil associates, and had, indeed, already done some things which later brought sorrow to the family, when his father's warning voice had called him back from the brink of the precipice. Mr. P. confirms his wife's narrative in all particulars.

Some of the more materialistic members of the Society for Psychical Research long endeavored to explain the phenomena of apparitions as occurring prior to the death of the subject, or while dissolution was impending; but it will be observed that in Case I. the apparition appeared eight days after death, in Case IV. fourteen days after death; while in the case of Cap-

tain Colt the apparition presumably appeared to him some hours after the young officer was killed. These and numerous other cases negative the position of those who claim that apparitions can only appear before or at the crisis of death, and not after life has left the body.

AMY C. RICH.

*Boston, Mass.*

# TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

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## THE BATTLE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND REACTION IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

We are to-day in the midst of a world-wide struggle between the fundamental principles of democracy, or the ideals of the Revolution, and the reactionary principles of class rule, or the ideals that antedated the popular uprisings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As is ever the case in a transition era marked by great political unrest, there is much confusion in the public mind, arising in part from failure to distinguish between the superficial aspects and the fundamental principles involved, and in part from the efforts of crafty apologists and defenders of reactionary and class interests to mislead the unthinking public by plausible pretenses, ingenious sophistry, and brazen-faced misrepresentations of the upholders of the cause of popular justice, who are by them made to appear as the enemies of the very democracy which they are striving to maintain in its essential purity.

It is, therefore, of paramount importance that all serious-minded persons who honestly desire the permanent ascendancy of republican government or the rule of all the people, shall clearly recognize the irreconcilable difference that marks the opposing forces throughout Christian civilization to-day; for the battle is the same in every great nation, whether it be in Germany or England, in the United States, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy or Australasia. In each instance two great ideals are engaged in a life and death struggle for supremacy. A reactionary past is grappling with the principles of the Revolution, and seeking to turn back the hands on the dial plate of progress. This being the case, the struggle as it is exhibited in each one of these quarters of the globe cannot fail to hold deep interest for all patriotic friends of democracy.

In Germany the conflict is just at the present time of peculiar interest, although at the time of this writing the outlook is not nearly so promising for the immediate future as in France. Several months ago the great German historian, Professor Mommsen, to whom the Noble prize for literature was recently accorded, electrified the friends of free government by a manifesto dealing with the future of Liberalism in Germany. The universal interest which this warning aroused among philosophical friends of democracy everywhere, though doubtless due in part to the fact that the author was one of the greatest if not the greatest living historian, and one of the deepest and most learned political thinkers of the age, was probably chiefly occasioned by the fact that the statements enunciated in reference to Germany were applicable in a general way to most of the leading nations that have long claimed to be liberal. Notably was this true of the conditions in Great Britain and the United States.

According to Professor Mommsen, Liberalism in Germany is in the gravest peril through the internal dissensions of the Liberal parties and the lack of powerful, far-seeing, constructive statesmanship within their ranks; while the throne and the old order clinging to the "divine right" dogma, together with the reactionary clericals of the Roman Church, have united and succeeded in drawing to their aid many nominal Liberals who are beholden to the capitalistic class and who are willing to throw away the result of the greatest victories of the Revolution rather than see laws enacted that may be prejudicial to the further exploitation of labor and the enrichment of those who through special privilege are already as powerful as the old-time aristocracy.

So dark, ominous, and fraught with deadly peril does the outlook appear to the great German historian that he expressed the gravest alarm lest the victories already won be speedily lost through an autocratic *coup d'état*. In this crisis Professor Mommsen appealed to the Liberals of Germany to form a working alliance with the Social Democrats of the realm in order to successfully meet the despotic and reactionary forces.

When we remember that since the accession of the present Kaiser more than six hundred editors and writers have been thrown into gloomy dungeons for *lèse majesté*, we can appreciate how dangerously reactionary is the spirit of the sovereign who claims to rule by divine right.

Unfortunately for the cause of free government the plutocratic influences that dominate the bourgeois elements were so

potent in the government of the Liberal party that not only was the great historian's advice ignored, but that body entered into a league with the German Conservatives and the Roman Church in order to crush the Social Democrats, under the terms of which all these parties were to center on one candidate in the various Socialistic strongholds, so that the united Royalist, Clerical, and bourgeois vote should be pitted against the Social Democrats and in this manner reduce their numbers in the Reichstag. By this action they have openly ranged themselves on the side of reaction and despotism, thereby not only abandoning the ark of the covenant of progress, but becoming camp-followers among the forces representing class rule and oppression.

Some superficial thinkers have criticized Professor Mommsen for urging the Liberals of Germany to work in harmony with the Social Democrats, after the manner of the Republicans of France, because of the difference in their political and economic theories. That this criticism is not well founded will be evident when we remember that the Socialists of Germany are first and foremost Democrats. Before all else they are advocates of the great fundamental principles of free government. They seek the triumph of their social theories only as other parties in a representative government win victories—by convincing the reason of the electorate and winning victories by the ballot box and through legal and legitimate channels. Furthermore, it should also be remembered that the ideal and aim of Socialism is merely an extension of the fundamental demands for justice for all, so that through economic as well as political freedom the ends of the revolution looking toward the establishment of a fraternal state will be achieved through purely democratic methods. The government they seek to establish would be more democratic than that of any leading nation, for it would be characterized by majority rule and safeguarded by every possible practical means to insure the government being the expression of the will of the majority of the electorate; while the reactionary parties, either openly or covertly, seek to further the interests of the classes and to thus defeat the basic principles of democracy.

Thus it is perfectly clear that Professor Mommsen's position was fundamentally sound when he sought to secure a working alliance between those of divergent theories who, nevertheless, are supposed to be one upon the vital principles underlying free government, in order to combat the allied parties of special privilege, class interest, and despotic reaction.

## BACK TO THE SOURCE OF FREE GOVERNMENT.

The Hon. Joseph W. Folk, whose inestimably valuable work in assailing the corrupt corporations and politicians of St. Louis has made him a figure of national importance, is reported as saying that, "The people are sound, but without leaders. Ninety-nine per cent. of the people are honest; only one per cent. is dishonest; but that one per cent. is perniciously active."

Evidences are not wanting which seem to substantiate this view; and yet, such is the power of corrupt corporations, leagued with the partisan boss, the one furnishing money, the other manipulating the party machine, that the one per cent. of corruptionists is becoming more and more absolute in political prestige and power with each recurring election.

"What is the hope for the cause of pure republicanism and economic justice," exclaimed a friend recently, "when the vastly rich corporations, the political bosses and the partisan machines of both the great political parties, and the daily press are working in unison for the success of the men who are satisfactory to the trusts and monopolies?"

My reply was that the hope of democracy lay in meeting the new reactionary and unrepubli- can conditions with measures that would insure the perpetuation and practical operation of the foundation principles underlying a truly republican government. In other words, we are to-day confronted by unrepubli- can elements and influences not formidable in the early days of the republic. Corporate wealth, largely dependent upon special privileges and seeking immunity from laws enacted to curb its aggressions against the people, and the autocratic political boss manipulating the partisan machine represent influences in political life that are diametrically opposed to the republican ideal and theory of government, and in practical operation are constantly thwarting the will of the people and betraying the interests of municipal, State, and national government while placing in positions of power the representatives of reactionary political ideals and the advocates of class interests.

If republican government is to be preserved and the ideals of democracy are to be maintained, it is clearly evident that measures must be adopted to meet the changed conditions—measures which in spirit conform to the old democratic ideals, as splendidly illustrated in the New England town-meeting, but which have been further developed and perfected by the



Swiss statesmen so that they are adapted to adequately meet present-day needs.

With majority rule or the initiative and referendum in active operation, political corruption and the plunder of municipal, State and national government by private corporations operating public utilities, and of the people by predatory bands enjoying monopolies, will be destroyed or reduced to a minimum.

To-day we find the people everywhere groaning under the oppression of the trusts and monopolies, and vainly pleading for substantial relief from the national government, the State legislatures, the departments of justice, and the executive branches of government. Their petitions are almost systematically ignored or denied because the political boss, the partisan machine, and the daily press are so largely controlled by corporate wealth. The ominous spectacle of a so-called republic being dominated by reactionary and class interests is only possible because the fundamental principles of democracy are being systematically ignored. The reactionary, undemocratic, and essentially autocratic influence in government is entirely dependent upon the power to prevent the operation of the fundamental demands of republican or democratic government. Whenever the people have the power to initiate and veto legislation, the influence of that trinity of darkness—the corporation, the party boss and the partisan machine—even though reinforced by the daily press, is powerless. Switzerland has thoroughly demonstrated this fact; but it is unnecessary to cross the Atlantic for proof. Recent cases in municipal politics strikingly illustrate the truth of our contention. The election of Mayor Jones, of Toledo, on the petition of voters by an overwhelming majority, with every daily paper in the city arraigned against him and the political machines of the different parties exerting all their power to defeat him, reinforced as was the mayor's opposition by liberal contributions from corporate wealth, is one of the most recent illustrations of a faithful public servant who, having antagonized the undemocratic and reactionary influences in politics, overcame combined opposition by an appeal directly to the electorate. The case to which I have so frequently referred in these pages, of the victory of the citizens of Boston over the street railway corporation when the latter had succeeded in winning the support of the political machines and all the daily papers of Boston, with the exception of one afternoon journal, is a typical illustration of the way in which the people will settle questions affecting the interest of

the community when they have the opportunity to vote directly on the issues involved.

The cry of true republicanism henceforth must be, "Back to the people!" The corrupt rule of the corporations and the despotism of the boss-controlled political machines must be overthrown if the republic is to exist in aught save name.

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## FRANCE AND THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Ten years ago Pope Leo XIII. warned the French Catholic religious orders not to be systematic enemies against the French Republic. Shrewd and far-seeing as were this remarkable Pope and his confidant and adviser, Cardinal Rampolla, they could not fail to understand the danger that lurked in the outspoken and aggressive warfare being relentlessly waged by the religious teaching and other Orders throughout France, against not only the communal or free schools, but also against the Republic itself.

The Orders, however, paid little or no heed to the oft-repeated warnings from the Vatican. They were unitedly aiding and furthering the reactionary elements, and through their influence the army was becoming largely officered by men antagonistic to the fundamental principles of the republic. This was to a large extent also true of the judiciary, while the monarchal party, receiving such powerful aid from these teaching Orders throughout the Republic, was also growing into a formidable menace.

The more timid and reactionary the Republic became the more aggressive and outspoken grew the opposition. The Brothers' Schools throughout the length and breadth of the country were busily disseminating reactionary teachings. The public school system was of course the black beast of the religious Orders, but the baleful influence of reaction was felt in every direction. Socialists were savagely and indiscriminately denounced, and the religious prejudices against the Hebrews were sedulously fomented.

At this juncture the Dreyfus agitation occurred. Instantly the most amazing opposition broke forth on every side. The reactionary leaders in the army, the Catholic press, the religious orders, and the Monarchists united in lashing public opinion into one of those strange paroxysms of emotional insanity which at times overtake nations, blinding them for the moment to all

considerations of reason and justice. The simple proposition that the condemned man be granted a new trial, after the Court of Cassation had decided that he had been illegally convicted, was denounced as a crime. The government, always timid in the presence of the reactionary opposition, now became almost panic-stricken, and for a time it seemed as if the reactionaries would win a substantial victory.

At that moment, however, Emile Zola launched his thunderbolt, arraigning the nation before the conscience of civilization and demanding justice in the name of human progress. The effect of M. Zola's accusation was astonishing. It seemed to steady the judgment of the government and call back the nation to a condition of measurable sanity. A liberal reaction ensued. One of the few really great statesmen of the time was called to the helm of the Republic. He instantly made a working alliance with the idealistic Socialistic element in Parliament by which he was enabled to meet the combined reactionary influences, rescue the public school system, and set the face of France again toward freedom.

The reactionary influence of the Orders had failed at the last moment, but how thoroughly the Church was reactionary at this time has been pointed out by Mr. E. A. Vizetelly when he observes that but one priest in all France raised his voice in favor of justice for Dreyfus.

The friends of democracy and of the fundamental principles of free government throughout France were alive to the lesson taught them by the experience of the past thirty years. So long as France cherished and protected the Brothers's Schools and the religious orders while they waged a relentless warfare against the free school system of the Republic, the nation would be in constant danger. Those who are inclined to criticize the sweeping measures recently enacted by the French government should remember that the action was only brought about after the Republic had been placed in deadly peril through its implacable enemies. Had the warning of the Pope been heeded, the Orders would have been left unmolested.

Mr. J. Cornely, the well-known Paris correspondent of the *New York Herald*, in a letter to his journal showing strong sympathy with the religious Orders, was nevertheless constrained to say: "It is just to point out that if the Republic decides to suppress the religious Orders, it is because the religious Orders for thirty years past have waged a pitiless war on the Republic." In referring to the failure to heed the Papal

warning this correspondent pertinently adds: "Really, it is not worth while to have an infallible head if his words are not to receive more attention."

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### THE BOSTON WOMAN'S SOCIALIST CLUB.

The aggressive propaganda of the so-called "National Economic League," whose ostensible purpose is to combat Socialism, is being answered by the organization of Socialist clubs all over the republic. The recent formation of the Woman's Socialist Club of Boston is symptomatic of a nation-wide educational movement now being started. This organization has a definite and well-considered programme which is being carried forward. Its members come together regularly on the first and third Friday evenings of each month, when the subject of Socialism is studied. Frequently a chapter from some leading Socialist work is read, or some special phase of the movement proper is presented, after which a general discussion ensues. Once a month a public meeting is held in Paine Memorial Hall, at which leading Socialist thinkers address the people.

Plans have been perfected for opening a Saturday school for the teaching of Socialism to boys and girls, beginning next autumn, when the fundamental principles of social democracy will be presented in a popular and attractive manner adapted to the young mind. Special attention will be given to important passages of history, discussed from the view-point of the people instead of from that of kings and classes. Biographies of leading social reformers will also be studied. Parliamentary law and rules of procedure will receive attention, as well as public debating and oratory. There will also be a Socialist Glee Club formed from the scholars of the school.

Two other woman's Socialist clubs are to be shortly formed in other parts of Boston, and it is expected that this movement will be carried forward throughout the entire State.

It is often claimed by the ignorant that most of the Socialist women are foreign born. As a matter of fact the reverse is the case. Foreign women are far more conservative than the American women. In the Boston Woman's Socialist Club fully two-thirds of the members are American born. The Secretary, Miss Bertha Howells, is a graduate of Cornell University.

The educational value of such an organization as the above is inestimable at a time like the present, when an arrogant commercial feudalism is combatting the enlightened principles of democracy. We incline to believe, however, that clubs composed of men and women are in most instances more effective than those made up entirely of members of one sex. In each instance, however, they become centers of intellectual and moral activity—a real power that is much needed throughout this republic. Let progressive and Socialistic clubs be multiplied with all possible rapidity.

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### AERIAL NAVIGATION.

We think it is safe to say that in no field of inventive activity has progress been slower or less satisfactory than in the effort of man to utilize the air as a highway for travel and commerce. And yet during the past score of years many problems have been successfully met that have materially brightened the prospect for final victory. This is especially true of the advance of the last few years. The large prizes offered for the most successful flying machines by the management of the St. Louis Exposition have greatly stimulated European and American inventors, and from the recent satisfactory experiments in France it seems reasonable to expect that the day is at hand when the feasibility of utilizing the air in a practical way as a highway for travel will be demonstrated.

Probably the most successful experiment with a flying machine was made at Paris on May 8, when the new dirigible air ship, owned by the Lebaudy brothers, covered a distance of twenty-three miles in one hour and thirty-six minutes, under circumstances which seemed to demonstrate great possibilities for the new machine. The air ship made its ascent from St. Martin during a light rain and while a strong wind was blowing. The vessel obeyed her helm in such a way as to surprise and delight all spectators. After passing over several suburban towns, Mantes was reached, where the boat circled the cathedral tower and left the town, going diagonally against the wind. Over many towns the ship was put through a series of interesting manœuvres which demonstrated greater mastery of the elements than has hitherto been exhibited by a flying machine. On her return to the point of departure the air ship descended with ease.

The Paris *Temps*, usually very conservative in its predictions, in commenting on the results obtained in the face of rain and strong wind, expresses the belief that at last aerial navigation has entered the domain of practical reality.

On the same day Santos-Dumont made some highly satisfactory experiments with one of his three new air ships.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.\*

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THE LIFE AND LABORS OF ISAAC PITMAN AS TOLD BY  
HIS BROTHER BENN PITMAN. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp.  
202. Price \$2.00. Published by the author at Cincinnati, Ohio.

This is a most artistic volume and a fascinating, instructive, and inspiring biography, written with the loving, sympathetic touch of a brother and the discrimination of a broad-minded thinker who is able to recognize the limitations as well as the excellencies of one of his own family. The work, merely considered as a beautifully written life story, is of sufficient interest to hold and charm the general reader; but its excellencies are far more than those of an ordinary biography, as it contains the authoritative story of the invention and practical utilization of stenography—something that has become a world-wide blessing to civilization, one of the great handmaids of modern intellectual progress.

In the discovery and invention of stenography and the pioneer stages of perfecting the system, both brothers played an important part. Mr. Benn Pitman, who has long been a resident of Cincinnati, is in our judgment as much entitled to the love, gratitude, and honor of the world as the late Sir Isaac; and this is saying very much, as the eminent Englishman who received his title for the great service rendered civilization was in many respects a most remarkable man. His life also carries important lessons and is calculated to inspire and prove helpful to ambitious youths. In the introductory word, the author says:

Isaac Pitman's main characteristic was his persevering, unswerving, methodical industry. Such was his concentration of thought and energy for his special mission and its incidental labors, that everything else in life was willingly sacrificed; he thus accomplished in his life's span more literary work than any other man I know of. Jules Verne, it is said, boasts having written as many books as he had lived years—more than seventy. Isaac Pitman wrote, compiled, or made more than two hundred and fifty books and booklets, ranging all the way from Bibles, Dictionaries, and yearly volumes of Phonographic and Phonetic Journals, to Manuals, Readers, and Primers. My brother *made* many of his books after the fashion of the work of the old monastic scribes, before the invention of printing, in that he wrote—that is, lithographed

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\*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

—the page which was to meet the reader's eye. In all this work there was never a thought of personal merit, possible honor, or pecuniary gain. As he was his own publisher, so was he his own proof-reader, and authors who see only "revised" proofs of their writing and in customary characters, know little of the perplexities of the average "first proofs" of a new style, and would, as a rule, be quite unequal to the task of righting their varied typic wrongs. My brother's correspondence was immense: the discussion of theoretical points, phonographic and phonetic experiments, letters of encouragement to phonographers, and letters accompanying parcels of books, tracts, and documents, occupied, it is safe to say, nearly one-half of his customary sixteen hours of daily duty.

The volume is beautifully printed and embellished with several pages of hand drawings that will delight those interested in artistic pages.

**THE FILIGREE BALL.** By Anna Katherine Green. Cloth. Pp. 418. Price \$1.50. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Since the publication of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's remarkable story, "The Hound of the Baskervilles," there have appeared a large number of detective stories, most of them mediocre in character, a few of them excellent, but none approaching the work of the famous creator of Sherlock Holmes.

One of the very best of these recent detective stories is Anna Katherine Green's new book, "The Filigree Ball." It is well written and the plot is very ingenious, but like most detective stories it contains some extremely improbable situations. Those who enjoy tales of this kind will be delighted with "The Filigree Ball," although it hardly equals the author's first great success, "The Leavenworth Case."

**THE MELODY OF LIFE.** By Susie C. Clark. Cloth. Pp. 139. New York, The Alliance Pub. Co.

The world has often been enriched by noble teachings emanating from men and women who, like the philosopher Seneca, too frequently failed to live up to the light that came to them. In the eternal conflict between the spirit and the flesh—the ideal and the promptings of the material nature—the lower proves stronger than the higher. They have been as sign boards that but point the way to the green fields, and the power and inspiration of life's example failed to give emphasis and force to their teachings. Not so with the teacher who is a consistent example of the truth that has been the pillar of cloud and fire guiding life's faltering steps. Here often the influence of example is greater than that of the uttered word, though one complements the other in such a way as to make the example and teachings a light to the pathway.

We have known the author of this beautiful little work for many years, and have known her to be a fine, true, and consistent example of the noble philosophy of life which she ever strives to teach. This last book is in our judgment by far the best work which Miss Clark



has written. It is well considered and expressed in a simple, earnest, and sincere manner calculated to arouse the attention and make a lasting impression on the minds of those who in the midst of warring creeds and a death-dealing "churchanity" that is far more concerned with the letter than with the spirit on the one hand and with the shallow, materialistic life on the other, are reaching out for something that shall satisfy the cravings of the soul.

"The Melody of Life" is arranged in five chapters, in which "Spirit," "Love," "Life," "Action," and "Progression" are the themes discussed, the whole forming an important contribution to the helpful, sane, and healthful spiritual literature of our time. To those interested in the advanced ethical and religious philosophy of the New Thought, which is exerting something of the revivifying influence on the minds of millions of our people that was exerted by the Bible in the early days of the great Protestant Reformation, this book will prove a source of pleasure and inspiration. It is a good work, well calculated to carry a sense of serenity to the troubled and perplexed mind, and to contribute materially to the health of body and growth of spirit of those who have wearied of the dry husks of the formal and perfunctory conventional religion of our day.



#### BRIEF BOOK NOTICES.

"LOYAL TRAITORS: A Story of Friendship for the Filipinos," is the title of a new novel by the well-known newspaper correspondent, Raymond L. Bridgman. (Cloth, \$1 net. Boston: Jas. H. West Co.) This volume, which is the work of an earnest, high-minded patriot—a believer in the old ideals of the republic—a champion of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, merits the serious attention of thoughtful readers because of the able manner in which the cause of justice and human rights is presented. The author's forte can hardly be said to be found in fiction. His characters seem to us to lack life and that convincing realism that compels the interested attention of the reader—something very essential in didactic novels. The thought, however, is noble and in every way worthy of a high-minded American patriot. It presents in a bold and striking way the principles of free government as opposed to the present systematic attempt of a subsidized press, under the domination of a powerful plutocracy, to in effect Russianize the great republic and debauch our political ideals.

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"HOW BALDY WON THE COUNTY SEAT," by Charles Josiah Adams (cloth, 383 pp. New York: F. Tennyson Neely), is a rather long novel dealing primarily with the exploits of an unconventional and essentially manly, not to say strenuous, clergyman. It is a clean, wholesome volume, mildly interesting, though too long drawn out. If condensed into one-third its present compass it would be a pleasing and thoroughly readable work.

"THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA," by Abbie Daniels Mason (cloth, price 75 cents net. Boston: Jas. H. West Co.), is a simple story of the struggles of a youth whose spirit had been touched by the unrest and larger spiritual aspirations of our time, but whose life was so environed as to make the realization of his dream extremely difficult. The volume is quiet in tone, but is pure, wholesome, and morally invigorating. It is an excellent work for young people, especially for those who cherish ideals and desire to be happy through achieving that which is noble and worthy.

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"HENRY ASHTON," a social romance by R. A. Dague (cloth. Published by author at Alameda, Cal.), belongs to the economic propaganda literature of the present. The author is an able and progressive social reformer and more of an authority in progressive political economy than he is a master in fiction; for, though the tale is full of action, much of it of the melodramatic type, the telling lacks the style, power, and skill that should be possessed by those who essay romance. The part, however, which is devoted to the unfolding of an ideal social commonwealth in which a government similar to our own was step by step transformed through peaceable methods, beginning with the introduction of majority rule and ending with the establishment of a coöperative commonwealth based on justice and equity, is well-considered and calculated to appeal to the reason and conscience of men and women of conviction. The author is a clear reasoner, and a sincere and intelligent progressive social democrat.

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"THAT PRINTER OF UDELL'S," a book which on account of the practical Christianity embodied in its pages is attracting considerable attention in many quarters, was written by Rev. Harold Bell Wright, a young clergyman whose career is rather remarkable, and it is safe to say could occur in no country but the United States. Mr. Wright is but thirty years of age and at present resides in Pittsburg, Kansas, where he is pastor of the largest church in the place. When quite young his mother died, leaving him without proper influences, and he drifted from bad to worse till something seemed to touch his better nature. He then worked his way through Hiram College. From there he went to the Ozark regions of Arkansas to paint pictures, being an artist of more than ordinary ability. While residing among the mountaineers he attended religious services held occasionally in a log house. One Sunday the preacher failed to appear. A seven-foot mountaineer approached Mr. Wright and said: "Young feller, you'ns seems to have some eddecashun; cant you'ns talk to us?" This was Mr. Wright's first sermon, and he has preached regularly since that time. He accepted his present pastorate six years ago when the church was small. To-day he has a large and influential institutional church of nearly eight hundred members. His church is open continually and flies the stars and stripes.

Mr. Wright's greatest study for ten years has been men and conditions. His familiarity with the different phases of life has been drawn upon in this story of practical Christianity. He was two years writing this story, but delivered from two to a dozen addresses each week, doing his literary work late in the night.

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*BOOKS RECEIVED.*

"Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death." By F. W. H. Myers. 2 vols., cloth. Price, \$12 net. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co.

"Greek and Roman Stoicism and Some of Its Disciples." By Chas. H. Stanley Davis, M.D., Ph.D. Cloth, 269 pp. Price, \$1.40 net. Boston: Herbert D. Turner & Co.

"Millionaire Households." By Mary E. Carter. Cloth, 303 pp. Price, \$1.60 net. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

"What Manner of Man." By Edna Kenton. Cloth, 292 pp. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company.

"The Socialist and the Prince." By Mrs. Fremont Older. Cloth, 309 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

"Spiritual Evolution or Regeneration." By R. C. Douglas. Cloth, 350 pp. Price, \$1.30 net. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

"Some Ethical Phases of the Labor Question." By Carroll D. Wright. Cloth, 207 pp. Price, \$1 net. Boston: American Unitarian Association.

"The Social Revolution." By Karl Kautsky. Cloth, 189 pp. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr.

"Henry Ashton." By R. A. Dague. Cloth, 235 pp. Alameda, Calif.: Published by the author.

"The Origin of the Family." By Frederick Engels. Cloth, 218 pp. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr.

"Twenty-five Minutes with Palmistry." By Julian Greer. Cloth, 41 pp. Price, 25 cents. New York: The Abbey Press.

"Linked Lives." By Isabella Ingalese. Cloth, 232 pp. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Occult Book Concern.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

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**DELAY OF JUNE ARENA ON ACCOUNT OF FIRE:**—The June ARENA was printed and ready to go forward on our regular day of publication, when a fire occurred in the building occupied by our printers, and the edition was ruined by water. The plates, however, were not injured, and a new edition was promptly struck off. The unfortunate accident, however, occasioned a delay of about a week in the issuance of our magazine.

**VOLUME XXX. OF THE ARENA:**—We take pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the contents of this, the opening issue of Volume XXX. of our review, believing that it will compare most favorably with the best issues of the ARENA since its inception. Especially we would note the timeliness of the discussions, the authoritative character of the contributors, the vital manner of treatment, and the variety of subject-matter, embracing as it does papers on municipal, economic, political, literary, historical, ethical and psychical subjects. This issue is an earnest of what we propose to make Volume XXX., and it is carrying forward our resolution to make the ARENA in the future more attractive, virile, and indispensable to broad-minded and progressive men and women of conscience than ever before.

**MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION AND MACHINE RULE IN PENNSYLVANIA:**—In the extremely able paper on Philadelphia the ARENA this month gives the American people one of the most important contributions to the burning question of municipal corruption that has yet appeared. The author is a well-known professional gentleman whose residence in Philadelphia and close personal observation of passing events have enabled him to discuss the subject in a far more satisfactory and authoritative manner than would be possible were he an outsider, compelled to rely wholly upon the testimony of others. This paper is peculiarly timely, as Pennsylvania, and especially Philadelphia, is at the present time the storm center of one of the most momentous battles between the forces of free government and those seeking to Russianize our republic that has been fought since the foundation of the United States. The corrupt Quay machine, having

found a pliant tool in the governor, who is a relative of Boss Quay, has passed a bill which, while favored by all those who are responsible for the wholesale corruption that has given such bad preëminence to Pennsylvania, and especially to Philadelphia, is vigorously opposed by almost every newspaper as well as by the vast majority of the better element throughout the state. The brave stand taken by the *Philadelphia North American* and other great dailies in defying this shameful creation of the most corrupt political machine in America reminds us that the spirit of Eliot and Hampden, of Jefferson, Hancock and Adams, and of Garrison, Phillips and Whittier, is still alive in the English-speaking world. In fact, the resolute opposition to this infamous bill is one of the most hopeful signs of the hour. Mr. Baker's magnificent study of the degradation of Philadelphia at the hands of the all-powerful and thoroughly corrupt machine will help our readers to understand how it was possible to pass the shameful press-censorship bill.

PROFESSOR STIMSON'S NOTEWORTHY TRIBUTE TO AN AMERICAN GENIUS:—In his luminous and deeply sympathetic study of the life and poetry of Richard Realf, the "overlooked American Shelley," Professor John Ward Stimson has given the reading public one of the best literary studies of Realf that has yet appeared. Realf's life was stormy and troubled. He was a gifted son of genius who belonged to that family of unfortunates of which Poe, Shelley, Byron, and Keats were members.

HISTORY OF CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE:—The keynote of the twentieth century is found in the great word, "coöperation." The age of steel, steam, and electricity, of scientific discovery and inventive genius, no less than the sweep of civilization and the temper of the time, has made coöperation inevitable. But the difference between feudalism and fraternalism is found in the manner in which the coöperation is to take permanent form. If it is to be the combination and coöperation of the few for the exploitation of the toilers and the oppression of the masses, after the manner of the present government-fostered trusts, the new order will mean an intolerable despotism more hopeless, because more subtle and powerful, than the feudalism of the Middle Ages. But if it manifests itself in the form of coöperation of all for the mutual benefit of all—a coöperation in which each unit receives equitable and just returns for services rendered, a democracy based on liberty—justice and brotherhood will blossom in

the splendor of maturity, and enduring progress will glorify the brow of civilization. For this reason the history of the rise and onward march of equitable coöperation in Europe becomes a question of major importance to thoughtful Americans. In Professor Parsons' masterly paper we have the clearest brief historical sketch that has yet been prepared. Professor Parsons spent many months in Europe making a careful and exhaustive study of the subject. He is probably better fitted to write upon this theme than any other American unless it is Mr. Henry Demarest Lloyd. Next month we hope to present a companion paper by Professor Parsons.

**THE REIGN OF TERROR IN FINLAND:**—In Mr. Jackol's notable contribution we have a paper compact and rich in historical facts, but presented in a manner so fascinating as to rival fiction in its charm. The author is the Chicago representative of the Finnish Central Relief Committee of America, and he is a thorough master of his subject. At the present moment the eyes of the whole civilized world are centered upon Russia. The nation whose perfidy has recently been typically illustrated in regard to Manchuria, and whose ferocity found a striking example in the indescribably atrocious massacre at Kishineff, is now engaged in Finland in reënacting the tragedy which she played last century with Poland as the stage. In all the world to-day Russia is the most frightful incarnation of despotism to be found. Her words are honeyed as were those of the assassins of Cæsar, and her deeds are no less brutal or bloody than theirs.

**EDWIN MARKHAM'S ETHICAL APPEAL:**—Without the moral verities as the supreme guiding influence, man's life must end in failure, and that of a nation or a civilization will be, relatively speaking, ephemeral, with no possibility of a glorious to-morrow. Brain culture is beneficent and inspiring only when it has behind it that moral rectitude that places justice and right above all thought of self or motives of expediency. Nothing to-day is more urgently demanded than the recognition of this solemn fact, which was the pillar of fire that guided the founders of our republic and gave vitality to the Revolution. In "The North Star of Conduct" Edwin Markham, our great laureate of progress, emphasizes this thought in the noble and simple manner which characterizes his writings. Mr. Markham is one of the few present-day poets who have been completely overmastered by the lofty spiritual ideals that are the true inspiration of civilization.

**THE ABUSE OF INJUNCTIONS:**—Last month Judge Samuel Seabury opened our series of brief papers on "The Abuse of Injunctions." This month Mr. Ernest Crosby presents a clear and convincing argument against this insidious attempt, inspired by corporate wealth, to further Russianize our republic.

**THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC LEAGUE:**—The Rev. R. E. Bisbee needs no introduction to the readers of the *ARENA*. For years he has been a valued contributor, while his work as one of the most progressive and thoughtful ministers in the Methodist church in New England, and also as a lecturer and an essayist, has done much toward correcting the reactionary tendencies prevailing in New England and to awaken anew that passion for truth, justice, and brotherhood that marked Massachusetts when Garrison, Whittier, Phillips, and Sumner were her strength and glory.

**THE CORRUPTION OF GOVERNMENT BY THE CORPORATIONS:**—In our discussion of "The Case Against the Trusts" we this month notice the second item in the indictment—the corrupting power of the corporations. To properly deal with this subject would require a volume. Hence, only some typical cases dealing with the influence of the railways have been cited. In the recent exposé of the corruption in the Missouri legislature it was shown that the debauchery of the people's representatives was chiefly due directly to the corporations, principal among which, according to the testimony and confessions of the senators who had bartered their votes, were the steam and street railway companies. The American people have slept overlong. The great natural monopolies of public utilities must be operated by the whole people for the benefit of the people, or the corruption will grow apace; while the interests of democracy must be further safeguarded by direct legislation that will render it impossible for the corrupt machines or venal legislators to betray the commonwealth.

**SOME AUTHENTICATED GHOST STORIES:**—Amy C. Rich has presented in an admirable manner several remarkable psychical phenomena as originally investigated by the English Society for Psychical Research and later given in great detail by Professor F. W. H. Myers in his monumental work. These phenomena, if republished as they appear in "Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death," would occupy scores of pages in the *ARENA*, but as given by Miss Rich

all the salient facts in which the general reader is interested are preserved and presented in a clear and highly entertaining manner.

**SOME STRONG FEATURES FOR EARLY ISSUES:—**We have several very attractive and important contributions that are awaiting publication and will appear in early issues of the **ARENA**, among which we would mention: "The Evolution of the Constitution," by John Brooks Leavitt, LL.D.; "The Aftermath of the Spanish and Philippine War," by Judge Samuel C. Parks; "The Dignity of Labor and Its Relation to Art," by F. Edwin Elwell, curator of the Department of Ancient and Modern Statuary in New York Metropolitan Museum of Art; "President Roosevelt and Mayor Johnson as Typical Representatives of Opposing Ideals," by Joseph Dana Miller; "Islam and Democracy," by Muhammad Barakatullah; "Studies in Coöperation," by Professor Frank Parsons; "Modern Parables and Fables," by Franklin H. Wentworth and Bolton Hall; "The Bible versus Plutocracy," by President George McA. Miller; "A Remedy for Bribery," by Governor L. C. F. Garvin, of Rhode Island.

**THE DEBATE ON THE INITIATIVE:—**To our great regret we find it impossible to present the discussion of the initiative, by President Eltwed Pomeroy of the National Direct Legislation League and Hon. William F. Dana of the Massachusetts legislature, on account of the extreme length of the contributions. The maximum limit given the disputants in reducing their arguments to writing was 2,500 words each. The two papers as furnished, however, are more than double the prescribed length and in their present form would of course render it impossible to publish them and yet give our readers the general variety and proper balance of subject matter. We hope the authors will be able to reduce their papers to the required limit, as the subject is one of prime importance and the discussions are able presentations of each side of the question.

B. O. F.



*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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# THE ARENA

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## THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

**T**HAT a nation should teach the legality of its own dismemberment would seem to be incredible. Yet this nation did exactly that thing within fifty years after its formation. It is a bit of unwritten history, little known, sometimes denied, but susceptible of proof.

The first law-book on our constitution came out in 1825, at Philadelphia. Its author was William Rawle, an eminent lawyer. Chancellor Kent's Commentaries, containing a disquisition on the constitution, was published in the following year. Story's work, with its chapter "The Constitution not a Compact," did not appear until 1833. Rawle's book was entitled "A View of the Constitution of the United States," and was for some years prior to 1840 used as a text-book in the national military academy at West Point. In his last chapter, while maintaining the inexpediency of secession, he affirms the right in clear and unmistakable terms. He says that this is a union of republics, and the question whether a State may secede depends upon the will of the people of the State.

Thus we have the anomalous spectacle of the government of a nation putting into the hands of the officers, whom it was training up to defend its flag, a book which taught them that their paramount allegiance was not due to itself, but to the States from which they respectively came. How could those officers be blamed in any court of morals for applying those

teachings? When the strain of choice came a few years afterward, how could any one of them be condemned for following his State's flag, rather than that of the United States? If the Government cried treason, might he not have retorted, "the treason, which you taught me, that I execute?"

Now, how are we to explain this anomaly? We may not dismiss it with the superficial suggestion that the government was itself in the hands of traitors, and such teachings at its academy was only a part of a traitorous scheme. Such an assertion might pass with ignorant men, or with those whose passions were heated by the strife of tongues or of cannon. We are in a calmer frame of mind. Our great grandfathers fought in the rebellion, which gave us our freedom; our grandfathers contended in the disputes which arose over the means taken to preserve it; our fathers battled in the rebellion, which finally formed us into a nation. They were makers of history. We are its students. In the thick of fight they seized the weapon or argument ready at hand, not always with clear eye to see and cool judgment to weigh its strength or adaptability. We, however, in the perspective of time, with the mists of battle blown away, may and should form our judgments calmly, impartially, in the light of facts. We should proceed as the scientist, whose deductions rest upon all known data, and who discards any hypothesis in the face of an irreconcilable fact. We may as well face the incontestable fact that there was an intentional omission by the constitution-makers to define precisely the nature of the government which they had formed. The constitution is like the prayer-book, in that it is the result of compromises. Questions which could be settled by compromise were settled, and those which could not be, were left to succeeding generations. The necessity for "a more perfect union," was so overshadowing, that it was generally felt that if the functions of the new government could be agreed upon, it would not be expedient to define its nature. It is not for us to impeach their sagacity. Their work has stood.

A vital question may, however, be asked: Are we now living under the same constitution as that with which we started?

Have no changes been made in it other than by formally adopted amendments? In other words, do the processes of evolution apply to written constitutions?

It was not long after its adoption that two antagonistic interpretations began to struggle for mastery. Like the opposing forces of nature, one was centripetal, the other centrifugal. The contest was not waged on any geographical line. It was a Massachusetts governor who first disputed the right of the national government to send its troops into a State. The Hartford Convention was held not very long after the Kentucky resolutions were passed. Of the four States who refused for a time to come into the Union, two were Northern.

The adherents of one interpretation claimed that "the people of the United States" mentioned in the Preamble, were one people, that they were the people of the thirteen colonies, that as one people they had thrown off allegiance to Great Britain, and taken on allegiance to a new power, created by themselves as one people, called the United States. The advocates of the other urged that the thirteen colonies were separate, that they had separately resolved to be free, had jointly issued their declaration of independence, had jointly waged war, had jointly made a treaty in 1783 which sealed their success, and that during the intervening years between 1783 and 1789 they had been in fact separate, independent, sovereign States, and as such had formed "the *more* perfect union," which did not go into effect as an act of the whole people done on a particular date, but by separate and distinct acts of ratification, stretching over a period of years. It is not intended to state anew the old argument by which these opposing claims were upheld. Suffice it that, granting the premises of each side, recognizing the facts on which it limited its stand and ignoring all others, the conclusion of each was worked out with logical precision. As in most debates, the trouble was with the major premise. The disputants did not agree as to what facts were controlling. They simply took those which required the conclusions they wanted. They resembled theological disputants, who select only the passages of Scripture which support their beloved doc-

trines, and coolly, or rather heatedly, refuse to recognize those which refute them. Still more like lawyers, who present to the court the authorities in their favor, and ignore those which are against them. When it is remembered that any doctrine in theology may be supported by a judicious use of texts, and any proposition in law by a careful selection of cases, it is not to be wondered that our grandfathers differed in their inferences as to the effects of the deeds of our great-grandfathers, and that our fathers fell to cutting each other's throats.

We now see clearly that there were facts, which when taken by themselves formed a complete support of one side and refutation of the other, and *vice versa*. For instance, on the one hand there was the undoubted fact that for a year or more after the constitution became effectual between nine States, whose ratification was by its terms necessary, there were four who held out. What was their status? They owed no allegiance to Great Britain. They had thrown it off. Nor any to the old confederation. It had disappeared. Nor yet to the new government. They had not yet taken it on. To whom then? To none. Those four were free, independent, sovereign States, whose right to remain so, if it needed any guarantee (which it did not), was recognized by the very instrument which they were asked to ratify. This they did at different times. They came into the Union as States. That is history. Now for the inference. If they came in by the adoption of an ordinance, why could they not go out by its repeal? On the other hand, there was the equally undoubted fact that the instrument to which each State in time gave its ratification, and thereby became a part of the United States, provided no way for it to get out, and by the whole tenor and context repudiated the idea that there could be a termination of the relation. No reservations had been made in the instrument itself, no mental reservations could be allowed. Call it contract, compact, league, or treaty between sovereign States, or constitution adopted by one homogeneous people, what you will, the relation which it created can only be likened to that of the marriage relation, where two separate, independent individuals enter into an indissoluble

agreement, which while a mere contract in the eye of the law, is yet in the estimation of mankind as well as inherently much more. "Whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." By mysterious processes of evolution stretching over two centuries, the United States had come into a mystic bond, whose outward and visible sign was the document called their constitution, whose inward and spiritual grace was the spirit of the people. As in States where there is no law for the dissolution of the marriage tie, husband and wife must so remain, so in the United States, no dissolution having been provided for, there was no way to withdraw. This was the impregnable position on which Mr. Lincoln fought the Civil War. The constitution was the supreme law of the land. His oath of office required him to execute the law of the land in every part of the land. When he found armed insurrection in any part he was bound to put it down. How often does it happen that complexity is dissolved by simplicity. No other solvent is needed to settle the whole vexed question of states' rights.

Thus, for seventy-six years from the date of Washington's inauguration in April, 1789, to that of Lee's surrender in April, 1865, these centripetal and centrifugal forces were opposed, mutually destructive, and never adjusted so as to be in final equilibrium until after the Civil War.

The difficulty with the arguments on either side was that they were legal arguments, by legal disputants, over a legal document. They supposed they were debating a legal question. They took no account of the various other elements which entered in, the factors of the problem which involved the emotions, desires, interests, tendencies, doings of the people at large, who while they were debating in the Senate over the past were creating new relations in the present, and unalterably though unconsciously directing those of the future. Time, not authority, is the arbiter of most questions. That which is supposed to be settled in one generation is often unsettled in the next, and resettled in another.

The lawyers, who as statesmen debated over the nature of the constitution, were really advocates arguing for their respect-

ive sides. Their arguments culminated in blows. The lawyers became soldiers. The scene of battle was transferred from the council chamber to the field. The result was that instead of several flags floating over several united peoples, one flag is supreme over one united people. The war was the final stage in the development of national supremacy.

In the evolution of the Constitution the Supreme Court has played an important part. Its province is generally described as that of interpretation. The theory is that the meaning of the document is fixed, unchangeable, and the office of the court is simply to expound it. This is a legal fiction, convenient, necessary, but still a fiction. The only fundamental difference between a written and an unwritten constitution is that the former has a conscious starting point. The evolutionary process goes on, however, in both. In the case of the written constitution those processes may be likened to the production of the human being. There are ante-natal forces which result in a birth at a particular moment. The evolution goes on afterward as well as before. The adoption of a written constitution does not make a case of arrested development. Our constitution changes with ever-changing years, even though not a line of it be changed by formal amendment. It is altered in a thousand subtle ways. The balances and checks provided by the makers have been readjusted in use as well as by enactment. For example: According to the instrument itself, upon the death of a President, the Vice-President was to become acting president, clothed with the powers and duties of President, until the election of another. There was nothing which gave him either the salary or title of President, or right to serve out the unexpired portion of the presidential term as such. By clear intendment a new President was to be elected, the Vice-President remaining such until the end of his own term. He was merely a supply, an understudy, to act only when occasion called, and then to retire until another occasion demanded his services. Fifty years elapsed before any exigency arose for the understudy to take the title rôle, and the understudies having been theretofore, as not since, aspirants for the higher place,

ambition dictated that the constitution should be construed to mean promotion rather than temporary supply. This interpretation carried the day, *nemine contradicente*. What would have happened if some obstinate disbursing official had refused to sign a warrant for salary at the higher rate, and the case had been carried into the courts by an application for a mandamus, no one can now say. No disbursing officer, whose official head was at the disposal of the applicant for a mandamus, would have been likely to raise the question. Thus it was conveniently settled by custom. Again: the constitution bestowed on the President the right of nomination to office. It has been amended through the "courtesy of the Senate," so as to give the right to individual senators. This amendment will be effective so long as our Presidents tamely submit.

In the absence of judicial interpretation, the constitution reads the way in which our executive officials, or Congress, declare it. If the Supreme Court is invoked, then it means exactly what five men out of nine say that it means. Some one has well said, that its meaning hangs on a casual majority of one. As those nine men are changeable factors, the constitution changes with them. For some years after the Civil War, Congress had no power to transmute the government's promissory notes into money in time of peace. Then a day came when it obtained that power. The constitution was changed. How? By formal amendment by the people? No. Through amendment by the Supreme Court, so to speak. Having first decided that it was not, the Court through different judges, decided that it was constitutional. So, for long it was supposed to be within the power of Congress to impose an income tax without apportioning it among the States. Now it is not. Was the constitution changed in any formal way? Not at all. The Court virtually changed the constitution by declining to follow former opinions. This may not be legal phraseology, but it is the language which one must use if it is desired to describe actual facts, rather than legal fictions. The judges of the Supreme Court are instrumentalities in processes of evolution by which our constitution is developed so as to meet the necessities of the

time. We must, indeed, cling to the fiction that they are interpreters; but we should not blind ourselves to the fact that they act a part in the process which the scientists describe as natural selection. In other words, they in their way are representatives of the people, from which they spring. Confirmation of this proposition is easily at hand if we call to mind the discordant deliverances of that august tribunal two years ago in the group of decisions known as the Insular Cases. On the great question, whether we could by treaty abandon the fundamental principle that government rests upon the consent of the governed, whether we could become Janus-faced, a republic in the Occident, an empire in the Orient, whether we could be composed of citizens and subjects, with citizens black and white in America, and with white citizens and brown subjects in the Philippines, and whether by reflex processes we could while keeping up a republican form of government, in fact become an empire at home as abroad, on this momentous question the Supreme Court was just as much at sea as were the people at large. That question is yet to be settled. The opinions of the Court give us no more aid upon it, than did those in the Dred Scott case help to solve the great question of that day. As we grow more prosperous and more powerful, with money to buy, or force to conquer, land belonging to other peoples, the question of republic or empire will be determined in some way. It will come through evolutionary processes. We may not say how or when. Some of us may believe that the sober judgment of Abraham Lincoln's "plain people" will ultimately decide that men, whom we can neither assimilate safely as citizens, nor govern justly as subjects, should be left to their own choice of means to secure life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. At present there seems to be no stirring of the public conscience.

Recently another illustration has been afforded by the decision handed down in the Lottery case. The opinions of the majority and minority when read together prove conclusively that although in fancy that court is only an interpreter of the past, it is in fact an arbiter of the future. Four of our citizens, in their capacity as judges, were of opinion that Con-



gress could not, under the grant of power to regulate commerce between the States, prohibit it. Had the Court consisted, as once, of seven judges, our industrial progress would henceforth have been in a certain direction. But our development will be on different lines, because the number happens to be nine. Five of the nine hold that the word, regulate, has among its meanings that of prohibit. Now we may clothe or cloud our thought in whatever legal phrase we choose, the fact remains that five citizens in the plentitude of the power of interpretation, have bestowed on Congress the right to prohibit commerce between the States. True, this giant is subject to a proviso carefully reserved in the Court's opinion. In the event that Congress shall be so unwise as to exercise its liberty against rather than in furtherance of "the general welfare," the Court may limit the effect of this decision by declaring that when it held that the word regulate meant prohibit, it did not say that it also meant destroy. The distinction between prohibition and destruction is more subtle than that between regulation and prohibition, and may escape perception now. But subtleties are the delight of the legal mind. If Congress ever passes an act on the supposition that because it has been given the right to prohibit commerce in pieces of paper called lottery tickets, it may destroy commerce in pieces of paper called bills of lading, the Court can easily say, "thus far and no farther." If it be urged that this view of its functions tends to destroy the balance between legislative, executive, and judicial departments intended by the founders, it begs the question, What was their intention? They clearly saw that a written constitution without a court to expound it authoritatively is an unworkable institution. The Supreme Court is a safety-valve, through which congressional steam may be blown off without explosion; a governor, by which executive action may be regulated. It is necessary, but it is not infallible. We must discard the old idea that justice resides *in nubibus*, and what the court does is to reach up its hand and bring down to us such portion of the store on high as is needed at a particular time. We have regulated to oblivion the notion of the divine right of kings

to reign in the state, and of bishops to rule in the church. The picture of the divine power of judges to judge correctly must follow. The common-sense view as to the judicial function is that we invest some of our fellow citizens with the power not so much of deciding our disputes rightly, as of ending them peaceably. We must respectfully, if not reverentially, abide by their decisions (whether right or wrong), because otherwise we should have to turn our houses into forts and go forth armed. The opinion of nine lawyers on a bench is no more sacred, no more likely to be right, than that of nine lawyers in an office. For reasons of state we have decreed that the decisions of the nine on the bench must be accepted as final, unless we, the people, see fit to overrule them in orderly manner.

If time sufficed, it would be interesting to take up the various decisions of the court and show at fuller length how they have been evolutionary in their nature, to such an extent sometimes as to elicit from discomfited counsel the epithet revolutionary. It is submitted that it is not the true view of our constitution that it sprang Minerva-like from the head of Jove all panoplied for war, and in the full possession of mature powers. Evolutionary processes are at work all the time, unconscious as well as intentional, developing it, shaping it, making it more useful for the purpose for which it was intended, promoting the general welfare of the people. In making such changes the Supreme Court is not the least powerful instrumentality, and it acts as the representative of the people, reflecting their will in the long run. The conclusion may, indeed, be expressed in legal phrase of its own diction. As the power to regulate involves the power to prohibit, so the power to interpret includes the power to amend. Amendments, whether directly by the people or indirectly by the undisputed action of the legislative or executive branches, or still more indirectly by interpretation of the judicial branch, are processes in evolution. Our constitution is only a part of our institutions and changes with our needs. Thus we may accurately use the phrase, the evolution of the constitution.

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## RUSSIA AND THE JEWS.

### I. THE KISHINEFF MASSACRE: CAUSES AND EFFECTS.

ON April 6th (Russian style) a mob consisting mostly of strangers attacked the Jewish residents of the city of Kishineff, Province of Bessarabia, South Russia. With slight interruptions of a few hours' duration the outbreak continued through three days and two nights; the mob not only being given a perfectly free hand in its work of devastation, but even being assisted by the local police and the militia of the place. It is asserted (and in this we adhere to the reports as presented by the Russian press) that those of the Jews who attempted to defend themselves were forcibly disarmed by the police and delivered over to the fury of the rioters. The Governor of the province, having previous to the expected outbreak assured a deputation of Jewish merchants who asked for protection that he had adopted ample means to secure their lives and property, closed his doors to all callers of Jewish faith when urgently appealed to for assistance, though his appearance alone might have been sufficient to prevent the outbreak. At the telegraph stations owned by the State telegrams praying for help from the central government were refused acceptance. A telegram was eventually dispatched from a railroad station at considerable distance from the city, and in thirty-six (!) hours a peremptory command from St. Petersburg reached the local authorities to at once put an end to the riot, and "as if by magic murder and robbery ceased at once." (A literal translation from the semi-official St. Petersburg *Viedomosti*, April 24th (May 7th), page 5.)

The leaders of the mob were mostly well dressed and intelligent appearing men, among them a barrister-at-law, students of local educational institutions, a son of a prominent judge, and several distinguished government officials.

The particular circumstances attending the various acts of destruction, murder, and rapine are too horrible, disgusting, and sickening to be reiterated here. The number of those killed outright was between forty-five and sixty; over a hundred were dangerously injured, five hundred seriously injured, and between fifteen and eighteen hundred shops and houses were damaged, destroyed, and looted. Two thousand families were rendered entirely homeless, and twelve thousand were ruined to a greater or lesser extent. Even three or four weeks after the occurrence of the riot a correspondent of a Russian newspaper described the state of the city as of one that had undergone a siege by the enemy's army.

The full details of this terrible calamity are being gradually revealed to the shocked world. Notwithstanding the unrelaxing watchfulness on the part of the censor, especially over newspapers, the reports, even as they appear in the Russian press after they had been filtered through the censor's fine sieve, leave no room for doubt as to the authenticity of the accounts in the European as well as the American newspapers; and this notwithstanding the official denials of both the American ambassador at St. Petersburg, and the Russian representative at Washington. It is unfortunate, indeed, that the policy of opportune denial and unhesitating duplicity, so innate a tendency of Russian diplomacy, practiced for many years at home and abroad, should not have been set aside for the time being at least by an attempt to extenuate the circumstances of this truly horrible tragedy. No such attempt has as yet been made. Instead of being exaggerated, as some hoped and others charged, the loss of life and property seems rather to be underestimated; but the complete details of the disaster will never be known. A long period of practical experience has taught the Russian government, which plays the civilized abroad and remains the barbarian at home, the valuable lesson of skilfully disguising, or even completely hiding, things which, if revealed, might seriously compromise it in the eyes of the world.

The causes of the present disaster as well as of those preceding it and of those that will surely follow (for the Kishineff

affair seems but a beginning of a whole series of "pogróms" well planned and to be renewed as soon as the present agitation subsides somewhat), are *per se* neither religious, economic, nor racial in character. Anti-Semitism as encountered in the various European countries is not a new phenomenon; but the causes underlying its manifestation in Russia, as well as the form it takes there, are specifically Russian, conditioned, if I may say so, by the diplomatic relations of the government to the people. Anti-Semitism in Russia is an institution sanctioned by the government, which supervises its growth and development, and directs its activity. The Russian is by nature a kind-hearted, hospitable, and tolerant individual, and Mr. Andrew D. White observed in his exhaustive report to Secretary Gresham, presented July 6, 1893, that "the great body of the Russian peasantry when left to themselves seem to be remarkably free from any spirit of fanatical hostility towards religious systems differing from their own, and even from the desire to make proselytes." The Russian peasant has lived peacefully side by side with other nationalities, and outbreaks against the latter as well as against the numerous dissenting sects in his own midst were practically rare, until the authorities adopted anti-Semitism as a policy to be exploited as the exigencies of the situation may demand it.

As regards the old and frequently repeated prevarications of how five or six millions of Jews exploit a nation of over a hundred and twenty-five millions; of their reluctance to engage in agricultural pursuits, their money lending propensities, etc., these have long since been disproved, and especially so since the introduction on May 3, 1882, of the celebrated "May" laws. Lack of space prevents me from presenting here even a small portion of the text of the various restrictive laws pertaining to Jews. Moreover, as Mr. White remarked, "the treatment of the Israelites is not based upon any one ukase or statute; there are said to be in the vast jungle of the laws of this empire more than one thousand decrees and statutes relating to them, besides innumerable circulars, open and secret regulations, restrictions, extensions, and temporary arrangements, general,

special, and local; forming such a tangled growth that probably no human being can say what the law as a whole is, least of all can a Jew in any province have any certain knowledge of his rights." It may suffice to state here that the Jews are expressly prohibited from migrating from the town into the village, or from owning land for farming purposes, and are then blamed for not engaging in any agricultural pursuits. They are strictly forbidden to lend money on interest to the peasant at the peril of forfeiture of both principal and interest. A great many avenues of professional pursuits are entirely closed to them, and even if admitted to certain educational institutions, their numbers are greatly restricted. In some institutions only five per cent. of the total number of students may be Jews; in others three per cent., while some do not admit them at all, and even within the pale of settlement only ten per cent. of the total number of attendants are admitted; if it be remembered that in some of these provinces within the pale the Jews make up eighty per cent. or more of the entire population, it will be quickly seen what a hardship such a prohibition constitutes for the Jewish population. The Jews are crowded within the bounds of some fifteen provinces, and a very great majority of them (fully ninety per cent.) are working men who lead a miserable hand-to-mouth existence, small tradesmen, and some professional men. A very small fraction of them are wealthy, and very few are in comfortable circumstances. The vast majority are in poverty, and a very considerable part in misery, just on the border of starvation. It is, therefore, extremely unjust to accuse them of being bankers and brokers, and of taking advantage of the simple-minded peasant.

The Jew is regarded by the Russian law as an alien, and for his special treatment peculiar ordinances have been created. A writer in the *Jewish Daily News* reprints an interesting illustrative summary of the Laws affecting the Jews in Russia, taken from a pamphlet issued by the Jewish Publication Society of England, and in changing the locale of the illustration from England to the United States we would get the following:

"All Jews born in the United States shall be regarded as

aliens. No Jews shall dwell in any part of the United States but the States of New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia, unless they be full graduates of some university, members of the learned professions, skilled artisans, certificated by the Technical Institutes, or have been members of a chamber of commerce for five years paying \$500 per annum for that privilege. No Jew shall hold any government or municipal office. No Jew shall buy or sell landed property. All Jews shall pay special taxes in connection with religious functions. No synagogue may be opened without the President's signed permit, and no public prayers may be held in any other place than a synagogue. Jews who become converted to Christianity are *ipso facto* divorced on conversion, but the wife if she remains a Jewess may not marry again. All Jews on attaining the age of twenty years shall serve five years in the active army, and thirteen years in the reserve, but no Jew may become an officer or even an officer's servant. No Jew shall serve in the navy." In fact the only privilege that the Jew may enjoy is that of dying for his fatherland on the battle-field.

In dealing with anti-Semitism in Russia, and especially with its present manifestation, we have to do with a movement artificially created by the government, fathered by it, and absolutely under its control. The economic, religious, and racial aspects of the case are but adjuvants exploited by the authorities in a measure sufficient to make of the movement a successful issue—a matter of no small importance to the government. The present carefully prepared "explosion" is one of the *coups d'état* of Mr. Plehve's, the Minister of the Interior; not original with him, to be sure, but carried out with the brutality that has become the marked feature of this Minister's administration. This characteristic trait is evident not only in his dealings with the Jews, but in many other of his acts; as, for example, the wholesale flogging of impoverished peasants, and even of intelligent working men; the murder *en masse* of the same (as in Rostow, Slatoust, and many other places); the frequent hanging of political "criminals"; the compulsory resignation of the Governor of a province (Poltava) for showing some humanity

in not having flogged enough his peasants, and, on the other hand, an Emperor's reward granted to the Mayor of St. Petersburg for his zeal in clubbing protesting students and the public in general—these are but a few of the measures adopted by the Minister of the Interior in his efforts to exterminate the anti-government agitation that has of recent years spread with such alarming rapidity.

The former "pogroms" managed by Count Ignatieff (under whose tutelage the present Minister received his diplomatic training) were mere child's play in comparison with the present massacre. Murder was then of comparatively rare occurrence. I still remember, when a mere boy, walking about the city of Elizavethgrad during the first "pogrom" April 16-18, 1881, while the mob were "at work," the chief of police rode among them and admonished them, not too firmly at that, to restrain as far as possible from murdering the Jews. His appeal is still ringing in my ears: "Rebyata, Beyte, no nie oubeevaite!" ("Boys, beat, but do not kill!") This "liberal" policy seems to have been abandoned in favor of one that would more effectually appease the anti-government feelings so prevalent at this time among the people.

The policy of the government towards anti-Semitism is largely shaped by the condition of unrest in the land, and this especially so at the present time.

The remarkable changes that have taken place in the character of the anti-government movements in Russia of late years are more seriously disturbing the authorities than they are willing to confess. No matter what forms the agitation had taken in years past, beginning with the attempts of the Decembrists in the year 1825, down to our times, through a whole series of historical changes, the government was always in a position to successfully cope with it; even though it might have been compelled, at certain periods of its history and on certain points of its policy, to acknowledge its defeat and confess its weakness before the nation. This was especially the case when the dormant, and, therefore, impotent public opinion could be roused from servile stupor to proclaim its existence in some



way or other. To cite an instance in point: During the Crimean War public sentiment was wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement by the tragic discovery that the war proved to be an "immense bankruptcy of autocracy." It was then that tongues were unloosed, and a terrible castigation in the form of millions of copies of accusatory documents sent broad-cast all over the land, was administered to the entire government, including the Ministers and the Emperor Nicholas himself—that most perfect type of an absolute autocrat of recent times. But public upheavals of such magnitude were rather rare in the history of Russia, and the even tenor of despotism, tempered by assassination, was permitted to run its course but little disturbed by anti-government propaganda. The reason lay in the fact that it usually had to do with small circles or groups of men, brave, courageous, never hesitating to sacrifice their lives to right the wrongs of the oppressed people; but they were only handfuls, while the inert, immense lower stratum—the peasantry, the basis of the pyramid whose apex is the Emperor with his nobility—remained unmoved by, and entirely ignorant of the efforts of those who so willingly, nay, passionately, delivered up their worldly possessions, their careers, their very lives for a downtrodden people. The movement was never a movement *en masse*, and it never could for this very reason impress the government with sufficient force. Of late years, however, things have begun to change. Reduced to despair by the apathy of the masses (principally the peasants in the villages), and driven by the force of history and logic to recognize the fact that Russia has entered the European family of nations along the same lines of historical development as the other members of the family, and that the rapid strides in industry and manufacture have given rise to an enormous class of city workers, the anti-government forces have thrown themselves with their wonted fervor and abandon into the mass of the working people of the manufacturing centers, and are gradually but surely creating a popular movement which has already manifested itself in the tendency to parade and peacefully "demonstrate" in immense numbers of tens of thousands—a sight never seen

before in Russia. In its efforts to stem this threatening tide of peaceful resistance which will eventually drown it, and to draw the forces away from the impending catastrophe, the government resorts to schemes for which a few years ago it would have meted out severe punishment: to neutralize the influence of the agitators on the working people it forms among factory employees quasi-unions (always under the strict supervision of the all-powerful gendarmerie), and cautiously permits the establishment of benefit associations and the like. Although conducted with the sanction of the highest authorities, this beneficial activity seems to be looked upon with suspicion by the more or less intelligent of the working men: a suspicion based on past experience of the government's duplicity, whose profession of friendship toward the common people is but a *vox et praeterea nihil*, and on a par with the pretended amicable relations on the part of the same government toward China as expressed in the preamble of the Manchurian annexation document. Less successful still is the policy of inhuman repression attended with absolutely unnecessary and unjustifiable shedding of blood: not a week passes without some act on the part of the authorities, such, for instance, as the dispersing of a crowd or the "quieting" down of turbulent students, being accompanied by a merciless slaughter of men and women. Orders have been issued to the soldiers of many regiments not to use any blank cartridges while scattering a crowd, but to shoot straight, and very frequently without any preliminary attempt at warning.

The events consequent upon such repressions show clearly that instead of smothering the burning flames of discontent they but tend to rekindle them more and more, with results that are bound to become sooner or later disastrous to the imperial government; for such measures more than anything else assist in creating and keeping alive among the various anti-government bodies a constantly increasing faction of those who preach active resistance, who are driven by the government itself to the inevitable conclusion that peaceful demonstrations produce no impression on the authorities.

In dealing with this momentous question the imperial government finds it especially difficult to handle the Jewish protestants (whether among the "intellectuals" or the working men), and this chiefly because of the fact that they are better and more compactly organized (as far as organization is permitted in Russia), are in a general way more intelligent than the Russian working men, and thanks to the possession of the practical common sense and the unusual tenacity so characteristic of the race, are not easily dislodged from any position they occupy, nor can they be so readily inveigled into the government schemes of "befriending" the workers. This difficulty naturally adds greatly to the general irritation, and still further complicates the solution of the so-called Jewish question; a problem which the government has never made any serious or honest efforts to solve. To expel the Jews would evidently be the easiest way of solving it. But the expulsion of five or six millions of people is a matter of absolute impossibility, and no proposition to this effect can be entertained. It remains, therefore, for the government to resort to the old and usually successful political expedient of *divide et impera*.

By breeding contempt toward the Jew, with the aid of special legislative measures whereby he is practically placed outside of the pale of justice and equity, the idea is instilled in the minds of his Christian neighbors that he, the Jew, may be treated as a being of a lower order than himself, a sort of a social pariah, and that if even the few rights he possesses be violated, no strict accounting therefor will be required by the government. The spreading of contempt toward the Jews, which in the lower populace is artificially inflated into hatred by the aid of religious prejudice and by playing on the lowest instincts of a densely ignorant and poverty-stricken people, is assisted by a number of anti-Semitic publications, most of which are subsidized entirely or assisted greatly by the highest authorities. Given perfectly free play by the same government which subjects to the strictest censorship every honest, progressive newspaper, the editors of these sheets stoop at the bidding, or with the acquiescence of, the authorities to anything in order to besmirch the

Jew and render him contemptible in the eyes of the Christian. More important than the press, the government finds a willing and substantial ally in the clergy. As the Czar is the spiritual head of the church, his commands are obeyed implicitly; and even if we find instances in the past history of Russia when the church "dared to disapprove," it was quickly and uncereemoniously brought back to its senses and its objections were peremptorily overruled. The present régime, as well as that preceding it, finds a particularly ready coöperation in the church, inasmuch as the head of the holy synod, Mr. Pobiedonostzeff, was the chief adviser of Alexander III, and is one of the staunchest friends of the present Emperor.

The results of a carefully planned and successfully carried out "pogrom" similar to the one at Kishineff are easily foreseen and taken advantage of. A wide chasm is created between the Jewish and the Christian population—a rupture and an estrangement which it takes years of mutual labor to repair, and which in some special localities can never be repaired. By pandering to the lower animal instincts of the people in permitting them to rob, pillage, maim, and murder, the Christian government allies itself with its beloved native Christian subjects as against the infidel, the foreigner, and the exploiter. The hatred thus generated is naturally shared also by the Jew toward his Christian neighbor, and even the intelligent and well educated who may see through the designs of the government will find it difficult to divorce himself from an indefinite feeling of enmity toward the Christian. The Jew is then driven, as a result of this state of affairs, into the fold of purely nationalistic movements, such as Zionism, and it is a matter of history that "pogroms" in the past have invariably resulted in a considerable influx into the ranks of the Zionists, with a consequent depletion in the forces of the various anti-government bodies who counted among their numbers not a few Jews. Next to direct murder for the purpose of thinning out the ranks of its antagonists, the government prefers the "moral" effect as produced by a "pogrom" on the Jewish youths in estranging them from their Christian comrades. In planning

a "pogrom," the authorities are no doubt aware of these facts, as open threats have been made by officials, high and low, to Jewish students implicated in anti-government movements, that the whole Jewish race would be made to suffer for their political infidelity.

The principal advantage, however, that accrues to the government from a massacre of such proportions is to be sought for in the effect produced on the great mass of the common people by diverting their attention from the real causes of discontent prevalent at the time being. These disturbances serve as a safety-valve for the accumulated and pent-up feelings of an ignorant and tax-ridden people who as yet grope in darkness, but who will sooner or later wake up to the reality of their existence, and will then fix the responsibility for their misery where it belongs. Notwithstanding the numerous obstacles placed by the government in the way of education, and the various agencies employed whereby the people are kept in ignorance and poverty, the general intellectual level of the nation is gradually rising higher and higher. The percentage of illiterates, even among the peasants, is considerably smaller than it was fifteen or twenty years ago, and general enlightenment is being diffused by the aid of popular publications through private sources over a greater and greater area. On the other hand, "underground" publications, issued largely in Europe and transported into Russia, never thrived so well and have never been swallowed with such avidity as during the last half dozen years. Discontent and unrest are gradually penetrating into the farthest corners of the Empire, and outbreaks accompanied frequently with violence against the local nobility, and even active resistance against the existing authorities, have become matters of almost daily occurrence in the agricultural districts of the land. These outbreaks have not only forced the government to adopt stringent measures for their suppression, but (and this a much more important sign because of its rarity) even to pretend to grant certain concessions tending to alleviate the suffering of the great mass of peasants. Thus the collection of arrears in taxes has been discontinued—for the simple

reason, as it may be safely surmised, that they could not be collected—a much talked about manifesto was issued recently proclaiming the abolition of the collective responsibility in the peasants' commune, whereby the whole community was held responsible for its individual members before the government; attempts were even made to convocate various representatives of the so-called zemstvos (district assemblies) with the intention of getting through them to the bottom of the trouble, and their frank opinions were requested; however, to appreciate the sincerity and honesty of the government's motives, it may be of interest to state here that all those persons who did express their opinions as requested, namely openly and fearlessly, were rebuked in no uncertain terms by the government, while some of them were dismissed from their respective offices and even harshly punished.

As the government does not intend seriously to introduce reforms it must find some means to divert the attention of the masses from their present condition, and for this it finds nothing more subservient to its purposes than the anti-Semitic riots. In playing the part of the defender of the masses against the encroachment of the Jews the government has succeeded repeatedly in subduing for a time the dangerous fermentation which is constantly brewing all over the land.

Fortunately for the Russian people this policy of instigating and inciting one portion of the population against another can not last indefinitely, even though it may admit of some variations; moreover, if repeated a little too often it may generate in the masses themselves a condition as it were of hypersensitiveness to even insignificant stimulations, and of this the anti-government forces may be only too eager to avail themselves to the great detriment of the authorities; the policy appears incongruous even with the state of affairs in Russia, and is bound sooner or later to defeat its own ends.

The half-hearted attempts to punish the participators in the Kishineff massacre is another proof that the government does not discountenance the act, and still further strengthens the masses in their belief that the Jew may be treated as if he were

a mere dog. None of those who had been accused of participation in the "pogróms" of twenty years ago were ever made to suffer punishments commensurate with the crimes committed, and to judge from the reports of the Russian press the same will be the case at present. It is sufficient to point out that the official sent down from St. Petersburg to investigate the affair, Lopouchin, the chief of the police department and a personal friend of Plehve's, is a well-known anti-Semite with no unquenchable thirst for justice, especially where the Jews are concerned; to assist him certain members of the Kishineff bar were appointed, men whose anti-Semitic tendencies are an open secret and among whom several were seen as participators in the riot. It can also be safely foreseen that the so-called dismissal of the governor of Bessarabia will very likely be followed by a promotion to a higher office in recognition of his services (as was the case with von Wahl and others).

No governor of a Russian province, nay, not even the meanest officer of a city or townlet invested with any degree of authority, will permit in open daylight rapine and murder while in the possession of a military force, whose appearance alone would be sufficient to put an end to any disturbance. At Kishineff the all-powerful governor, instead of quieting the excited population kept away from even putting in an appearance during the whole time that the riot was going on, and this he could only do under direct orders from above. Reports in the Russian papers, as well as private communications, depict the sincere astonishment of many of the rioters at being arrested, for, as many have openly confessed, they acted under the guidance and with the direct assistance of the authorities. Another interesting point to be noted is the fact that most of the rioters were not natives of the city or even locality, but the scum, the float-sam and jetsam gathered for the purpose from other places, so as to prevent any possibility of familiarity or even acquaintance with the murdered Jews that might work as a damper on the "enthusiastic;" the local element was conspicuously represented by the intelligent élite of the city, that portion of the Russian society which has been well characterized by Gorky in his sca-

thing denunciation as "being really much worse than the people who are goaded by their sad lot and blinded and enthralled by the artificial darkness created around them."

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In presenting a résumé of the various premises on which charges can be based of direct participation by the Russian government in the Kishineff disaster we have the following:

1. The extraordinary behavior of both the higher and lower officials of the locality, who not only made no attempts to prevent the spreading of the riots, but openly encouraged and assisted the murderers in their nefarious work. Thus when an organized band of Jewish butchers—strong, well armed, and courageous men—prepared to make an onslaught on the marauders, they were attacked by the police and militia and quickly dispersed; while one officer in reply to an indignant Christian's demand for interference stated plainly that he would quickly bring about order if he were commanded to do so.

2. The fact that telegrams appealing for help to the central authorities were refused acceptance is a direct violation of the citizen's rights even in Russia; but when we remember that the telegraph is owned by the state the matter becomes clearer and much easier of explanation; no less significant is the reply that came in thirty-six hours!

3. The subsidized anti-Semitic newspaper *Bessarabetz* enjoyed the monopoly of news in the city, and notwithstanding the repeated attempts made by several well-known and politically "fully reliable" citizens to obtain permission from the central authorities for the establishment of another paper, such permission was obstinately refused by the government; which openly discouraged any and all efforts to counteract the pernicious activity of the *Bessarabetz*. Advices in the Russian press state explicitly that the *Bessarabetz* dragged a miserable existence of a provincial newspaper until it became anti-Semitic in tendency; then it suddenly bloomed forth as a defender of the people's rights, and in a short time prospered so well that its proprietor founded another anti-Semitic paper in St. Petersburg.



4. After the massacre the anti-Semitic press was, and is at the present day, permitted to continue its vicious propaganda freely and openly without any hindrance from the censor's office; while publications which showed any degree of pro-Jewish sympathy in the misfortune that befell the race were sternly and unequivocally dealt with by the government. Of these the most important is one *Pravo*, a professional law journal, one of the editors of which is in high favor at the court (a son of a Kammer-Junker). In an editorial devoted to the Keshineff affair the responsibility for the disaster is directly chargeable to the administration, and the charge is made in terms which admit of but one interpretation, a rather courageous, because very rare, phenomenon in the Russian press.

5. The appointment of such pronounced anti-Semites as Lopouchin and some of the leaders of the rioters as investigators of the affair is a plain indication that the government entertains no serious intention of sifting the matter to the bottom; and why should it? The whole investigation is but an ill-disguised travesty on justice, and serious minded and intelligent Russians hope for no justice in matters of this kind from Mr. Plehve.

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## II. THE KISHINEFF "POGRÓM."

THE details of the Kishineff horrors are sufficiently well known by this time to every reader. For once the most sensational journals found it impossible to exaggerate the truth. I have read private letters from the seat of the tragedy, the details of which are far too horrible for publication. Little babes were torn apart, men were butchered, women were shockingly mutilated, and girls in their teens, and even under ten, were violated in the most fiendish manner. All this is true. For a

time all laws of human nature seem to have been forgotten. The civilized world stands aghast before the atrocities to which only those of Turkey or China could be compared.

Anti-Jewish riots are not new in Russia. Twenty years ago a whole series of them gave the first impetus to the Russian-Jewish immigration into the United States. These riots were infamous enough; yet there was a difference. Then the anger of the crowd was directed mainly against the property of the Jews, and some excuse could be found in the dire poverty of the masses. The inhuman cruelty of the recent attack makes the gloomy view of the condition of Jews in Russia still gloomier.

In discussing the Kishineff tragedy the following questions are suggested, which we shall strive to consider in a calm and judicial spirit: (1) What was the general cause of the riot? (2) Who is to be held responsible for it? (3) What remains to be done?

I confess it is much easier to answer the first two questions than the last. It has been claimed that a murder occurring a short time before both the Jewish and Christian Easter holidays gave rise to talk of a ritual murder among the Christian population. In an article addressed to the American public it is hardly necessary to refute the theory of ritual murders, but that the firm belief in them is widespread among the Russian populace nobody can deny. It is hardly credible, but nevertheless true, that several editors within the last twenty-five years have taken pains to encourage this insane belief; and among those who have acquired this unenviable distinction is Mr. Krushevan, editor of the daily *Bessarabets*, published in Kishineff. Since January first this gentleman has published a daily paper in St. Petersburg in which the vicious anti-Semitic agitation has been carried on. Without doubt a large share of the direct responsibility for the Kishineff riot must be laid at the door of Mr. Krushevan.

Given this agitation, the passionate descriptions of the Crucifixion by the priests, à propos of the Easter holidays, perhaps some references to the mysterious murder, a drunken, ignor-

ant, semi-civilized crowd, and we have all the necessary conditions for an anti-Jewish riot.

It would be ridiculous to imagine that Mr. Krushevan, a jurist by education, an old journalist by profession, and the author of several able novels, himself believed the mischievous lies he has so frequently published. During his journalistic career the writer of these lines had some correspondence with this man, and found him to be in many respects an intelligent and judicial person. But Jew-baiting pays a Russian editor, for it guarantees him the protection of the State. Among the long list of publications permanently suppressed or otherwise punished during recent years, hardly any belong to the Jew-baiting class.

We have, then, the government giving an example of very unjust and cruel treatment of the five millions of Jews, virtually promising a reward for any attacks upon them. Thus it will be seen that the government was a prominent factor in rendering possible the "pogrom" at Kishineff.

The pernicious and inflammable writings of Krushevan and others like him would probably have had little effect in a more civilized community; and the horrors described would not have occurred had the masses been more enlightened. And here again we must remember that the semi-barbarous condition of the millions is largely due to the autocratic government of the Czar. Russia, it is true, has given to the world some of the greatest philosophers, poets, writers, and scientists. Her intelligent classes are second to none in the civilized world, and with her unlimited natural resources education and enlightenment might soon become general, were it not for a determined resolution on the part of the government to keep the populace in darkest ignorance as the surest guarantee of the continuation of the present absolutistic régime. The bureaucracy knows full well that it would be impossible to maintain the present political status of Russia if a system of universal education was in practise.

This placing of the responsibility upon the Russian government may seem far-fetched to those not thoroughly conversant

with prevailing conditions, but to those familiar with the hostility of the government to popular education and its general policy looking toward keeping the masses in ignorance there is nothing unfair or strained in our position. Small, indeed, is the sum given for the instruction of the peasantry, and great are the obstacles put in the way of any private effort looking toward general enlightenment. The opening of the smallest private school demands a special permission from the central government, which it takes years to obtain, if it is granted at all. A single free lecture must be specially permitted by the governor. Given without this permission it constitutes a political crime. The strictest supervision is exercised over all schools, no matter by whom supported, and teaching anything above the three R's in a village school is another political crime. It is, therefore, not unjust or illogical to hold the Russian government responsible for the low degree of civilization; and the low degree of civilization is (more than any natural depravity) responsible for the riots. The Russian *mujick* is not a brute by nature; yet we find him readily killing numbers of doctors during the cholera epidemic of 1891—doctors who with Christ-like self-sacrifice had gone into the midst of the scourge to help the sick and comfort the dying. Christian doctors they were, but the rumor spread that they were poisoning people in the hospitals and that they had brought on the epidemic.

Furthermore, the responsibility for the atrocities at Kishineff can be placed upon the government (both central and local) in a still more direct way. We need no special commissioners to corroborate the truth of the statements we have seen in private letters, that police and army remained inactive in suppressing the riots. The logic of events shows it conclusively enough. Any one who has lived in Russia will sneer at the lame excuse that the authorities were unprepared for the emergency. First, the riots lasted three or four days. Second, a considerable fermentation preceded the riots, which gave time enough for preparation. Third, Kishineff, being near the border of Russia, contains under ordinary circumstances from thirty to forty thousand soldiers. Absolute suppression, or even prevention, would, therefore, have been an easy matter indeed.

The crime of the authorities was graver than one of simple omission: it was a case of direct permission, even if not explicitly stated in so many words. To prove it, it is only necessary to point to the promptness and celerity with which all political disturbances are suppressed. The uprising of the workingmen of Rostov occurred only a few months ago. There were also numbers of people killed, but they were all workmen, shot by the soldiers for demanding political freedom. These occurrences in Russia are too frequent to attract any attention.

Nor do we have to try very hard to apportion the responsibility between the local and central governments. It may or may not be true, as an Italian paper asserts, that on an inquiry by the Governor of Bessarabia as to what he should do in the face of imminent trouble an answer came from St. Petersburg not to use harsh means calculated to irritate the politically trustworthy peasants of Bessarabia. But this is immaterial. Had it been a disturbance with any anti-governmental tendency, the governor would have known very well what to do, without waiting for directions from St. Petersburg. Measures would have been rapidly taken, much blood would doubtless have been shed, and the quicker the measures, the bloodier the encounter, the prouder would have been the governor and the more emphatic the expressions of imperial gratitude. As it was, however, when an effort was made by the Jews toward forming a committee of self-defense, it was broken up by the authorities who "could not interfere." This information is from private but very reliable sources.

But, the uninitiated will naturally ask, why should the Russian government welcome such revolting and grewsome crimes? Surely no nation making any pretense to being civilized would court the terrible outcry of the whole civilized world which followed the slaughter of the defenseless Jews. It must be humiliating to be compelled to bear the public disgrace and contempt, so openly expressed. We reply that while this is measurably true, nevertheless, taking all in all, Russia certainly congratulates herself upon what has occurred, and for several very

good reasons. With the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement, and the still greater growth of the spirit of opposition and dissatisfaction among the people, the government gladly welcomes Jew-baiting as a safety valve. As long as it can keep something or somebody as a scape-goat before the eyes of the people, the government is safe. Again, Minister Plehve, that shrewd politician, well knows the truth of the saying, "United we stand, divided we fall," and acts according to the principle: *divide et vinci*. For this very reason the Russian government has granted unprecedented liberties to the Zionist movement and fosters it in many ways; for Zionism is nationalistic and conservative. The political conditions of Russia are immaterial from the Zionist standpoint, except as a further argument in favor of their theories. In recent years the Jewish workingmen, as well as a large part of the Jewish intelligent classes, have become such active supporters of the revolutionary thought that the government has especial reason to hate and fear them. Excitement of national and racial hatred, which a Kishineff affair is forced to bring about, helps the cause of the Russian government in manifold ways. It will fill the Christian worker and peasant in the East with distrust against the Jewish secret agitator, will cause the latter to give up fighting for the cause of Russian freedom, may turn him into a harmless Zionist; and if it causes him to leave the soil of his fathers and flee to America, it will be a matter of congratulation to the autocratic government, as it removes a friend of freedom from the soil of Russia.

And last, but not least—though it may not be pleasant to be looked upon as belonging to a savage nation—the Russian bureaucracy is secretly rejoicing at this unsavory reputation; for so long as it can keep the nation in a semi-savage state; so long as the civilized world will consider it a nation of savages, just so long will there be no pressure from the outside world to force a more modern state of government upon Russia. "The present one is good enough for savages." "Freedom is dangerous for brutes." "A Russian constitution would be a misfortune for the whole civilized world." "The Russians are

not prepared for self-government." How many reactionary American papers have recently expressed these unworthy sentiments, which are hailed with real delight by the upholders of despotism in Russia. The bureaucracy is quite willing to face these derogatory remarks for the sake of the practical conclusions to which they lead.

If, as has been asserted, it be true that the better class of Russian society in Kishineff has gleefully taken part in the atrocities, this is the saddest fact of all. Their action lacks the excuse, either of political design or of barbarism and ignorance. It stands forth as the result of the influence of an immoral political system upon personal and social life.

There remains the gloomy question: what is to be done now? We take it that the prevention of similar occurrences is a great deal more important than the prosecution of the criminals. The Jewish population of the whole world would gladly do anything to accomplish this result, for so much solidarity there is yet left in the Jewish nation. No doubt the Christian world would also lend a helping hand if it saw some road to success. But as yet no one has proposed a remedy that appeals to the sound judgment of the intelligent many, either among the Jews or Christians.

Mr. Zangwill's proposition that all Jews be removed from Russia sounds well on paper, but unfortunately it is lacking in the element of practicability—a fact which will be apparent when one remembers that there are between five and six million Jews in Russia, and that the natural increase is about one hundred thousand a year.

A radical Russian paper, published in western Europe, urges renewed activity in the cause of Russian freedom as promising more than any other remedy that is practicable for the persecuted Jews of darkest Russia; and this proposition is wiser than Mr. Zangwill's plan. Under a constitutional government, with a free press and free schools, the danger of riots would rapidly diminish. But there is the weary waiting before the victory can be achieved, and one is reminded of the Russian proverb, "Before the sun rises, the dew will eat your eyes out." No one can

even guess how much longer the battle for Russian freedom will be waged before liberty and justice triumph, and its progress of late has been far from rapid.

From other sources has come the proposal for universal societies for self-defense in Russian Jewish towns, but they would certainly be promptly suppressed by the government, as such a movement might grow into a dangerous weapon in the hands of revolutionaries.

A universal concerted protest of the whole civilized world might be of some use, though it would be foolish to nurse extravagant expectations of positive results, and it has slight prospects of realization; for Russia is not Roumania and will know how to resist any diplomatic presumption.

Only one palliative measure remains which will not fail to become very popular: a tremendous emigration—not concerted and planned in advance—but a private emigration, and certainly not to Palestine, but to England, the United States, Africa, and other countries. Thus the few who will succeed in escaping will have settled the problem for themselves; the rest will remain where they are and as they are. The world at large can contribute to the cause financially; it can contribute a great deal more, however, by furthering the cause of Russian freedom.

A RUSSIAN.



## PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND MAYOR JOHNSON AS TYPICAL REPRESENTATIVES OF OPPOS- ING POLITICAL IDEALS.

**A**LWAYS during periods of social progress, where the forces that make for the supremacy of ideals are gathering for conflict, may be selected individuals who in themselves typify the opposing elements. Their acts and their aims will be, accurately enough, the measure of these ideals, though intellectually or morally the individual may fall below them, for behind all movements of the people is a spiritual element that is greater than man. "Two things fill me with awe," said Kant, "the starry heavens and the sense of responsibility in man." And he might have added, "the upward movements of peoples, by which overcoming all resistance, they rise ever higher and higher, touching the godlike in the final goal."

Yet as a testimony to the indestructible individuality of man, there will, nevertheless, as we have said, be two or more men who stand out more prominently than the rest as representative of the two tendencies making for progress or for retrogression. And in the conflict of to-day, in which the relations of these two forces are but superficially changed, two individuals prominent in public life may be selected as typical of all that the present world-wide social reform movement involves. These two men are Theodore Roosevelt and Tom L. Johnson.

No two individuals can be more unlike. The first is instinctively an aristocrat. For this he is not to blame; it is due to his bringing up. He has certain manly qualities, but it is questionable if these would stand the test of a great crisis. They failed him, at all events, on a notable occasion—*viz.*, at the time of Blaine's nomination. He is hardly the stuff that moral heroes are made of; he will have the courage to do right if he has "good backing," but to be alone and right—that, we suspect,

would be a different story. He is a safe man—too safe. The dominant forces that surround him, if fairly respectable, will keep him so, but this is a negative virtue, and may make a man either useful or the reverse. It may seem ridiculous to say that of a man with Roosevelt's stubborn jaw, but that jaw denotes pugnacity rather than strength. Morally he will be swayed, as he always has been, by expediency. He will probably be well behaved, as the country goes, or as the forces nearest him, or most powerfully with him go. He has impulsiveness, the first forward direction of which is probably toward what is right and just, but he lacks the staying quality absent in most pugnacious and impulsive temperaments.

We might, indeed, trust to his impulses if these could not be seen, or bought, or bribed—in no purely sordid sense, be it said, but as effectively for the purposes of suppression. For his second thought is of the calculating kind, and he will dare little at the risk of success. For he yearns to succeed, to surmount all obstacles—and for this he will work, though his first impulse is to do right in the face of consequences. Later comes the calculating thought, and the man, superficially the man of impulses, becomes the merest slave of his ambition.

How often has he shown this—in the Cuban reciprocity question, in his first brave threats against trusts, in his absolute words pledging a continuance of the policy of President McKinley as outlined in the almost great speech of the latter on the eve of his assassination. Theodore Roosevelt is a President without a policy—he is as perfect a type of the opportunist as ever sat in the presidential chair.

He has crowded a good many achievements into the forty-odd years of his life—his industry has certainly been marvelous. He has been civil service reformer, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, ranchman, writer of many books, and he has climbed San Juan Hill—his friends say in the face of a galling fire—and he is a hard-working Chief Executive. His books are good examples of the book-making art, and are not without interest—some of them. But compare his Cromwell with the Cromwell of another, a contemporary who has failed as a

politician where Roosevelt has succeeded. It is perhaps not a fair comparison, for John Morley is a consummate literary artist. But seek the President's writings for estimates of the men of the past—here, if anywhere, even if the writer were to fail when tested by the highest literary canons, we might hope for impartial and accurately judicial estimates. It is, perhaps, the best test to apply to one chosen to guide the destinies of the Republic to ask how he has dealt with great reputations. Roosevelt has dealt with them in the spirit of a "broncho buster," with all the assurance of an unenlightened mind that finds itself confronted with new and unfamiliar facts. Nothing is a surer index to a man than his judgment of men. By this, make what pretensions he may respecting his ideals, will his actual ideals be known. Let us present some of these most astounding estimates of men.

Tom Paine the President calls an atheist, and repeats about him all the libels of history, the falsity of which were long ago demonstrated. President Monroe is spoken of as "a colorless, high-bred gentleman of no especial ability, but well fitted to act as presidential figurehead." Of Martin Van Buren it is said that he "faithfully served the Mammon of unrighteousness." But it is for Thomas Jefferson that this aristocrat reserves all the concentrated contempt of which he is capable. He is described as a "scholarly, timid, and shifting doctrinaire, the father of nullification, and, therefore, secession." He speaks of the "cheap pseudo-classicism that he borrowed from the French Revolutionists." Here speaks the natural Toryism of the President's mind, and these instances might be multiplied *ad infinitum*. The task, however, would be an ungrateful one.

There is much that is true in many of the things that President Roosevelt has said in public speeches. A man of the President's active mind could not be talking constantly without saying some things that were true. But he is a man of *unapplied maxims*. Much that is true in his public utterances is at war with his public acts and his theory of statesmanship. When at the dedication of a Carnegie library in the city of Washington recently he said, "The man who will submit or demand to

be carried is not worth carrying, and if you make the effort it helps neither him nor you!" This is a fruitful maxim that would make President Roosevelt an utterly "unavailable" candidate for renomination. For his whole theory is that men and industries need to be carried to be profitable at all. But this is so like Roosevelt, who if he were called upon to make a single application of his many maxims for one short day would relegate himself to private life and a distinguished station as a civilian. This he has no intention of doing.

With all his versatility we imagine that the President's real admirers will prefer to dwell upon the Civil Service Reform epoch of his life rather than upon any subsequent period of his career. For here his attitude was less equivocal, more resolute, and his ideals less objectionable. But here, as since, we can see how this man was governed by his environment. The reform of the Civil Service was not, is not, a small thing. But it is essentially a class reform, and young Mr. Roosevelt had no opposition in his class, and had everything to strengthen a backbone popularly supposed to be something like adamant in its unyielding perpendicularity, but really quite like jelly fish to the least formidable handling.

The character of Tom L. Johnson, Mayor of Cleveland, is at once more simple and more complex than that of the President. Superficially one might imagine that here was a man whose sympathies would be plutocratic. Of Southern birth and a man of wealth, whose wealth is the result of privilege—by what strange chance is it that this man should represent, in himself and in the ideals and convictions he voices, the hopes and aspirations of the disinherited? Behind that smiling face, the jovial, keen, characteristic and blunt personality that holds the attention, that is at once insinuating and ingratiating—who does things with a confidence born of his success in nearly all things he has touched, and yet who asserts this mastery so tactfully and unobtrusively—behind all this can it be that there lurks the passionate hatred of injustice, the great love for the unfortunate that marks those whose Samson-like hands have torn at the pillars of hoary wrong, or those who in the great

march of history have at different periods led the hopes of the oppressed? Among all of these we search in vain for an *insouciant* Johnson. Surely, then, we are mistaken. Neither physiognomically nor temperamentally are the ranks of the reformers recruited from the Johnson type of man. We do not look to such types for the moral enthusiasm which glows in your Mazzinis, Georges, Phillips, and Garrisons.

Yet this man's career is the best proof of his sincerity. He has, indeed, dedicated himself to a task which has for its object nothing less than the reconstruction of society on a righteous basis—the making of the Golden Rule part of the legislation of the land, and the securing of economic equality for all the people. Not that he expects to accomplish this—no one man can do so much, but one may do what in him lies, and to the extent of his great abilities Johnson has already done much. It is to this Quixotic task to which this practical man has devoted all his energies and all his hopes. He may never attain the presidency—indeed, those who are the Warwicks of social revolt rarely attain to high places—but he will be the kingmaker, and out of the new political thought he is creating will emerge some individual who will represent, as Lincoln did, the compromise between the compromisers and the uncompromising. You make thought and we profit by it, said (in substance) William H. Seward to Wendell Phillips, and Johnson is making thought, though not in the same way that Phillips did, for Johnson is not only a reformer, but a very sagacious and practical politician.

He is audacious to the point of recklessness in his methods—apparently. An instance of this audacity was his challenge to his Republican opponent in his first campaign for Congress. Johnson at this time was an inexperienced speaker, and his opponent was one of the best debaters in Congress. But Johnson realized that he had entered the arena for a finish fight, and he has never yet run away from any foe. Burton declined on the ground, as he said, that he feared the hall would be packed with Johnson partisans. Johnson's counter-proposition

was worthy of him. He proposed that admission be by ticket and that Burton take all the tickets.

The majority of the people of Ohio do not yet believe in Johnson. The hardest thing in the world, and the most puzzlingly funny at times, is the difficulty of convincing people who are in reality very easily deceived when their cupidity is appealed to by dishonest men that any man is really honest. The prey of every "get rich quick" concern, and of every confidence man—the men who accept the protestations without question of the politicians of their party, and who grow fairly tipsy with fervor at the declarations of political charlatans and the tricks of every Cagliostro, are amazingly skeptical when they are told that any man may have the good of all men at heart. And the more honest he is the greater difficulty some men have in believing in him. For he is "so different." Thus, in a community of charlatans the man who speaks his mind with simplicity and candor would manifestly appear as a humbug.

Is it a strange thing that one should wish to bring about a reign of righteousness in the community—especially after he had made a fortune for himself? Yet this is held to be just Johnson's weakness, whereas by ordinary methods of reasoning it might be accounted his strength. For he is safe whatever happens.

But suppose the pride of opinion urges him?—that and his ambition. Even from this low point of view is his sincerity inconceivable? May not one be ambitious to accomplish good, to plant institutions that will endure, and in view of which men will arise and call him blessed? Is there not a passion for righteousness as well as other passions? May it not be a source of pleasure to lead men to a goal of justice, with the incidental enjoyment that comes from being hailed as a leader? And in view of all this is not the public skepticism about some men, combined as it is with their unfathomable credulity respecting others when their prejudices or their cupidity is appealed to, one of the most amazing characteristics of vast masses of men?

There is no reason why we should not accept Johnson's state-

ment of his motives. He is nothing of a demagogue. He does not tell men that they are wise and good and virtuous, for he knows better. He is often frank to the point of rudeness, and he has never retreated an inch for the sake of temporary success. He has more real backbone than Roosevelt ever dreamed of, and the resoluteness of his character has made him what he is. He does not owe his place to any adventitious aid of popular feeling—he has not ridden on the crest of a wave; he has fought his way through the rough waters and against the tide. The glamour of San Juan Hill is not upon him; he has not said the things people like to hear, but, on the contrary, has awakened the anger and opposition of the most powerful forces in the community by speaking unpalatable truths. Nevertheless he has triumphed, measurably, at least. And it is all due to the tremendous personality of the man, and the truth with which he is armed.

A presidential campaign, if such there might be, in which these two men should meet in the lists would be worth going a long way to see. The man who has never retreated against the man who forever retreats—the brave in words against the brave in deeds, the showy against the solid reputation. But more than that—typified in the two the struggle for a righteous social system against a blind acquiescence in things as they are, the intelligent, keen spirit of social reconstruction against the conservatism and respectability of all existing privilege.

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## A DEFENSE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

ONE of the worst results of the Philippine war is the attempt of the leaders of the Republican party to abrogate the second section of the Declaration of Independence—not by direct repeal, but by limiting and modifying its meaning and thus, in the language of Mr. Lincoln, “frittering it away.”

For eighty years after the Declaration was promulgated there was no serious attempt to change its obvious meaning, or to limit its application to any particular race or color. If, as is now charged, Mr. Jefferson said or did anything inconsistent with the general and accepted understanding of its true intent and meaning at the time it was made, he was but one of the fifty-six men who signed and promulgated it, and his alleged inconsistency no more modifies or limits its meaning, or invalidates its truth, than the inconsistencies of Luther or Calvin and other great divines invalidate or shake the truth of the great and foundation principles of the Christian religion. And substantially the same reasoning is applicable in other instances in which its meaning, as originally understood, has been, as alleged, ignored or disregarded.

The second section of that Declaration is the most important and imposing proclamation of human rights ever made by mortal man. No man understood its meaning better than Washington and his compatriots who fought seven years to vindicate it.

On the 15th day of March, 1783, after the war was ended, and nearly seven years after the declaration of its objects was made, at a meeting of the officers of the Revolutionary Army at which Washington was present, it was resolved unanimously that they “engaged in the service of their country from the



purest love and attachment to the rights and privileges of human nature; which motives still exist in the highest degree."

Speaking to this resolution, Washington said that the Revolutionary Army had "done and suffered more than any other army ever did in the defense of the rights and liberties of human nature." There it is in plain English. *The rights and liberties of human nature*—not of one people or race or color, but of all mankind on all the continents of the earth and all the islands of the sea.

On the 24th day of March, 1818, Mr. Clay, in discussing in the United States House of Representatives the right of the people of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata to freedom and self-government, said:

"But it is sometimes said that they are too ignorant and too superstitious to admit of the existence of free government. This charge of ignorance is often urged by persons themselves actually ignorant of the real condition of that people. I deny the alleged fact of ignorance; I deny the inference from that fact, if it were true, that they want capacity for free government;

\* \* \* \* It is the doctrine of thrones, that man is too ignorant to govern himself. Their partisans assert this incapacity in reference to all nations; if they can not command universal assent to the proposition, it is then demanded as to particular nations, and our pride and our presumption too often make converts of us. I contend that it is to arraign the dispositions of Providence Himself to suppose that He has created beings incapable of governing themselves and to be trampled on by kings. Self-government is the natural government of man, and for proof I refer to the aborigines of our own land."

That is the doctrine upon the right and capacity of man for self-government of the man who, according to Senator Seward, was "the greatest of all our statesmen."

After the repeal of the Missouri compromise in 1854, political necessity seemed to require of Mr. Douglas the displacement of the second section of the Declaration of Independence. He was the boldest, ablest, and most popular leader of the Democratic party, and undertook to get rid of it by limiting its application to the white man. Mr. Lincoln held, with Washington and his compeers, that the rights enumerated in the second

section of the Declaration were "the rights of human nature;" or, to use his own language, "of all men everywhere," and that the argument of Mr. Douglas "frittered them away and left the Declaration shorn of its vitality and practical value and without the germ or even the *suggestion* of the individual rights of man in it."

The attempt of Mr. Douglas failed. Mr. Lincoln was sustained and his construction, the old time-honored construction, of the Declaration became the chief corner-stone of the Republican party, and so remained till the Philippine war. Political necessity seems to have forced the war party to call in question the Declaration once more, and it has been done in various ways in the last three or four years, some of its assailants boldly calling it a *humbug*.

Perhaps no man has ever done so much in this direction as Senator Spooner, the leader of the Republican party. It is claimed for this gentleman that he is the ablest man in the United States Senate, the administration leader there, the mentor of the other leading Republicans, and that, more than any other man, he shapes the policy of the party and the measures of the administration. Senator Hoar calls him "the leader of the Senate." It is this position that gives Mr. Spooner's construction of the Declaration its force and its power for mischief. He commenced his attack on the Declaration in the Senate, on the 2d day of February, 1899, in a speech he was delivering on the Spanish treaty, by saying that the phrase in the Declaration "all government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed," is like the declaration "all men are born equal." Philosophically and in a subtle and abstract sense, that is true. In the world, in the practical life of the world, it is not true, and never has been true.

He followed up this charge in his "great speech," as it is called, in the Senate on the Philippine business, May 29, 1902, by a still stronger impeachment of the Declaration. The following is an extract from that speech: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, 'that all men are created equal'—I once said in the Senate that that is true only as an abstraction. We all

wish it were true everywhere. When the millennium comes, when the angels carry into operation these lofty principles of *abstract* justice it will be true: but while the weak, passionate agencies of the human race must work them out, it never has been true and it never will be true. It was more conspicuously untrue for seventy years after the adoption of that declaration in the United States than anywhere else on earth—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

He said that statement in the Declaration of Independence was “a living lie in this land for seventy years.” He also said in effect, in the same speech, that the words “the consent of the governed” were not applicable to the case of the Filipinos.

Mr. Spooner’s exposition of the Declaration is against the opinion of Washington and his compeers, of Clay, of Lincoln, and of nearly all of the founders and leaders of the Republican party and of the great mass of the American people till after the commencement of the Philippine war, as already stated; and it will not bear analysis. The colored man who blacks Mr. Spooner’s shoes has the same right to life that the distinguished Senator has, and it is the same crime to kill the one that it is to kill the other. There is nothing abstract about this; it is an actual practical and living reality. The man who labors for the Great Chief of the Republican party in the humblest capacity, no matter what his race or color, has the same right to liberty as his employer, and that right is not an abstraction. It is a natural, God-given *right*, and as real, actual, and practical as his right to live. If any race or races of men have been, on account of their real or assumed inferiority, deprived of their liberty, that deprivation did not affect the right with which they were endowed by the Creator, as stated in the Declaration. And the right of self-government follows logically and inevitably from the right to life and liberty.

The equal natural right of all men to the blessings enumerated in the Declaration so far from being an abstraction is one of the most comprehensive concretions in the realm of politics.

As Mr. Clay said, "self-government is the natural government of man," and "it is the doctrine of thrones that man is too ignorant to govern himself."

Mr. Spooner claims that "the right of self-government presupposes the capacity for self-government," and then, from certain foolish and weak and wicked things which have been done by the Filipinos, he reasons that they are not capable of self-government; and, therefore, that some capable power, such as the United States, has the right to govern them. This, let it be repeated, is the *doctrine of thrones*, and cannot be admitted for a moment by believers in democratic or republican government.

The doctrine of the parity or equality of nations, without regard to the form or strength of their respective governments, is founded upon the doctrine of the equality of individuals, without regard to the difference in their physical, mental, or moral characteristics, great as that difference often is. It is the only logical doctrine upon which government can be founded and permanently sustained, and it cannot be shaken by the assumptions of Mr. Spooner.

In the operations of their respective governments all peoples are liable to great misfortunes, and commit great crimes, and experience periods of partial or total anarchy, sometimes of short and sometimes of long duration, such as the great French revolution, the many English revolutions, and civil wars, and the great American civil war. But such aberrations from the path of peaceful and successful administration do not invalidate the right of the people concerned to self-government. If they did, the people of the Philippine Islands could deny to the people of the United States that right, upon substantially the same grounds that Mr. Spooner denies it to them. They could say that if left to themselves to work out their own salvation, they would do no worse in the next forty years than the United States has done in the last forty. They could say that the people of the United States forty-two years ago got up among themselves one of the worst civil wars of modern times, and caused the death of nearly a million people—men,

women and children; wasted billions of money, and destroyed billions worth of property; that they kept up that war for four years, and until they filled the land with widows and orphans, and with sorrow and mourning.

They could say that within the time mentioned there had been assassinated in the United States three Presidents, many private citizens and whole bands of Indians—men, women, and children in their sleep; that within the last six years many thousand murders had been committed in this country; that in frequent instances the victims were tortured before death and mutilated after death, and that *the United States is the only country in the Christian world where human beings are roasted alive.*

They could say further that some of our largest cities and States are so notoriously rotten with political and financial corruption that in them government by and for the people, at present, seems to be impossible. And they could add to this that so strong has been the spirit of anarchy in our country for several years past that nearly every year it has in some States defied the local authorities, been guilty of great crimes, and threatened civil war. Generally, though not always, at the bottom of our demoralization is the greed for money. Senator Ingalls, who understood the subject well, said: "This is morally the most corrupt and greedy age since Nero played first violin at the burning of Rome. A fated contagion infects our society and portends individual degeneration and national decay."

This statement is made to illustrate the truth that by their sins against good morals and good government the people of the United States, or of England, Spain, the Philippines, or any other country, do not forfeit the right to self-government.

The title to it is absolute, unconditional, and inherent in the human race, and the errors, mistakes, or misfortunes of one people cannot authorize any other people to deprive them of their birthright.

Mr. Spooner made an able speech, but it was the speech of an advocate and politician. There is no question of his skill in exposing the inconsistencies and mistakes of his opponents.

But it is a little remarkable that, while engaged in this work, he appears to be unconscious that his own course cannot be reconciled with itself, or with the true interests of his country. His strong and true statement that "permanent territorial expansion, with all the embarrassments and complications and dangers it will bring upon our people," would be a great injury to our country, and his constant speaking, voting, and laboring for the indefinite retention of the Philippines, and his refusal even to promise ever to let them go free, make his position upon that question seem absurd.

SAMUEL C. PARKS.

*Kansas City, Mo.*

## CO-OPERATIVE UNDERTAKINGS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

**I**T is difficult to get anything like complete information in regard to coöperation except in Great Britain. I got masses of data from coöperative leaders in all the countries I visited, but no two sets exactly agree. Many societies do not report to any central office. I hope, however, at some future time to attempt a comprehensive statement of the present condition of coöperation among various peoples. My purpose now permits only a few suggestions.

Great Britain leads in productive and distributive coöperation, and in the strength and perfection of her coöperative organization. Germany leads in coöperative banking, her 12,083 people's banks doing a business of \$850,000,000 or \$900,000,000 a year. The United States stands next in coöperative credit institutions, with 5,302 loan associations having over 1,500,000 members, and \$330,000,000 of business, and we lead the world in coöperative insurance, with 3,800 associations, more than 8,000,000 members, \$100,000,000 of premium receipts in 1901, and \$13,000,000,000 of insurance outstanding at the end of the year. In productive and distributive coöperation, however, we stand very low, though a few states, especially California and Minnesota, show excellent development.

On the basis of estimate usually adopted (multiplying the sum of the membership of all the societies by four to cover the families of members and get the number of persons connected with coöperative business) sixty per cent. of the people appear to be connected with coöperation in Denmark, fifty per cent. in Switzerland, over fifty per cent. in the United States, and twenty per cent. in Great Britain and Germany. These figures

are probably too high, however, because the same person may belong to two or more coöperative associations and be counted more than once in the total returns.

Out of nearly 2,500 associations in the United Kingdom, 1,604 report \$400,000,000 of trade, wholesale, retail and productive, with \$45,000,000 of profit last year. The total membership is about 2,000,000, representing something like 8,000,000 of people, or nearly one-fifth of the total population. The big military store in London has 100,000 customers, the manager told me. But the largest of the thoroughly coöperative societies is that of Leeds, with about half that many members. It does a business of \$7,330,000 a year with \$1,165,000 profit, and pays back a fifteen per cent. dividend on purchases. Some societies pay twenty per cent. and a few twenty-five and even thirty per cent., but five to fifteen per cent. is the rule, and the average is about eleven per cent. The Scottish Wholesale Society does a business of \$20,000,000 a year, and the sales of the English Wholesale amount to \$80,000,000. About \$20,000,000 worth of the goods thus sold are manufactured by the Wholesale Societies. The English Wholesale manufactures boots and shoes, saddlery, woolen cloth, flannel, undergarments, corsets, shirts, clothing, brushes, bedding, furniture, crockery, soap, candles, butter, bacon, lard, flour, corn-meal, bread, cakes, candies, cocoa and chocolate, etc., does upholstery, printing, binding, lithography, building, raises fruit on its own farm, and imports goods from foreign countries in its own fleet of steamships. It pays more than union wages and adopts eight hours as the standard day's work, but does not give the workers a share in the profits as the Scottish Wholesale does. It operates a banking department with a turnover of \$350,000,000 in 1901. A society depositing money with this department gets one per cent. more interest than the ordinary banks will pay, and the borrowers (coöperative societies just starting in, or in need of money for extensions, etc.) obtain the money at one per cent. less interest than they would have to pay elsewhere.

Labor copartnership, or the ownership and operation of pro-



ductive works by associations of workers, with or without other members, is growing rapidly in Great Britain. Here are two of the records:

TOWN	WORKINGMEN'S COPARTNERSHIP ASSOCIATIONS	CAPITAL	TRADE	PROFIT AFTER PAYING 5% ON CAPITAL
Kettering { 1889	1	\$ 5,622	\$ 17,461	\$ 1,596
{ 1898	5	136,311	414,071	26,333
Leicester { 1888	2	33,092	54,894	1,265
{ 1898	7	395,646	632,645	27,710

The Kettering boot and shoe factory, run by one of these industrial democracies, has never had a strike nor an opposition ticket for directors, and the present manager has held his position from the start. The wisdom manifested by the working people in the selection and retention of able managers is one of the marvels of coöperation. The labor partners in this Kettering shoe shop get union wages plus a share of the profits, work eight hours a day instead of nine as in the ordinary factories, and have a voice in the management. Ninety per cent. of the members are trade unionists. The coöperators of Kettering number over 4,000 altogether, out of a population of 25,000, so that probably over fifty per cent. of the people are coöperative. Rugby is still stronger, and there are some smaller places, like Desborough, which are practically all coöperators. The workingmen of England are "learning to co-talk less and co-work more."

Denmark's coöperative creameries handle four-fifths of the milk produced in the country and make \$35,000,000 worth of butter a year.

One of the best store societies is that of Basle, in Switzerland. Its membership has grown in five years from 14,000 to 22,000, or nearly eighty per cent. It has about seventy stores, forty of them provision stores, and eighteen butcher shops. When I visited this society with Dr. Hans Müller, the head of the

coöperative movement in Switzerland, I was greatly impressed with the skill and thoughtfulness everywhere manifest, and the democracy of the methods employed. The workers get union wages and a share in the profits, and the society pays a ten per cent. dividend on purchases.

One of the finest stores I have seen in 20,000 miles of travel with my eyes open for coöperation, is the big department house of the Unione Coöperativa, in Milan. It stands next to the magnificent arcade stores founded by Victor Emmanuel and owned by the city, and within a short block of Cathedral Square, the heart of the Italian metropolis. The society does a business of \$1,250,000 a year, with \$60,000 profits. The coöperative association of Masons in Milan has been employed by the city to do work in connection with the famous Monumental Cemetery, which surpasses all other cemeteries in the beauty of its sculptured monuments, and the fidelity and exactitude of the coöperative workmen leaves nothing to be desired. They have done \$1,300,000 worth of work for the municipality.

In Rome the Unione Militaire has 15,000 members, and sells \$1,500,000 worth of goods per annum at a profit of \$50,000. Signor Luzzati, ex-Minister and a leading member of Parliament, has devoted years of effort to the organization of coöperation in Italy. Luzzati showed me a portion of the Parliament buildings which had recently been reconstructed by coöperative workmen, to the entire satisfaction of the government. Pantaleoni, another leading member of the Italian Parliament, is also deeply interested in coöperation. He introduced me to Count Soderini, the Pope's banker, and president of the Bank of Rome, which does much to assist the establishment and growth of the people's banks. The Count took me to the Vatican and secured for me a delightful interview with Cardinal Rampolli, who attends to the Papal business for the aged Pope, during which I received from the Cardinal the assurance that the Vatican is in the heartiest sympathy with the coöperative movement.

In the United States there are about 8,500 societies for coöperative production and distribution with nearly 1,000,000

members and doing a business of something like \$150,000,000 a year. In coöperative creameries alone there are about 3,800 associations with 300,000 members and a production of about \$80,000,000 per annum. In Minnesota, through the work of one professor in the Minnesota University, 600 coöperative creameries have been organized in the last ten years, with a membership of 50,000 farmers. Six-sevenths of all the creameries in the State are coöperative. In Massachusetts twenty-eight out of fifty creameries are coöperative, and many coöperative butter factories are in operation in other States. There are about 4,000 farmers' purchasing and distributing societies, with 500,000 members. Fruit growers coöperative organizations have been formed in nine States with about 100,000 members. The Southern California Fruit Exchange, organized ten years ago, now handles more than half the orange business of California. I visited their place in Los Angeles in February, 1902, and President Naftzer informed me that the society did a business of \$9,000,000 the year before. There are seventy associations in the federation with about 4,000 members. Altogether they shipped 11,000 carloads of fruit in 1901. It is estimated that there are 20,000 coöperators in California, and that fully one-third of the whole fruit business of the state (a total of 60,000 carloads a year) is handled coöperatively.

In five States the milk producers have coöperative associations for selling wholesale to the city dealers, and there are coöperative grain elevators in six or seven States. Near Solomon, Kansas, a couple of years ago some fifty farmers established a coöperative grain elevator, and although the railways and the Grain Trust made war upon them they have won battle after battle and are in a most flourishing condition. The agreement was that if higher prices were offered outside than the Coöperative Company could pay, the farmers might sell their grain outside, paying over one cent per bushel on such grain to the Coöperative Elevator. The Grain Trust tried to run the Coöperative out of business by buying grain above the market rates. The farmers sold to the Trust and then paid over a cent a bushel to the Coöperative. As a cent a bushel

was enough to pay the expenses of the Coöperative and yield a profit besides, the Trust found that it was not only buying grain at a loss, but filling the treasury of the institution it was trying to destroy. So it gave up the fight and the Coöperative handled eighty per cent. of all the grain marketed in that locality. This plan, quite worthy of Solomon, is being adopted by coöperative farmers in other states. We have also coöperative bee keepers, with a federation of societies; coöperative sheepherding, making and selling baskets, raising and selling poultry and eggs, cattle, horses, wool and cotton, making turpentine and resin, coöperative lumbering, sawmills and gristmills, woodyards, starch factories, canning factories, etc., etc. Aside from the creameries, or butter and cheese factories, however, our coöperative manufactures are diminutive, only about sixty factories. This is small compared with the 258 coöperative workshops of France, with only a little more than half our population.

Coöperative distribution in the form that is commonest in England (the ordinary store run on coöperative principles) is also far behind the procession in our states. Utah has eighty-seven, California sixty, with a coöperative wholesale in San Francisco. The flourishing Arlington store society, in Lawrence, Mass., with 4,360 members and \$500,000 annual sales, and the B. Peck department store in Lewiston, Me., with over \$600,000 sales per year, are the chief examples in New England, the former being a Rochdale society and the latter a coöperative trust. But the mortality of our coöperative stores is great, they have not passed the dangers of infancy as yet, and we have only about two hundred alive in the whole country as far as I can ascertain, with something like 60,000 members and \$7,000,000 of business—a tremendous contrast to the 5,000 stores of the United Kingdom, with nearly 2,000,000 members and \$400,000,000 of business; data which, if we had an equal development in proportion to population, would amount with us to nearly 10,000 stores, 4,000,000 members and \$800,000,000 of business, or more than a hundred-fold the development we have. There is reason for deep regret that our people have

done so little in this most important field. There are signs of new interest in mercantile coöperation, however. Much more is being written and printed about it than heretofore. The Washburn Arcade idea is making coöperation attractive to capital, and another Boston firm, in the leading ladies' department store of New England, is demonstrating by gradual approaches to coöperation that the judicious application of co-operative and humanitarian principles is essential to the highest economic and commercial success.

When we pass from ordinary production and distribution to other forms of coöperation our country has a record to be proud of. As stated above we have 5,302 coöperative credit associations, and 3,800 coöperative insurance societies.\* Our coöperative life insurance alone exceeds \$7,000,000,000 on 5,500,000 lives. Then there are the mutual fire, hail, and live stock insurance companies. The Insurance Year Book reports only 179 such mutual companies. But Mr. Geo. K. Holmes,† of the United States Agricultural Department, informs me there are about 3,000 of them among the farmers alone, with a membership of 2,700,000 farmers (or about half the farmers in the United States four years ago when he collected his data). In many counties almost every farmer, at least every one with property, is a coöperative insurer. The total risks in these farmers' mutuals amount to about \$3,000,000,000. The average premium or cost is only twenty-four cents per \$100 of insur-

\*Some of the societies are fraternal orders affording life insurance or sick relief, funeral benefits, etc., and a single society may have a large number of lodges, or local associations. The Patrons of Industry, Farmers' Alliance, and the Grange, for example, have some 5,500 lodges in the United States, with a membership of perhaps 800,000. The totals for fraternal orders in life insurance are about 5,000,000 members with nearly \$6,500,000,000 of insurance in 546 orders.

†Mr. Holmes has been at work for several years collecting facts in reference to coöperation among our farmers. The account of his studies occupied several hundred pages, and the Department did not print it. He is now engaged on a condensation which the Department may put out, and it is to be hoped that some enlightened member of Congress may take the matter in hand and secure an appropriation for the publication of the full description of what the farmers are doing in this most important matter. I owe to Mr. Holmes a considerable part of the data I have been able to gather concerning agricultural coöperation.

ance, as against \$1 per \$100 for the average rate of property insurance as reported by the United States census for all companies.

Besides all this there are about 30,000 coöperative irrigation societies among our western farmers, with a large but unknown membership, and in Michigan, Iowa, Indiana, Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Minnesota and Wisconsin coöperative farmers' telephones have developed enormously. Many counties are solid with coöperation in sending the English language, good fellowship, and business from home to home and town to country over copper wires. It is estimated that there are 1,000 such coöperative telephone associations, and the movement is spreading rapidly. The story of one of the mutual exchanges will show what our farmers and villagers can do by union for service. At a small place in Wisconsin, called Grand Rapids, six years ago the Bell company was charging \$36 for residence and \$48 for business telephones, and refused to lower the rates. A coöperative company was formed and the cost fell to \$9 a year for a residence telephone and \$24 for a business place. The company has put in metallic circuit throughout and is rendering excellent service. A letter from the general manager, a few weeks ago, says that each subscriber has an individual metallic circuit, and the rates are \$1 a month residence and \$2.25 business. Each subscriber is entitled to one \$50 share of stock for each telephone he rents, and no stock is sold except to renters and only one share per telephone. A monthly dividend of one per cent. is paid on each share, making the actual rates to the coöperators \$6 a year residence and \$21 business, to which should be added \$3 a year for interest. There are 434 exchange lines and the average cost of operation is less than \$8 per telephone per year. "The general public opinion here regarding telephone service is such that the Bell people have an exchange of seven telephones and four of these are outside of the city limits." The Bell company said they could not afford to reduce their charges, but they are not coöperative, the people of Grand Rapids are coöperative and are now receiving their telephone service at a third of the former

rates. The movement has spread through the surrounding districts and the country is full of coöperative lines.

Altogether at least 50,000,000 of people in the world are connected with some form of coöperative business. Coöperation is growing at the rate of forty per cent. in five years in the United Kingdom, fifty per cent. in five years in Switzerland, fifty per cent. in four years in Germany, fifty per cent. in three years in Holland, and at a rapid rate in other countries, including Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.

Coöperation has brought suit of ejectment against the competitive system. The case has been on trial for more than a hundred years. It is hard to convince the jurors, for most of them are members of the defendant's family, brought up from childhood under his influence and teaching, and many of the most influential hold more or less stock in his business. Nevertheless, it looks now as if the case were going for the plaintiff, for the adherents of coöperation are rapidly increasing, more than doubling every decade, while the population of the globe is growing less than one per cent. a year, requiring over a hundred years to double, *i.e.*, coöperation is extending more than ten times as fast as the flexible jury is increasing.

FRANK PARSONS.

*Boston, Mass.*

## AN ESKIMO JOURNALIST.

THE editor of the world's most northerly newspaper, the full-blooded Eskimo, Lars Möller, died recently at his home in Greenland. In many respects the wonderful achievements of this son of the arctic zone presents the most unique phenomenon in the world's journalism. He received his first intellectual quickening from the famous Swedish north-pole-farer, Adolf Eric Nordenskiöld, with whom he had become acquainted during one of the latter's Arctic expeditions. The story is strange and almost incredible.

It will be remembered that Nordenskiöld on his trip across Greenland employed a few Eskimos to serve him as cicerones through that wild, trackless region. Lars Möller was one of this little company. Nordenskiöld was at once impressed by his singular power of observation and his insatiable interest in matters pertaining to the scientific aspect of the expedition, and between the two men, so widely separated by latitudes—both latitudes of nature and of culture—there ensued a warm friendship. Under the savage exterior of the Eskimo the Swedish explorer discovered a “humble and a contrite heart.”

It is really remarkable how loosely the savage garb is often found to hang upon a man's shoulders. The association with Nordenskiöld and the touch of his humanizing influence deeply affected the inner nature of the Eskimo, who suddenly felt himself in the dawn of a revelation from which he should catch “glimpses that would make him less forlorn.”

With incredible rapidity the shaggy man of the wilds unfolded unsuspected powers of intelligence and judgment, scaling with a few bounds the rounds in the evolutionary ladder separating him from the man of culture and social refinement. Never was more plainly demonstrated the triumphant power



of the mind over physical environment, and the almost limitless possibilities to be found within the sphere of human attainment when the true man is aroused.

Lars Möller's first effort was to learn the form, name, and character of letters. With tireless energy he spent the long evenings of the Arctics in his little smoky tent, poring over the mystical signs and figures which stood for so much knowledge and power. In quick succession he mastered the initial difficulties of the art of spelling, and one day he succeeded in wresting the first secret from the enigmatical compound of letters called a word, and the spell of magic and mystery surrounding the written word was forever broken.

Henceforth he employed every spare moment of his time in reading. It became to him a source of infinite delight to conjure the sphinx of language to yield up its so long guarded secrets. He had entered the enchanted palace of knowledge, and his experiences in this new sphere of life and thought held for him the interest of history, invested with the fascination of a fairy tale. He felt like an enchanter wielding his magic wand over unbounded realms of wealth and power.

The newspapers which he received from Nordenskiöld became his reading *par excellence*, and he besieged his instructor with questions concerning the process of printing and as to how the illustrations were reproduced. Finally, when the expedition had accomplished its object and the time for the parting of the two friends had come, Lars Möller confided to Nordenskiöld his intention to "start a newspaper in Greenland."

A newspaper in Greenland—the land of eternal snow and frost! Nordenskiöld smiled and remarked that even if he succeeded in establishing a newspaper, he would certainly find no readers for it.

But Lars Möller had made his decision. His soul was electrified and his mind filled with wild dreams of great endeavors. He began with publishing illustrations, hoping thereby to create a natural curiosity and interest among his savage brethren; and later on by adding notes of explanation he hoped gradually to teach them to read. The difficulties which he had

to overcome may easily be imagined, although to him who has an indomitable will and who throws heart and sympathy into his work, nothing is impossible. And the seemingly impossible was really accomplished: a newspaper in the land of the Eskimo was established.

Nordenskiöld, who realized the magnitude of the force which he had invoked in the savage bosom, rendered all the assistance possible. When he returned to Sweden, fêted and honored, he did not forget his Eskimo friend, but continued to nourish the fires of intelligence that he had kindled in the ice-bound zone of the north. He sent him a little printing press, with types, paper, ink, and other essential requisites of the printer's craft; and a short time after Lars Möller—editor, publisher and manager—sent out the first complete number of his illustrated newspaper. He distributed the paper during his long, adventurous sleigh-drives in the "lappmarks" of his Arctic country. One by one he visited his benighted Eskimo brethren and started to teach them what he had learned. With undaunted courage he applied himself to his great mission of life and established centers of mental interest among the widely separated natives, sowing seeds of thought and virtue in the virgin soil of minds which, with all their limitations, yet possessed the advantage that, while untouched by culture, they were also untouched by prejudices and misconstrued ideals.

And the seeds germinated and bore fruit. The mental soil proved to be far more fertile than physical nature in this frozen zone. "Ideas rule the world," said Plato over two thousand years ago, and the truth of that statement still holds good. Ideas are rapidly transforming Greenland. Through subtle, impalpable agencies of thought and reason this old, hoary, ice-clad world begins to throb under the stimulus of hitherto unknown impulses. The ancient "frost-giants of cold and darkness" are yielding to the formidable blows of a regenerated Thor. But the blows are no longer dealt by a hammer, but by a printing press. At the death of Lars Möller there was to be found scarcely an Eskimo who was not able to read. And as the train of material achievement is always seen to follow in the wake

of mental achievement, so in the Greenland of to-day the visitor from distant lands finds himself confronted with works of progress wrought in iron-hard environment by the spirit of modern culture.

Lars Möller is dead, but his works survive him. The value he imparted to the life and destiny of the Eskimo is incalculable. The fire of his enthusiasm and the granite of his will are reincarnated in the stirring activities of the "New Greenland," where grateful hearts have erected an imperishable monument to his honor.

The name of his newspaper, which some of his disciples propose to continue, is *Atuagagdliutie*—"The Message"—a name rather complex to Anglo-Saxon readers, and its edition reached a maximum of more than three hundred copies. In the press exhibition in Copenhagen last year the quaint sheet could be seen. It has a somewhat irregular form, measuring some fifteen inches square, and consists of a single sheet.

The Danish newspaper editors paid a tribute of honor to their dead colleague by surrounding their papers, containing the news of his death, with funeral edges. Manhood, humanitarian service, and power of intelligence claim their tribute wherever manifest. The noblest thing in the world is a man fighting against environment and hardship in the service of his fellow-men. Such a man is in the truest sense a hero. There he stands, single-handed, undaunted, and of royal faith, pitting his individual will and conviction against the old order of things, though that order may have the sanction of the ages. The ghosts of the past have no power to daunt the heaven-born fervor of his courageous heart. The man who forgets his personal interests in the struggle for others is inaccessible to fear. His courage springs from his consciousness of being a part of those for whose welfare he fights—from the consciousness that his own existence and destiny depend upon the existence and destiny of *man as a whole*; or, as Maurice Maeterlinck has said, when man loves his brother not *as himself* but *in himself*. And realizing that humanity cannot perish from earth so long as a spark of love still lingers in its bosom, the hero of light pro-

ceeds with his task in calm intelligence, indifferent to peril and resistance, a tower of strength and protection to the world.

*"Per aspera ad astra."*

AXEL E. GIBSON.

*Los Angeles, California.*

## THE REMEDY FOR BRIBERY.\*

**B**RIBERY is a chronic disease of the body politic. Like most chronic diseases of the human body it is the result of a long continued bad habit. Just as dyspepsia is often caused by neglect of exercise, so a corrupt electorate springs from a lack of interest in political principles and election results. So far has this indifference extended that it has become a species of melancholia.

We often hear it declared from the stump that the people themselves are wholly to blame for the political ills from which they suffer. This is as though a passer-by, observing a four-footed animal caught in a trap, should cry out, "It's all your own fault."

True, the people have got into their trap through ignorance or carelessness, but the getting out is not an easy matter. Successful extraction calls for the concurrence of two separate and very rare events—first, a very strong and sustained public sentiment, and, second, a very wise leadership.

The first important step towards the cure of a chronic disease is to remove its cause. So long as the people see no prospect of righting their wrongs by the ballot, bribery will continue. The average voter can not perceive any benefit coming to himself from the exercise of the suffrage; consequently a very large proportion of the qualified electors will not take the trouble to go around the corner on election day for the purpose of depositing their ballots. To many others, less honest, the selling of the vote for a two-dollar bill or a five-dollar bill secures a good bargain. In their eyes it is giving nothing for something tangible.

\*This thoughtful paper kindly furnished us by Governor Garvin, is an abstract of an address delivered by him before the Massachusetts Reform Club in Boston, on April 2, 1903.

The remedy for bribery is to make it plain to every voter's understanding that his vote does count for something in which he is deeply interested. This is impossible under our existing system of conducting elections. The trap in which the voters of this country are held fast is our so-called majority rule—which, in fact, is government by a very small and very unprincipled minority of the people. We have outgrown our election machinery, in which no improvement of importance has been made since the Revolution. Imagine, if you can, our situation to-day if there had been no advance in the methods of artificial lighting since 1776. Would not honest citizens now be the easy prey of foot-pads and burglars?

As soon as a Yankee is elected to any legislative office his ingenuity, like Bob Acres' courage, seems to ooze out at the ends of his fingers. Put him in a shop or on a farm, and he will find every year a better and easier way of doing his work; but put him in the legislature, and either he cannot see or will not see that any improvement is possible.

A few years ago the General Court of Massachusetts did seem to have a glimpse of the better way of conducting an election. After having tried electing the Boston Board of Aldermen on a general ticket and by districts, some legislator who evidently had once possessed some degree of ingenuity, proposed and secured a plan for minority representation. His law provided for the election of a board of aldermen of twelve members, but no elector was allowed to vote for more than seven candidates. The theory was that each of the leading political parties would nominate twelve candidates, and that minor parties would also nominate or endorse a few. The moment I saw the law I perceived that, although its author might be a reformer, he was not a practical politician, and had missed his mark. In this case a miss was as good as a mile. As any party boss could have told the reformer beforehand would be the case, each of the great parties placed in the field exactly seven candidates, and the sole power left to the voters was to say which two of the fourteen candidates should be left at home.

Notwithstanding this ridiculous outcome, the law pointed in

the right direction. As I recall the act, it was only necessary to make a change in it of one word in order to solve the problem of problems in our American system of government by the people. Had there been a live Yankee in either branch of the legislature, he would have offered to the bill the following amendment: "Strike out *seven* and insert *one*."

This single change would have wrought a revolution in the government of the city of Boston for all time. Instead of two parties being represented on the board, there would be twelve so represented; instead of the present system, Boston would be governed by a board of experts, whose ability, permanency, power, and anxiety to serve the whole people would be unquestioned and unquestionable.

When such a law exists for the election of legislative bodies generally, bribery will cease. Election day reports will be as absorbingly interesting to the voter as the witnessing of a match game is to a baseball crank. How many dollars do you think it would take to induce a Harvard man to desert his own college and cheer for Yale? As the college boy is wholly wrapped up in the success of his side, so every voter will feel toward his candidate.

Hero-worship, encouraged and made possible by wise laws, is the remedy for bribery.

L. F. C. GARVIN.

*Providence, R. I.*

## TREASON—THE LAW'S HIGHEST CRIME.

THE dictum of canonical authority has imposed upon us the axiom that sin is the supreme infraction of the moral law. This is defined to be not only a violation of, but a want of conformity to, the will of the Supreme Being. In the chart or constitution of the spiritual world there are strict and liberal constructionists, as there are among the interpreters of municipal laws. But the prevailing opinion in such matters, based upon the supreme dictum, is that there are no grades of offenses in the spiritual world, the least infraction meriting the severest penalty, and imagination nor revelation has disclosed anything worse than eternal death.

But mankind, less sensitive to guilt, has defined a graduated scale of offenses, with corresponding penalties, which are inflicted upon those who have violated the codes of government. In the nomenclature of the common law of England, which is the basis of our law, all offenses against the municipal law are divided into three classes, known as treason, felony, and misdemeanor. Misdemeanors are those lesser offenses against the law, which are punishable by fine or imprisonment in jail, or by both. Felonies are the serious crimes that are punishable by death or by confinement in the penitentiary. Treason is the highest crime known to the law, and knows no penalty but death.

The literature of the English law dealing with treason furnishes some of the most interesting chapters, not only of crime but of the struggle to establish that political liberty which we now enjoy. Napoleon Bonaparte said that history is lies agreed upon. The distinction between revolution and rebellion consists in the success of the movement. The opinion of a treasonable act may depend upon the viewpoint of the observer.



And yet there are certain "lies agreed upon" in connection with this subject that form very interesting passages of history, and that are recalled to mind in view of the recent trial and conviction for treason of Col. Alfred Arthur Lynch by the Court of King's Bench, in England.

Col. Lynch was born in Australia, of Irish parentage, and, consequently, was a British subject. He inherited and cherished the animosities of his countrymen against the English government. When the war between Great Britain and the South African republics became flagrant, Col. Lynch went to the seat of war as the correspondent of a Paris newspaper, and secured naturalization as a Boer subject. Subsequently he became an officer in an Irish brigade, which saw active service against the forces of the British. At the close of the war Col. Lynch returned to Paris, and while residing there was elected to the British Parliament by an Irish constituency. He forbore for some time to return to England and claim the seat to which he had been elected, as it was understood that he would be arrested upon the charge of treason as soon as he set foot upon British soil. But at length, yielding to the persuasions of his friends that the government would not press the charge of treason against him, he returned to England, and was promptly arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to death—which extreme penalty has since been remitted by the crown to penal servitude for life. The defense of Col. Lynch was that he had become a naturalized subject of the Boer government, and, consequently, owed no allegiance to the parent country. But in ruling upon the law adversely to this plea of the defense, the court but reaffirmed what has always been the English opinion in regard to the self-expatriation of a subject.

The British fought the War of 1812 with the United States to maintain this principle. The immediate cause of this war was the attempted exercise of the right claimed by the British to search American ships for sailors who were British subjects, and forcibly to impress them into the navy of the parent country. Great Britain was at that time at war with France under the victorious régime of Napoleon Bonaparte, and was strain-

ing every nerve to man her fleets and check the triumphant progress of this hitherto invincible man. The British claim of right could not be allowed by the United States, and the war was entered upon and fought to a finish. The treaty of Ghent followed, which settled the terms of peace without reference to the issues immediately involved. Nothing was said in the treaty of the British claims of the right to search our ships for her recreant citizens, but, so far as we were concerned, the claim was ever after silently but practically surrendered. Yet, while conceding this much where the conflicting claims of another country are involved, England stubbornly adheres to her ancient maxim that *nemo potest exuere patriam*—no citizen can discard his allegiance when the country that gave him birth calls for his services in her defense, and if he does so and espouses the cause of the enemy he is a traitor, and amenable to the severest penalties of the law.

Under monarchical forms of government, treason is defined to be a breach of the allegiance due from the citizen to the State. Formerly in England there was the crime known as *petit treason*, which was the killing of a person to whom the offender owed duty or subjection, as one's husband, master, or mistress. The idea of subordination in English society was so deeply implanted that to take the life of one occupying these relations was even a deeper crime than murder. For murder the penalty of death alone was inflicted, but for treason of all kinds barbarous atrocities were added. The convicted one was drawn to the place of execution upon a hurdle, was hanged, beheaded, and his body divided into four quarters and placed at the disposition of the Crown, and then, as if the malice of the law knew no satiety, the blood of the victim was attainted; that is, no one could inherit through him, and all of his property was forfeited to the State.

But what acts constituted a breach of allegiance to the State that might bring upon the guilty citizen these direful penalties? Here is where the trouble lay. To attempt the life of the King certainly did; to make war upon the realm was equally treason. But at different periods of English history pliant Parlia-

ments and subservient judges enacted or defined as treason acts far short of these. In the reign of the tyrannical Henry VIII. the uncertainty of the law reached its climax. The King beheaded two of his wives for treason, and sought to have his children declared illegitimate. Legislation during this reign was little more than a registry of the fluctuating opinions of the monarch. By one act of Parliament it was treason to believe Mary, his daughter, illegitimate and Elizabeth legitimate. By another act it was treason to believe *either* of them legitimate, and by still another act it was treason to believe *both* of them legitimate. The law of treason became the most tremendous engine of oppression, so that when the government sought to be rid of an objectionable citizen it was not difficult to give him his quietus through the flexibility of this law.

But the progress of society is marked in no more definite manner than by the mildness, the certainty, and the humanity of its laws. Treason is now very certainly defined in England, and in the Constitutions of the United States and of all of the States of this Union it is the only crime that is defined. An American citizen can make no mistake upon the plea of the uncertainty of the law. It is the levying of war against the United States, adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort. While in all other lands and under various names this crime has been expiated, it stands unique in the annals of nations that no American citizen has ever been executed for treason against the Government of the United States. More than one citizen has been compelled to defend himself against the charge, a few have been convicted, but the extreme penalty of the law has never been carried into effect.

Possibly there are many who, if called upon to name our traitors, would be unable to name one of them. The mind at once adverts to Benedict Arnold, who has grown into the proportions of our national Judas Iscariot. Yet Arnold was not convicted of treason. If his conduct, as history relates it, had been proven to a jury, doubtless he would have been found guilty and executed. But the point remains that he has not had the benefit of a fair trial by a jury of his peers, and, con-

sequently, cannot be charged to us as one found guilty of treason under due forms of law.

Perfidy must form an important element in the crime of treason, in order that the memory as well as the body of the accused may be gibbeted. Men have actually been tried and convicted of treason in this country, and their names and offenses would only be disclosed by a diligent search of the reports of ancient court trials. These have come as the outgrowth of our different wars. During our war of Independence against Great Britain the people were divided into Whigs and Tories, and the Tories were in sympathy with the parent country. Frequently they adhered to our enemies, and sometimes very effectively gave them aid and comfort. These acts brought upon some of them the charge of treason, but it is not recalled that any were convicted and executed for the crime. The same conditions existed at the outgrowth of the War of 1812. Indictments were filed, charging trivial acts, such as furnishing provisions to the enemy, but in every case the prosecution failed of conviction.

But in 1795 there occurred in the state of Pennsylvania a series of internal disturbances closely bordering upon civil war. This movement is known to history as the Whisky Rebellion. At that time Alexander Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury. As part of his policy of taxation he had carried into effect his internal revenue system, which is the basis of the system now a part of the settled policy of our government. The placing of this tax upon whisky threatened with ruin the agricultural population of the western counties of Pennsylvania, and the people of that section arose in revolt against the revenue officials, and organized to resist the forces of the United States Government. Washington, at the head of an invading army, speedily reduced the rebels. Several of the leaders and most active agitators were arrested, tried, and convicted of treason, but before execution were liberated by a general amnesty.

Preceding the Civil War Congress passed an act known as the Fugitive Slave Law. It was designed to authorize a Southern slave owner to pursue his runaway slave into a State where

slavery was not legal, and there reclaim his property. The most intense feeling existed then in the different sections of the country upon the subject of slavery, and the people of the non-slave holding States often set this law at defiance and aided and protected the fugitive slave, even, in some cases, resorting to armed violence in opposition to the officers of the law who were attempting to reclaim the escaping slave. There were prosecutions for treason under this law in Pennsylvania, where it was attempted to be shown that this organized, armed, and forcible resistance of the officers of the law constituted a levying of war against the United States. But the juries that tried these cases were deeply in sympathy with the accused, and no convictions under the Fugitive Slave Law occurred. During the Civil War a citizen of Kentucky, by the name of Greathouse, resident in California, purchased and fitted out, in the harbor of San Francisco, an armed cruiser for the purpose of attacking and preying upon the commerce of the people of the United States. A commission which he held from the President of the Confederate States gave him the authority of that government for his acts as a privateersman. But upon his apprehension and trial upon the charge of treason the validity of his commission was not recognized, and he was held to have made war against the United States, and was convicted of treason. But again no execution occurred, as, upon his taking advantage of the general amnesty declared at the close of the Civil War, he was discharged from custody.

But the most noted trial for treason that has occurred in this country was that of Aaron Burr, in 1807. The romantic details of his attempted treasonable expedition to seize the newly-acquired territory of Louisiana and that of Mexico; the awakening from this gorgeous dream of empire to defend himself against the gravest crime known to the law, are familiar to every reader of American history. The scene of the trial was Richmond, Virginia; the tribunal the United States Circuit Court. Considering the gravity of the charge, the eminence of the accused, the dignity of the participants, it was perhaps the most memorable trial that has occurred in the world, since

Warren Hastings appeared at the bar of the House of Commons.

John Randolph, of Roanoke, was foreman of the Grand Jury that preferred the indictment. Thomas Jefferson, the President, was the moving spirit of the prosecution. Chief Justice Marshall presided at the trial, and the ablest counsel of the American bar were engaged either for the government or the defense. The trial was protracted through many weeks, and the investigation disclosed the facts, well known to history, as to the intention of Burr to levy war against the United States and Mexico and consummate his dream of conquest. The intention was clear enough, but the difficulty in the way of his conviction was to establish judicially that Burr had done anything toward carrying his intentions into effect. To do this it must be shown to the jury that he had committed some overt act, and the proof of this act must be established by two witnesses. Here the prosecution failed. Much that was greatly suspicious was proven. The intention was clear. But it was found impossible to produce two witnesses who would testify to the act tending to carry the intention into effect, and, the resources of the prosecution being exhausted, the Chief Justice directed the jury to bring in a verdict of not guilty, and Burr was discharged from custody.

As to whether Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, is held to have been guilty of treason is entirely a matter of preconceived opinion and of sympathy. He was indicted for treason, but was neither convicted nor tried. After the collapse of the Confederate Government and the fall of Richmond, in 1865, Mr. Davis was captured and kept a prisoner at Fortress Monroe for two years. At the expiration of that time a Grand Jury of the United States Court at Richmond preferred an indictment against him, charging him with treason, but the District Attorney made no effort to press the case to trial, and the accused man was admitted to bail, his bondsman being Horace Greeley and other eminent men of the nation. In 1868 the government issued a proclamation of general amnesty for all political offenses, and, this case falling within its provisions, the

prosecution was discontinued. Two widely differing opinions prevail as to the government's motive in forbearing to press the Davis case to trial and judicial determination. By the one class of partisans it is claimed that this forbearance was a supreme act of generosity upon the part of the Federal Government, designed in clemency, in order that the passions engendered by the Civil War might cool and the deep wounds inflicted on both sides be allowed to heal. On the other hand, it was claimed by the adherents of the Confederacy that the Federal Government did not dare to bring Davis to trial for treason and examine his conduct in the light of a judicial investigation. The trial of this case, it was claimed, would necessarily lead to the adjudication by the Supreme Court of the United States of the constitutional right of a State to secede from the Union, and that this right existed the secessionists believed that the Court would find. If the Confederate States had the right to secede from the Union, Jefferson Davis was no traitor. If this right did not exist his act was treason. The question will never be judicially decided and the old time beliefs will live. The arbitrament of arms disposed of the practical issues, and this, like other great mooted questions of history, will find its appropriate place in mere academic discussion, purged of the passions that rent a nation in twain.

But, while it is true that no citizen has been convicted of treason and executed by the finding of a Federal court, the same bloodless records are not found in the courts of one of the States of this Union. The States of this Union have substantially embodied in their Constitutions the Federal definition of treason, and one may be accused and found guilty of treason against a State upon the same conditions as against the Federal Government, provided the offense is committed against the sovereignty of that State. In 1859, at a time when the question of the abolition of slavery had inflamed the passions of the people of all sections of this country, John Brown, known as Ossawatamie Brown, a native of Connecticut and a citizen of Kansas, entered the State of Virginia with some of his associates, and secretly planned to excite the slaves of that section to insur-

rection. Brown denied that his intention was treasonable or designed to arouse a servile insurrection, claiming that his design was only to aid and abet slaves in escaping to the free States. But after inducing a few slaves to join his movement, Brown and his white and negro associates seized the town of Harper's Ferry in Virginia, killed several of the citizens of the town and took possession of the United States arsenal situated there. The slaves failed to rally to his support, and the country being aroused to excitement at this attack, Brown and his adherents were besieged by the citizens in the arsenal in which they had taken refuge and from which they continued to fire. A force of United States marines were hastily sent from Washington under Col. R. E. Lee, afterwards the noted Confederate leader, and, capturing the arsenal by assault, Brown and his surviving defenders were turned over to the Virginia authorities to be treated according to law. John Brown, John E. Cook, and Edwin Coppie, white, and Green and John Copeland, negroes, were indicted by the Virginia court, the indictment charging treason, murder, and conspiracy to incite the insurrection. The trial took place at Charlestown, the county seat of Jefferson County, Virginia. In the case of the negroes the count in the indictment charging them with treason was dismissed, as the court held that under the Dred Scott decision the negroes could not commit treason, but they were found guilty of murder and sentenced to death. The white men were found guilty under all of the counts, including treason, and John Brown was hung on the 2d of December, and the others on the 16th of December, 1859.

With these exceptions, no American citizen has died upon the scaffold upon a charge of treason, and it happens here, as it has in all notable convictions for this crime, that the most widely differing opinions are held as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. To some John Brown is a martyr to a cause, and to others he is the embodiment of all that is dangerous in a man and despicable in a citizen.

But, after all, in the forum of conscience what is treason? On that memorable 4th of July, 1776, when the patriots of the



convention had formulated their immortal Declaration of Independence, and one by one were placing their signatures beneath it, Benjamin Franklin well understood the deadly significance of the act, as, in nervous jest, he exclaimed to his associates: "Gentlemen, we must all hang together or we will hang separately." It is true that had the Revolution failed Great Britain would have hung every one of the signers as a traitor. Time mollifies opinion held, but in some of the English histories extant George Washington is called a traitor, John Adams a smuggler, and Thomas Jefferson an anarchist. To Austria, Kosuth was a traitor; Kosciusko to Russia, and Bolivar to Spain. Jesus Christ was put to death for treason, and Socrates drank deadly hemlock in expiation of this crime.

What is treason?

"Treason doth never prosper; what's the reason?  
Why, if it prosper, none dare call it treason."

WILLIAM PATTON KENT.

*Wytheville, Va.*

## WHOM GOD HATH JOINED.

Marriage on earth seems such a counterfeit,  
Mere imitation of the inimitable . . . .  
Marriage-making for the earth  
With gold so much—birth, power, repute so much,  
Or beauty, youth so much, in lack of these . . . .  
Be as the angels rather, who, apart,  
Know themselves into one, are found at length  
Married, but marry never, no, nor give  
In marriage; they are man and wife at once  
When the true time is.

—BROWNING, *"The Ring and the Book."*

THERE is a universal feeling, amounting almost to an instinct, against the severing of the marriage bond, whether that bond be consummated by the simple act of the girl's leaving her father's house for that of her lover, as in ancient time, or by vows of obedience given before church prelate at a fashionable wedding of to-day. In either case the feeling is the same—the bond may not be broken without doing violence to something primal and sacred. It would seem as if the Edenic assertion "They twain shall be one flesh," found its warrant in the nature of things, and echoed its sentiment in the hearts of well-thinking men and women of all times. Divorce has always been considered reprehensible, and whenever laws have permitted it, they have been enacted under protest, and with the understanding that divorce is but a choice of two evils, and not, like marriage, a good in itself.

Among the early Jews the custom of "putting away of wives" was a very common one. When Moses came upon the scene, men were dismissing them with a word for the most trivial offenses, and a wife was subject to the merest caprice of the man whom she called husband or master. Moses established a law making it necessary that at such dismissal the wife should be given a bill or book of divorcement, thus complicating the

proceeding and putting divorce under some slight regulation. This led to its restriction, and while futile to destroy it, placed it to some degree under a ban. As lax as Moses' decree appears to our eyes, it was, in fact, a great improvement upon the method of his time; it marked the beginning of the legal protection of woman, and was the first step toward her final emancipation. To be sure, no wife was permitted to put away her husband—such an idea could not find room in the Oriental mind—to put away was a masculine prerogative, and one well calculated to keep the wife in proper subjection—but from that time the husband was compelled to recognize the wife as having some rights which he was bound to respect.

From Moses to the coming of Jesus a bill of divorcement was held by the Jews to be the divinely ordained method of dealing with refractory wives. All true conception of marriage seems to have been lost; the idea of the oneness of man and woman—which was from the beginning—had become a meaningless myth. Man was the all-important factor in humanity; woman but an after-thought, created for his pleasure and use.

When the Pharisees questioned Jesus concerning divorce, they were doubtless seeking to commit him to one of the two prevailing schools of thought, both of which believed in divorce, one holding that a wife could be put away only for immoral conduct, while the other allowed divorce for the most trivial offenses, such as burning her husband's loaf, or appearing in the street with uncovered head.

When questioned, Jesus recalled to their minds what they had forgotten: that marriage is of divine origin, and has in it no room for divorce. "Have ye not read that he which made them from the beginning made them male and female? What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." In taking their minds back to the original meaning of marriage, he showed them that the thing they called marriage was a misnomer; that the union of man and woman belongs to the eternal—not the temporal—man; therefore, to regard marriage as a temporary bond and to so practise it was to do violence to the spirit of marriage, and make them adulterers in

mind as well as body. This was a radical treatment of the subject—as was the habit of Jesus when dealing with all questions of life—and made clear to them that he favored neither school of teaching.

When reminded that Moses allowed divorce, he answered, "For the hardness of your hearts he wrote you this precept," implying that Moses did the best he could under the prevailing conditions, and made laws for regulating the evil; but Jesus would not lend himself for a moment to the idea that where true marriage exists divorce is possible. He thus struck at the very root of the lasciviousness of his time, which root was found, not in divorce, but in the false conception and practice of marriage—the concept that marriage is of man's making and not of God's.

"What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." From these words we may rightfully infer that man-made marriages, as well as man-made divorce, *may have nothing in it holy or divine*. It were folly to think that Jesus was referring to marriage as it then existed, when he spoke of God's "joining together"—as if the mere joining of bodies constituted marriage! But the church which built itself about his name has so interpreted his words, and state and society have accepted the church's decree. This material construction of Jesus' teaching has lent itself—all unwittingly—to the very spirit of lust which it was intended to destroy. By reason of the legal bond which held them, and under a mistaken sense of duty, countless men and women have continued to live in unholy wedlock, bringing forth children of lust, cursed with nameless and cruel diseases—a menace to everything sane and good—and neither church nor state has raised a finger in protest. The church has sanctioned as holy every legalized marriage, no matter how mistaken, or false, or impure it has been, and cried "Let him be anathema" who would seek release from a mistaken or unholy alliance. It has put itself in the place of God—usurped his divine authority written in the human heart, saying, in substance, "What man hath joined together, let not God put asunder."

The most that any marriage ceremony—simple or elaborate—can do, is to ratify according to the law of the flesh a union that is already established by the law of the spirit; and the most that any divorce can do is to bear legal witness that a mistaken marriage has been corrected. A marriage rite, however impressive, does not make sacred a relation which in itself is unholy, and a mistaken marriage—above all other mistakes in life—should be atoned for and rectified—if not for one's self, then for posterity. A true union makes a paradise of earth; a false union makes of it a charnel house, where lie buried all the fair hopes and aspirations of life, and it is but reasonable and right that from such a false relation there should be provided some clean, honorable avenue of escape to life and hope once more.

The universal instinct against the severing of the marriage bond is, like marriage, of God, and not to be lightly ignored. Marriage represents the unit, it belongs in idea to the things that are eternal, hence the best instincts of the race are against interfering with or destroying it. But we must not mistake a mere legal, external, physical bond for one that is spiritual and external. Wherever a man and woman recognize in each other the completed self, become conscious of their oneness of spirit and purpose, and unite in glad and mutual love, forming one flesh—no longer twain—there alone is marriage. To such divorce is a word without meaning. God hath joined together, and man cannot put asunder.

(REV.) MABEL MACCOY IRWIN.

*Dexter, Maine.*

## SCIENCE AND A FUTURE LIFE.

“IF a man die, shall he live again?” Ages ago under the burning sun of the Orient the contemplative eastern sage and poet propounded this question of questions, which has been taken up by many of the profoundest brains of every succeeding age and considered either speculatively or dogmatically. Idealistic philosophers and poets have signalled to each other from civilization to civilization; from India to Arabia; from Palestine to Greece; from Alexandria to Rome, and from Constantinople to the later civilizations of the western lands. On the other hand, many great theologians, from Paul to Calvin, and later, have brought to bear upon this question a wealth of reasoning and subtle logic seldom if ever equalled in the discussion of any other theme.

In the past, however, *i.e.*, before the revolutionary epoch which gave new intellectual impulses to civilization in the nineteenth century, the great thinkers, whether idealistic philosophers or dogmatic theologians, who reasoned in favor of the survival of human personality after the crisis of death, either discussed the subject in a purely subjective manner as metaphysicians, or else they premised their arguments on the unquestioning acceptance of certain theological dicta.

Each of these positions exhibited difficulties and points of weakness. Thus, for example, a large proportion of the people in all ages have been incapable of following the subtle reasoning of metaphysical philosophers. To the multitude, as well as to many of the keenest intellects, the idealists or transcendental philosophers have ever spoken in an unknown tongue; while on the other hand the marvelous discoveries of the physical universe which have revolutionized the concepts of the western world, the increase of knowledge in every field of research, archæological discoveries, a general knowledge of the

great religions of the world other than the Hebrew and Christian systems, and the increase of skepticism concerning the authenticity of several books in the Christian Bible and of much content matter in books whose general authenticity has not been the subject of special question, have all conspired to weaken where they have not discredited the principal premises upon which dogmatic theologians have based their arguments.

To the profoundly thoughtful minds imbued with the scientific spirit, it became very apparent over a generation ago that the old methods of reaching conclusions through metaphysical reasoning, and the theological arguments based on dogmatic assumptions were no longer sufficient to hold in check the increasing tide of soul-paralyzing materialism. They felt that the hour had struck for investigating the question of a future life in an objective manner, that is, by employing the methods by which physical science has made such gigantic strides.

Psychology has ever been a dark continent on the map of human knowledge. Only the outer fringe or coast line had hitherto been explored. The marvelous, strange, or occult happenings that from time to time were related with such circumstantial accuracy and from such unmistakably reliable sources as to challenge respectful attention, were usually ultimately relegated to the unknowable; but the vast volume of alleged supernatural phenomena was either denounced as belonging to the prolific brood of credulity's children, or unquestioningly accepted as coming from God or the devil, according to whether the phenomena in question agreed or disagreed with the religious tenets of the individual.

The idea of applying to psychic phenomena the rigid, searching, and systematic methods of modern critical science was not seriously entertained by any organized body of workers until early in the seventies of the last century, when the immense volume of alleged facts and the growing number of spiritualists over the western world led to the determination on the part of a body of ripe scholars in Cambridge, England, to explore this dark continent and either expose and explode its wonder-stories or compel the unknown to drop its veil.

The men who composed this group were savants in the truest sense of the word. The association in time became fully organized and known as the English Society for Psychical Research. It soon claimed among its more active members a large number of the most eminent working scientists, both physicists and psychologists, of Europe and America, together with eminent and authoritative thinkers in various fields of research and along many lines of activity. Among the presidents, vice-presidents, and active workers who have materially aided the movement since its inception may be mentioned Sir William Crookes, F.R.S., Professor Oliver J. Lodge, the late Professor Balfour Stewart, W. F. Barrett, Professor William James, Professor J. H. Hyslop, the Right Honorable Arthur Balfour, present premier of Great Britain, Professor F. W. H. Myers, Professor Henry Sedgewick, Andrew Lang, Lord Rayleigh, the late Bishop Phillips Brooks, the Bishop of Ripon, the Rev. R. Heber Newton, and the Rev. Minot J. Savage.

Of the importance of the work undertaken, William E. Gladstone a short time before his death, in a conversation with Professor Myers, said: "It is the most important work being done in the world—by far the most important."

It was not until early in the eighties of the last century that the Society for Psychical Research began its systematic labor as an organized body; and since that period (a little over a score of years) it has achieved a great work in practical investigations and experimentation in telepathy and various super-normal phenomena, as well as in examining and sifting data and evidence relating to apparitions of the living and the dead and to clairaudience, clairvoyance, and other phenomena that transcend the ordinary mental processes.

The result of much of this painstaking and important investigation has been given to the world from time to time in the "Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research," in "Phantasms of the Living," and in other contributions by leading members of the organization; but the crowning result, the grand summary of the achievements up to the present day, has recently been given to the public in the monumental work by the late



Professor Frederic W. H. Myers,\* a contribution whose relation to the new psychology and whose importance to psychical science can well be compared to the relation and importance of Charles Darwin's "Descent of Man" to the new conception of physical science which rose and triumphed during the nineteenth century. Like Darwin's, Professor Myers' work represents the ripe fruition of almost thirty years of incessant toil and patient scientific research devoted to the solution of one great problem. Like Darwin, he was a child of the new school of critical research which relentlessly follows truth even though it leads the investigator away from every fond prejudice, preconceived opinion, and philosophical concept hitherto entertained. And like the immortal work of the greatest apostle of evolution, a large proportion of the fourteen hundred pages constituting this new work of psychology is given to the massing of evidence, data, and facts that have been carefully investigated, sifted, verified and classified.

If this work contained nothing more than the vast mass of alleged phenomena collected by one of the most illustrious bodies of scientists of our age, it would be an important contribution to psychological literature; but it is far more than this. The questions raised, the several theories advanced to meet and explain the various phenomena dealt with, the conclusions arrived at as results of the exhaustive investigations and brilliant discussions which have been carried on by masterly minds in the Society during the past score of years, and the well-matured conclusions of the gifted author, based as they always are on a convincing array of evidence, give this work an importance which in our judgment is not possessed by any other volume dealing with advanced psychology and psychic science that has appeared.

Every theme discussed is so closely reasoned and is handled with such marked ability and candor that it cannot fail to open up new fields of thought and speculation, even when the reader may not entirely concur in the author's views. This is notably

\*"Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death." By Frederic W. H. Myers. Cloth. 2 vols. Pp. about 1400. Price, \$12.00 net. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Company.

the case with the luminous chapter on Genesis, as well as with the discussion on "The Disintegration of Personality."

The chief interest of the volume, however, aside from the supreme conclusion and the evidence leading up to it, dealing directly with the answer to Job's question, is found in the discussion of telepathy and the subliminal self. And in this connection it is interesting to note the changed mental attitude which Professor Myers was forced to assume as his investigations progressed. At the outset his prejudices against spiritualism were very pronounced, and he seemed convinced that the residue of supernormal phenomena that should be found to remain after fraud of others and unconscious delusions of the participants had been eliminated, could be easily explained by telepathy or upon the hypothesis of the subliminal self. So pronounced were his ideas and so outspoken his convictions during the early years of the investigations, that eminent spiritualists bitterly resented his attitude and predicted that no amount of evidence could convince him. In this, however, they were mistaken. Mr. Myers' attitude was strictly scientific. Telepathy had been clearly demonstrated as a fact and generally accepted by thinkers who had sufficiently investigated the subject to be competent to intelligently judge of its verity; and the theory of a double or multiple personality was also generally accepted as sufficiently demonstrated to be employed as a working hypothesis. Hence, all assured psychical or supernormal phenomena that could be reasonably explained on either of these hypotheses was attributed to the one which offered an explanation.

Now in psychic investigations one always encounters two extremes: unreasoning skepticism and unlimited credulity. The skeptical and rigidly critical attitude of the Society for Psychical Research at the outset repelled most thinkers who through investigation had been led to accept the spiritualistic hypothesis; but its membership embraced a number of representatives of the other extreme position. These persons had settled in their minds the fact that all alleged supernormal phenomena were due to fraud, deception, or delusion, and that it

only required searching investigation to expose the falsity of the claims of those who believe that under certain conditions the dead are able to communicate or make known their presence to the living.

When, however, it was proven beyond the possibility of cavil that many of the alleged phenomena could not be explained on the hypotheses of fraud or delusion, many of the extreme critics from a position of grudgingly accepting telepathy and the theory of the subliminal self became their most vociferous champions, insisting that every assured supernormal phenomenon be forthwith referred to these hypotheses, with the assurance that in some way or other they could be so stretched as to cover the facts and thus enable them to escape being compelled to surrender to the theory which tended to demonstrate immortality, or at least a life after the crisis of death. Their position was of course very unscientific—quite as much so as that of the most credulous of the opposition; yet it was stoutly maintained, even when it was necessary to invent explanations more unintelligible and amazing than the facts for which the explanation sought to account.

Mr. Myers was too scientific and too loyal to the truth to allow his prejudices and preconceived opinions to blind him to the facts exhibited or make him fall into the error common to the slave of bigotry, superstition, and prejudice. Every phenomenon that could be reasonably explained by telepathy or the hypothesis of the subliminal self was so classified; but a large number of cases soon accumulated which could not be so explained. Only the hypothesis that under certain conditions and circumstances the spirits of the dead could and did communicate with the living offered a rational solution to many of these cases. Confronted by this ever-growing volume of evidence that clearly pointed to the spiritualistic hypothesis, Mr. Myers was forced to change his convictions. In speaking of this conversion of opinion, due to evidence that seemed overmastering in character and which is fully given in his work, our author observes:

“Here we reach a point which has become without my antici-

pation and—as a matter of mere scientific policy—even against my will the principal *nodus* of the present work. This book, designed originally to carry on as continuously and coherently as possible the telepathic hypothesis, has been forced unexpectedly forward by the sheer force of evidence until it must now dwell largely on the extreme branch of the subject. For in truth during the last ten years the center of gravity of our evidence has shifted profoundly. With the recent development of trance phenomena we seem suddenly to have arrived by a kind of short cut at a direct solution of problems which we had till then been approaching by different inference and laborious calculation of chances. What need of computing coincidental death-wraiths—of analyzing the evidential details of post-mortem apparitions—if here we have the departed ready to hear and answer questions and to tell us frankly of the fate of souls? Must not our former results seem useless now in view of this overwhelming proof? Our previous disciplined search has been by no means wasted, but it seems to me now that the evidence for communication with the spirits of identified deceased persons through the trance utterances and writings of sensitives apparently controlled by those spirits is established beyond serious attack.”

It is of course impossible to deal with the vast mass of evidence and data given by Professor Myers in his great work, or even to touch upon that which directly relates to the supreme conclusion of the author, that modern experimental science has demonstrated the reality of the survival of human personality after the crisis of death. In this connection, however, we would observe that the evidence impresses us as being very convincing in character, the reasoning sound, and the deductions inevitable; and with this opinion we pass to a summary of Professor Myers’ conclusions and views as to the value and importance of the evidence pointing to survival of personality:

“The vague question of former times as to apparitions at the moment of death narrows down to the more precise question: Are there still coincidences, is there still evidence showing that a phantasm can appear not only at but after a man’s bodily death, and can still indicate connection with a persistent and individual life? To this distinct question there can now be given, I believe, a distinct and affirmative answer. When evidence has been duly analyzed, when alternative hypotheses have

been duly weighed, it seems to me that there is no real break in the appearance of veridical phantasms or in their causation at the moment of bodily death, but rather that there is evidence that the self-same spirit is still operating, and it may be in the self-same way. Telepathy looks like a law prevailing in the spiritual as well as in the material world. And that it does so prevail, I now add, is proved by the fact that those who communicated telepathically with us in this world communicate with us telepathically from the other. Man, therefore, is not a planetary or transitory being; he persists as very man among cosmic and external things. . . . Our recorded apparitions, intimations, messages of the departing and departed have, to my mind, actually proved:—(a) In the first place, they prove survival pure and simple; the persistence of the spirit's life as a structural law of the universe; the inalienable heritage of each several soul. (b) In the second place, they prove that between the spiritual and the material worlds an avenue of communication does, in fact, exist; that which we call the despatch and the receipt of telepathic messages, or the utterance and the answer of prayer and supplication. (c) In the third place, they prove that the surviving spirit retains, at least in some measure, the memories and the loves of earth. Without this persistence of love and memory should we be in truth the *same*? To what extent has any philosophy or any revelation assured us hereof till now? The above points, I think, are certain if the apparitions and messages proceed in reality from the *sources* which they claim. On a lower evidential level comes the thesis drawn from the *contents* of the longer messages, which contents may, of course, be influenced in unknown degree by the expectation of the recipients or by some such infusion of dream-like matter as I have already mentioned. That thesis is as follows. I offer it for what it may be worth:—Every element of individual wisdom, virtue, love, develops in infinite evolution towards an ever-highering hope; toward 'Him who is at once thine innermost Self, and thine ever unattainable Desire.' "

Thirty years of tireless investigation, thirty years of patient scientific research given in the service of truth, were crowned with the rich fruition of an assured and unshakable faith in a glorious to-morrow for the human soul, based on evidence and experimentation conducted along the line of modern rigid scientific investigation. So certain was Professor Myers that the

great question of Job had been answered in the affirmative, that his voice gained something of the exultant tone of the prophet in moments of ecstatic rapture. Thus we find him saying :

"The reader who may feel disposed to give his adherence to this culminating group of the long series of evidences which have pointed with more and more clearness to the survival of human personality and to the possibility for men on earth of actual commerce with a world beyond, may feel, perhaps, that the *desiderium orbis catholici*, the intimate and universal hope of every generation of men, has never till this day approached so near to fulfilment. There has never been so fair a prospect for Life and Love."

The effect on the individual will be splendidly complemented by the influence on society, quickening and awakening the public conscience until a finer, juster, and truer order will prevail. On this point Professor Myers observes :

"So now also it seems to me that a growing conception of the unity, the solidarity, of the human race is preparing the way for a world-religion which expresses and rests upon that solidarity, which conceives it in a fuller, more vital fashion than either Positivist or Catholic had ever dreamed. For the new conception is neither of benefactors dead and done for, inspiring us automatically from their dates in an almanac, nor of shadowy saints imagined to intercede for us at tribunals more shadowy still ; but rather of a human unity, close-linked beneath an unknown sway, wherein every man who hath been or now is makes a living element, inalienable, incorporate, and imperishably coöperant, and joint-inheritor of one infinite Hope.

"Not, then, with tears and with lamentations should we think of the blessed dead. Rather, we should rejoice with them in their enfranchisement, and know that they are still minded to keep us as sharers in their joys. It is they, not we, who are working now ; they are more ready to hear than we to pray ; they guide us as with a cloudy pillar, but it is kindling into steadfast fire. Nay, it may be that our response, our devotion, is a needful element in their ascending joy, and as God may have provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect."

Instead of the nineteenth century going out in the gloom of an all-pervading night of materialism, our author believes that

the glow of an eternal day, brighter and fairer than humanity had known before, was purpling the east—a dawn that promised for the twentieth century a day of resplendent glory:

“I confess, indeed, that I have often felt as though this present age were even unduly favored, as though no future revelation and calm could equal the joy of this great struggle from doubt into certainty, from the materialism or agnosticism which accompanies the first advance of Science into the deeper scientific conviction that there is a deathless soul in man. I can imagine no other crisis of such deep delight. Endless are the varieties of lofty joy. In the age of Thales Greece knew the delight of the first dim notion of cosmic unity and law. In the age of Christ Europe felt the high authentic messages from a world beyond our own. In our own age we reach the perception that such messages may become continuous and progressive, that between seen and unseen there is a channel and fairway which future generations may learn to widen and to clarify. Nay, in the infinite Universe man may now feel, for the first time, at home. The worst fear is over; the true security is won. The worst fear was the fear of spiritual extinction or spiritual solitude; the true security is in the telepathic law.”

He who would meet the soul-deadening materialism that has permeated church and society should study this work, for it will at least give him a broader and deeper view of life in its profounder aspects, and will open new and wonderful vistas for thought and speculation.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

# TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

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## THE CASE AGAINST THE TRUSTS.

### NUMBER THREE: THE EXPLOITATION OF LABOR BY THE CORPORATIONS.

Apologists for corporation rule are just now very loud in their claims that laboring men were never so well off as to-day; never did they receive such high wages as now; and one of the more daring mouth-pieces of plutocracy has had the hardihood to declare that the belief that the capitalist has received too large a share of the benefits that have arisen from invention, machinery, etc., is not true, but that the masses have received as fair a proportion of such benefits as the rich. The absurdity of this last proposition is such that it is not necessary to take space to notice it, and it is only mentioned to show the brazen hardihood of lawyers and other special pleaders for corporation rule in their effort to shackle present-day civilization with the new parvenu feudalism.

The first two statements may be made to appear plausible in so far as they refer to general social conditions, especially where labor unions have been powerful enough to check the general effort of the corporations to grind down their employees, and where laws have been enforced restricting labor of children and women and shortening the hours constituting a work day. And yet, even broadly speaking, the comparisons upon which the claims are made are misleading, because conditions in life are necessarily relative. The man in a semi-barbarous condition, whose needs are simple and few and who is living a wandering, nomadic, or communal life, might receive small hire and yet be relatively better paid than the most skilled workman among our present-day artisans, for all his fellows are in a very similar condition so far as worldly goods are concerned, and the wants of each are simple and easily met.



Again, take the condition of our people in early times, when from ten to twenty-five thousand dollars was considered a large fortune and when the wealthy men of the community counted their fortunes by tens of thousands instead of by millions and tens of millions of dollars; when life was far simpler and the avenues for mental growth and enjoyment were few and restricted compared with the present. Then a very much smaller wage would comparatively be greater than double or quadruple the wage of to-day, where vast fortunes are found on every hand; where life has ceased to be simple; where schools, colleges, and innumerable places for broadening culture and increasing enjoyment are found on every side; where the children of the toilers are thrown in close contact and company with those of wealthy parents, and where the wearing of good clothes and the having of creature comforts goes far towards fixing a person's station in society.

Now when these things are taken into consideration, we believe it is entirely misleading and false to claim that the conditions of the toilers are better than those of their class in the past, at least in so far as it relates to conditions prevailing since the great revolutionary uprising of the close of the eighteenth century. Relatively the gulf between the master spirits of the new industrial feudalism and the bread winners is greater than at any time before in the history of our country; while the conditions where labor has not been well organized are frequently almost too terrible for belief. They constitute one of the blackest pages in modern history and show only too clearly that the spirit of the modern commercialism is merciless.

Whoever has read Mr. Henry Demarest Lloyd's work, "The Strike of the Millionaires Against the Miners," will never forget that tragic page in our industrial history, set down as it is in that volume with the accuracy of the painstaking historian, but glowing with the feeling of the humanitarian who loves justice more than gold.

Another black page in the industrial history of the United States, which might have been entitled "The Strike of the Railway Magnates Against the Farmers of the San Joaquin Valley," has been immortalized by the late Frank Norris in his great novel, "The Octopus"; while the same subject from the simple but touchingly tragic story of Colonel C. C. Post, entitled "Driven from Sea to Sea."

The terrible revelations of child slavery in the southern cotton mills, in the factories of New Jersey, and in several other northern and eastern States, recently made public, throw fur-

ther sidelights on the oppression of the poor by the corporations in the United States. But not in recent years, perhaps, has there been so impressive an illustration of the manner in which the over-rich corporations oppress and exploit the very poor as has been given under oath before the Coal Commission by the victims of the coal and railroad barons of the anthracite region.

Before this commission day after day men, women, and children unfolded tales of hardships and sufferings, incident to a brutality and inhumanity on the part of their masters, almost beyond belief. These tales were recounted in simple, homely language by those whose whole life is a long day of drudgery; those who are in a large part making the millions of dollars that a few are squandering on yachts, at fashionable watering resorts, and in lives of luxury that oftentimes rival those of the patricians of ancient Rome. Case after case was given where men protested against the great peril of their positions in the mines, but who were compelled to continue, though in many instances the labor was quickly terminated by the sudden death of the miners. Little children were compelled to work night and day in factories to help support the families. Little boys were made to slave on the breakers to pay the debts of fathers who had been killed while working in the mines.

Below we give some typical cases as given before the Commission and reported in the daily press, beginning with the testimony of Andrew Chippee and Theodore Baker, two breaker boys, whose evidence was thus condensed for the metropolitan journals:

Chippee is thirteen years of age. His father was killed in the mine of G. B. Markle & Co., at Jeddo, eighteen months ago. The widowed mother has four children. Andrew is the largest. The youngest is only two years of age. When the father was killed in the Jeddo mine he left a debt for rent owing the company, as the family lived in one of the Markle Company houses.

The mother took boarders and tried to make both ends meet without taking Andrew out of school, but was unable to do so, and finally had to put the lad in the breaker.

The boy has worked in the breaker several months, including the time he worked before the strike, and in all that time he declared he has not received one cent of pay for his work. The company is applying his wages to the debt which his father owed before he was killed in one of the company's mines.

The boy told his story with such straightforwardness that the Commission and all who heard it were impressed with its truth.

The boy produced his due-bills for the two months previous to the

strike. In one month he worked fifty-six and a half hours at four cents an hour; his pay amounting to \$2.26. On the debit side of the bill was \$54.95 for back rent; \$4.65 for that month's rent, and \$2.25 for coal. When his \$2.26 was deducted it was shown that he was indebted to the company in the sum of \$60.

Another bill showed that he made thirty-two cents, and when this was deducted from the family's indebtedness to the company they were \$88.17 in debt. In the company charges was fifty cents for a brass check.

Theodore Baker, a breaker boy, eighteen years old, said he earned before the strike 80 cents a day. After the strike he only earned 70 cents.

"How long do you work?"

"Sometimes fourteen hours a day."

"Do you get extra pay when you work fourteen hours a day?" asked Judge Gray.

"Yes, sir, 7 cents an hour."

"Were you not clubbed by the breaker boss?" asked Mr. McCarthy.

"Yes, sir, I was often clubbed. The breaker boss called me vile names."

Judge Gray asked, "What kind of a club did he strike you with?"

The boy said it was about as long and thick as his arm.

During the examination one of the lawyers asked the question, "This account that the company has against you and your mother was a debt your father owed the company?" To which the lad replied, "Yes, sir." "And your father was killed in the mines of the company?" "Yes, sir."

Girls cannot well be employed on the breakers, so mills and factories are builded, that the by-product of child labor may be so employed that the millionaire corporations can keep down the wages of the parents. Several little girls employed in the silk mills were called to the witness stand on December 15, and the following extracts from press despatches are fairly typical of their stories:

The first girl called was only eleven years old. She had to go to work because her father had been hurt in the mines. She said she worked from 7 A.M. until 6 P.M. for \$2 a week.

Annie Denks, thirteen years old, said she worked at night from 6.30 o'clock until 6.30 in the morning. She had to stand up all night during her work and received 65 cents a night. When the girl said she was employed at night every member of the commission seemed to be shocked.

A small Slavonian girl, twelve years old, who also worked all night, gave her testimony through a thirteen-year-old girl interpreter. She worked twelve hours each night and received 3 cents an hour.

Another thirteen-year-old girl said she worked all night in the silk mill at Dunmore for 66 cents a night.

The general disposition of the corporations to mislead the

commission and the public was well illustrated by incidents elicited, an example of which was the prompt declaration that there was no need for the little girls who had testified to work in the mills and factories, as one of the fathers of these girls received \$1,100 and another \$1,400 a year. This statement was made authoritatively and with all the air of sincerity and injured innocence which the heads of corporations, when alarmed, are accustomed to exhibit. But their card house was quickly overthrown when it was proven that one of the men had a partner and two assistants who were paid out of his \$1,100, and in the other case six men were paid out of the amount credited to the worker.

To the story of child slavery was added the testimony of women whose husbands had been slain in the mines. Here are two characteristic cases which the testimony of December 8th elicited:

Ella Chippee, whose twelve-year-old son testified on Saturday that after his father's death in the mines he had worked as a breaker boy and received no money, but bills of indebtedness of \$88, was one of them. She said:

"My husband worked in the mines for five years before he could send for me from Hungary. He earned little, but we managed to live. On August 6, 1901, he was killed in the mines. They brought his body home to us. With another man he had been crushed under a fall of coal. Just before his death I had drawn his pay—\$9—in cash. The company paid \$50 toward his funeral expenses."

It had been shown earlier in the day that this \$50 was not charity, but a bonus to the dead man's fellow laborers to keep them at work during the funeral.

"Soon after my husband's death," she continued, "I was sent for and asked to sign a document giving up all rights to sue the company. If I signed, I was told, I could have rent and coal free for six months; if not, I need look for neither, nor for credit at the company stores. 'You'll get no coal; you'll get nothing,' I was told as I left, and I found that true. I refused to sign. Four months later my baby girl was born.

"I needed money badly, and decided that I should have to let my little boy go to work in the breakers. I took him to the office and asked for a position. The man in charge remarked that the boy was little, but finally promised to put him to work. I had eked out the barest living by taking four boarders, who paid me \$6 a month each for lodging, breakfast and supper. I knew the boy would earn little at the breaker, but every cent counted.

"When the first pay day arrived Andrew brought home no money but a bill for \$60. I was in despair. I had tried to get provisions on credit at the company stores where my husband had always traded, but

I had been told that I could buy nothing there until I signed the release to the company. Then came the strike. When it was over my boy went back to work and on the next pay day I received no money but a bill for \$88, for rent and coal."

Mary Ann Raber, whose husband was killed with Chippee, was the next witness.

"After my husband was killed I got his pay, \$6; the rent and coal had been taken out. I had been left with four children to support. I was asked to sign a release of claims against the company but refused, and was told that I could expect no concessions from the company. I sent my fifteen-year-old boy to work in the mines at 80 cents a day, working ten hours a day, and after he had been there six months he brought home \$5. I never brought suit against the company for the death of my husband."

Mrs. Kate Burns, of Jeddo, was then called to the stand and told a story of how she and her two boys worked thirteen years to pay off an accumulated house rent and coal bill due to the Markle Company.

She said her husband was an engineer inside the Markle mines. The husband was killed underground, leaving her with five children, the oldest a boy of eight years. The company never offered her a penny, though she was entitled to \$50 for her husband's death, but the employees gave her about \$180 to defray the funeral expenses.

After her husband had been killed she moved from her four-room house into one containing only two, one room above the other, and for the next six years she struggled as best she could to get along. For this house she paid \$5.50 a month rent. She took in washing, scrubbed for the neighbors and once in a while she was given work cleaning the offices of the Markle Company.

During these six years she said she kept her children at school. When the eldest boy was fourteen years she sent him to the mines to help earn the daily bread. At the end of the first month the lad brought home his wage statement, showing that the mother owed \$396 for rent.

The boy's wages for the month had been taken off the bill, and he came home empty-handed. She submitted to this, and in the course of time her next boy was old enough to earn something, and he, too, was sent to the colliery. Like the older brother, the second boy received no pay, his earnings being deducted for rent.

The mother on the witness stand was by this time sobbing, and when she added that the money she earned for cleaning the Markle office was never given her, but was kept by the company for rent, the commissioners looked at one another in surprise.

She said it took the three of them thirteen years to make up the debt, the mother's earnings from neighbors being the principal contribution toward the maintenance of the family. The debt was cleared last August. During the six years from the time her husband was killed until the time when the first boy went to work the company never asked her for rent.

In answer to Judge Gray, Mrs. Burns said that the arrears of rent

accumulated after her husband's death. She never got a penny from the company but what returned to them.

Nothing in all the testimony, however, was more clearly shown than the brutal disregard of the corporations for the soldiers of toil who are disabled at the post of duty. Below will be found the tragic story of Henry Coll, to which we add some further testimony illustrating the fact that corporations have no souls, and frequently are innocent of morals:

The story told by Henry Coll, seventy years old, who worked for G. B. Markle & Co., affected most of those at the hearing to tears. He was evicted, he said, without a day's notice, although he begged that he might be permitted to remain a day or two to look out for another place. Mr. Coll testified that he had worked in the mines about thirty-three years.

In answer to Mr. Darrow he said that his family consisted of his wife, his mother-in-law, two adopted children and a son. His mother-in-law was about a hundred years old, blind, sick, and so feeble that she could not walk. They were all turned out. He testified that he received several injuries in the mines. He said one of his legs was no better than a wooden one; he had only one eye, his hands had been crushed, ribs broken and skull fractured. The company gave him nothing until after the employees took up a collection for him when his leg was injured, then he was given \$50 after being on the injured list for two years. The company took out of the collection the rent, store bills, and coal bills he owed.

"You adopted two children?" Mr. Darrow asked.

"Yes, sir," replied Coll.

"Who are they?"

"One was the child of a poor miner whose father was killed; when we came home from the funeral the mother was dead."

The witness said that he knew no reason why he should be turned out of his house and lose his job except that his son took a prominent part in the strike. This same son is now in an insane asylum.

His wife was sick and her aged old mother absolutely helpless. The day on which they were "thrown out" was rainy. He took them as best he could to Hazleton, seven miles away, and placed them in a cold, damp, tumble-down shanty. This was last month, when the atmosphere on the Hazleton Mountain was quite cold.

The next morning all the family were ill. His wife asked him for God's sake to take her to the hospital, but he told her that since he was evicted and out of employment she would not be admitted there. His wife became worse. Medical aid was kindly furnished free by a Hazleton doctor, but it did not help her much.

"We were greatly worried because of our having been turned out of our house, and one night," the witness said, between sobs, "she choked to death in my arms from the intensity of her sufferings."

"She died?" exclaimed Judge Gray, who was pacing to and fro across the room, as he quickly turned when he heard the man's last words.

"Yes, sir; she died, and I buried her yesterday."

The witness went on to say that he did not know whether her aged mother was alive to-day or not. "She was in bad condition, owing to her daughter's death, when I left home last night," said he.

Pages might be filled with similar citations of facts brought out before the Coal Commission, but these cases, being typical, will serve to illustrate our point, that in proportion as the monopolies and trusts feel that they have the power, they cruelly exploit labor. They also illustrate how the great corporations which insolently refused to submit the differences between their employees and themselves to an impartial board, were essentially oppressive, unjust, and brutalizing in their influence.

The government pensions the widows and children of her soldiers who fall defending their country. The corporations, judging from the evidence elicited, present the widows of the men who are killed in their service—and often killed through their fault in not properly safeguarding the lives of their employees—with due bills, followed by eviction; while the boys are demanded to slave on the breakers to pay the bills of men whose lives have been wantonly sacrificed.

No fact in history is better established than that man has not advanced far enough to render it safe to give him power to enslave his fellowmen or to place them at his mercy, as millions are to-day at the mercy of the corporations. In a truly republican government, in which the initiative and referendum obtained, and the public utilities were owned and operated by the people, no such conditions as the above could prevail. On the other hand the toilers would receive justice, be enabled to enjoy life, and to improve their condition. Their children, instead of slaving, would be placed in school, happy and well clothed and being prepared for the enjoyment of a fuller and richer life than their parents had known; while the consuming public would neither be made the victims of extortions nor be left to freeze and starve because small bands of men wished to acquire millions of dollars to squander in Europe, on palatial yachts, in castle-like mansions, in the gambling mania that infests Wall Street, and in further entrenching themselves in power through the installation of their minions in government. The vast wealth now acquired by the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Gates's, and other exploiters and gamblers, would go to bless all the people.

## MAYOR JOHNSON'S LATEST VICTORY FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT.

One of the most important and promising victories for purity in politics, not only for the Ohio State Democratic party, but for the nation at large, was recently won by the redoubtable mayor of Cleveland in defeating the Democratic candidates for renomination to the Ohio State Legislature who betrayed the people of Ohio in voting for the infamous fifty-year free franchise bill engineered through that body by Senators Hanna and Foraker and Boss Cox of Cincinnati. This vicious measure was gotten up for the purpose of preventing the citizens of Cincinnati from securing a rightful return for the enormously valuable street franchises of Hamilton County. It proposed to give the immensely rich corporation a veritable Golconda for half a century. The bill was one of the most brazen-faced and pernicious measures ever proposed by the corrupt Ohio State Republican machine for the enrichment of public service corporations. Eight Democrats who were pledged to vote against the measure betrayed their constituents and were false to their solemn obligations. Last fall Mayor Johnson warned these eight black sheep that because of their betrayal of the solemn trust which they had accepted from their electorate, he would thoroughly inform the voters of their several bailiwicks of their perfidy and its significance, and that he believed that when the facts were brought home to the intelligence of the voters, those who had betrayed the people in the interests of the corporations would be relegated to private life. These recreant Democrats, however, only laughed at the Mayor. They felt absolutely secure with the rich corporations and monopolies behind them and thoroughly entrenched as they imagined themselves to be in their partisan organizations. They knew the people were unorganized and accustomed to accept the men whom the two party machines and the local bosses forced upon them at the primary elections. Furthermore, Mayor Johnson was far removed from their districts, and Senator Hanna and the corporations confidently predicted that they would completely snow him under at the spring elections—so completely, indeed, that he would never again be heard of in political life.

Mayor Johnson, however, instead of being politically overthrown, was vindicated as no mayor had ever before been vindicated in Ohio, and after his triumph he turned his attention to the recreant democratic legislators. Their districts were



literally sown in literature informing the people of the perfidy of their representatives. It soon became evident that the chances of seven of these were clearly hopeless. Not so, however, with those of Mr. William H. Earhart, of Richland County. He had behind him, besides the power and wealth of the corporations, the local Democratic leaders of his district. Friends of the Mayor informed him that it would be useless to oppose Earhart. The effort would result in Mr. Johnson's defeat, as the legislator was sure to be nominated.

This did not daunt Mayor Johnson, however, and he took his automobile and fared forth to Richland County, where he opened a whirlwind campaign. Always before speaking the Mayor offered to divide his time with any representative of the opposition and to answer any questions. The servants of corporate greed and the men who betray their parties and are false to ante-election pledges, however, do not dare to fight in the open, and the offers were not accepted; but a vigorous silent campaign was inaugurated to offset Mr. Johnson's work. The latter, however, addressed to voters in every town in the district, and wherever he spoke he had literature distributed exposing the betrayal of the party by Earhart and his associates. The result was that the recreant legislator was defeated at the primaries by a most decisive majority. The local bosses and leaders and the machine and corporate influences and aid proved powerless to save him when the facts were brought home to the conscience of the voters.

Again the statement of St. Louis' brave district attorney was emphasized, in which he declared that the people at heart are sound, but that they are unorganized.

The keynote of Mr. Johnson's speeches against Earhart is found in these extracts from his addresses to the Richland County voters:

The Democratic party will remain the minority party in the State as long as a handful of boodlers are permitted to parcel out second terms to such men as Earhart. It is worth much to the Democratic party to punish one who has betrayed his trust.

I charge Earhart with voting for unjust corporation privileges, against two platforms and a caucus of his party.

I'm not for every man that marks himself a Democrat. I'm not with every local or national leader. The mission of the Democratic party is to advocate principles that will bring victory to liberty-loving people of all parties.

When a handful of men distribute the local offices, when Democracy sinks to that level, it doesn't deserve success, and I hope it won't get it.

The steam roads don't pay one-third as much taxes as you men who pay rent. You are taxpayers three times as much as the steam roads. I preach a Democracy of equality, justice, home rule, and equal taxation, and am not for legislators who ride to Columbus on passes and when there remember the passes and forget their constituents. When the principles of equality, justice and home rule bring success to your party you bring success to Democrats and Republicans as well.

This victory is far more than a local triumph for the great Democratic leader of the Buckeye State. It is of national significance and importance. The contest was against a crowning evil of present-day politics, and the victory points out the way by which the voters in every State can emancipate themselves from legislators who are the tools of corporate greed.

If organizations can be formed in every district and a small sum contributed to enable a league or committee to keep tally on the votes of every legislator and at stated intervals inform the electors by pamphlets and other methods of the action of every representative and senator, and at the end of the session furnish a summary of the stewardship of the people's representatives, it will not be long before the attorneys and tools for corporations, who have for years systematically betrayed the electorate, will be relegated to private life.

Let Mayor Johnson's example be everywhere followed by true patriots in all parties.

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## RED OF THE DAWN.

The rapidly growing popularity of Nature studies and humanistic and sympathetic portrayals of the beauties, wonders, lessons, and uses of the plant and animal life about us is one of the significant and promising signs of the hour. The amazing popularity of books of this character during the past two or three years would seem to proclaim the advent of an idealistic reaction from the military craze and the brutal, materialistic utilitarianism that have so deadened the finer feelings of millions of our people during the past generation, and whose baleful influence is reflected in national, social, and individual life on every hand.

Positivism has its place and use in the march of civilization, but when it usurps the throne of idealism and subordinates the moral or spiritual ideals to egoistic and materialistic aims and ends, all progress that possesses the elements of permanency is

arrested, and the current of national and individual life sinks rather than rises. This is one of the most important facts of history. It is the lesson of lessons for clergymen, authors, teachers, and parents to keep in mind.

A few years ago there was a mania among the young for military practise. Boys' brigades were formed in Sunday Schools and day schools, and in many cases the youths were not content until they had real guns for purposes of parade and practise. Running parallel with this warlike spirit was the sportsman's craze, and the passion for killing game and other little creatures became a mania with many. Ex-President Cleveland greatly stimulated this brutal pastime, not only by practise when President, but subsequently by published papers on the subject; while at the same time women responded to the sanguinary popular wave by wearing headgear that represented the slaughter of one or more of the most beautiful and inoffensive of Nature's winged children—the feathered songsters of field, forest, and seashore.

Now, however, a strong reaction is setting in. Fundamental ethical ideals that a few years ago were sneered at or laughed out of court are beginning to arrest the attention of the people. Earnestness and sincerity are becoming more and more apparent in life and attest the return to moral sanity and spiritual health. The military mania is waning in many homes, especially at the thousands of firesides where brave young American youths have been sacrificed in our attempt to subjugate the liberty-loving Filipinos in our campaign of criminal aggression. While last, but by no means of least importance, is the reaction in favor of country life and of loving, sympathetic interest in flowers, birds, and other living creatures that are more or less dependent on man.

This change from the sportsman's thirst for slaughter for the sake of slaughter to loving interest in the birds and animals of forest and field, and the tendency to turn from the artificial pastimes of commercial centers to the beauties of Nature, speaks of the reassertion of the finer impulses in man—the quickening into life of that noble idealism that inspires, exalts, and dignifies life, while yielding pleasure at once pure and lasting, which never cloy or leaves a bitter after-taste.

These are hopeful signs that indicate the advent of another of those great idealistic waves or progressive movements that bear humanity upward and onward, revivifying and rejuvenating the nation or civilization that responds to its impulses.

## A CATHOLIC CONGRESS OF SOCIALISTS.

A congress of Catholic Socialists was held at Chalons, France, the last of May, presided over by the eminent French man of letters and churchman, Cardinal Perraud. This distinguished prelate, who is one of the forty immortals, while heartily in sympathy with the main tenets in the social and economic theories of the two leaders of idealistic Socialism, M. Jaures and M. Millerand, deplores the liberalism of these great statesmen. He is a Christian Socialist, who realizes how the church by its reactionary course in upholding the partisans of monarchy and in assailing the republic which supported it, has antagonized the government and also driven away a vast proportion of the electorate. He sees progressive or idealistic Socialism, under Jaures and Millerand, moving steadily forward and winning the workingmen on every side by the fundamental fairness of its demands, and he realizes that the only hope of checking the stampede from the church is by boldly raising the banner of Christian Socialism.

At this convention of Christian Catholic Socialists, while the liberalism of Jaures and Millerand was naturally the subject of criticism, no attacks of any kind were made on the Socialistic teachings of these great leaders. This congress, presided over by an illustrious Roman Catholic cardinal, is one of the most significant of recent political happenings; but the news of its deliberations must have been wormwood and gall to Father Sherman, Archbishop Ireland, and other American priests and prelates who have won the plaudits of the plutocratic and reactionary journals by their fulminations against Socialism.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.\*

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**BOSTON DAYS.** By Lilian Whiting. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 486.  
Price \$1.50 net. Boston, Little, Brown & Co.

The affinity in thought for that which is fine and high, the breadth of vision and rare charm of style that have made Lilian Whiting one of the most popular and widely read authors, journalists, and newspaper correspondents of Boston, are striking characteristics of her latest and in many respects most interesting volume, "Boston Days," in which are treated as only the sympathetic idealist who is thoroughly acquainted with the themes could treat them, those three great movements and their chief representatives which made Boston preëminent as a center of literary and spiritual activity. Here, in a manner very captivating, are marshalled before the mental vision of the reader the illustrious men who as philosophers, theologians, poets, critics, orators, and reformers have either influenced in a large way the thought of the world, enriched literature for all time, or in a positive manner changed the political current of events in the republic.

At the present time, when the intellectual world is considering the life, philosophy, and influence of Emerson as never before, the chapter entitled "Concord and Its Famous Authors" will be of special interest to general readers; for here, as we would naturally expect, the greatest of New England philosophers occupies the center of the stage, while around him are ranged such rare spirits as the sweet-souled philosopher, Bronson Alcott; the nature-lover, Thoreau; that wonderful woman of peculiar conversational talents, Margaret Fuller; with numerous less famous literary personages.

The volume is divided into four sections, dealing with "The City of Beautiful Ideals," "Concord and Its Famous Authors," "The Golden Age of Genius," and "The Dawn of the Twentieth Century." Each complements the other, and the whole forms a vivid panorama of the intellectual and spiritual activity of the Boston of the nineteenth century, especial emphasis being given to the liberal, idealistic and broadly Christian men and movements. The work is crowded with interesting and inspiring historical, biographical, and reminiscent facts and illustrations presented in the most engaging manner.

The fact that Miss Whiting is an idealist of the idealists enables her to seize upon and emphasize those subjects that are fundamental to spiritual and ethical growth; while one finds an added interest in

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\*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

the work due to the breadth of spiritual vision and the intellectual hospitality which are breathed forth from every page. Few writers, especially among our women authors, could maintain so sympathetic an attitude toward Emerson, Parker, and Channing on the one hand, and toward the greatest of the trinitarian clergymen on the other.

There is one criticism that may fairly be made against this otherwise delightful work, and that is a fault that journalists, and especially contributors to daily papers, are very liable to fall into. We refer to the abrupt passing from one subject to another. In ephemeral work such as one encounters in the daily press, this is not surprising; but in a volume intended for the library the reader expects more unity in method and treatment. With this exception, however, "Boston Days" is from first to last a most enjoyable, helpful and highly instructive work—an important contribution to a deeply interesting subject, and will add much to Miss Whiting's popularity as an author.

It is beautifully illustrated and handsomely printed and bound.

**THE GREY CLOAK.** By Harold MacGrath. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 463. Price \$1.50. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Harold MacGrath's new novel, "The Grey Cloak," is one of the best romantic stories of recent years. It cannot be said to have much if any historical value further than giving some vivid pictures of court life at the time when Mazarin was supreme in France, and of French colonial life as found in the Canada of that period. But for lovers of the purely romantic novels whose scenes lie in the stirring days when the throne of France and the nobility were constantly at war; when chivalry and courage jostled craft and cunning; when great egoistic passion flowered in life, and when concern for the many slept in the public conscience, this volume will be the source of much delight; for the author is a master in his special field. He writes with pleasing literary finish. His characters though numerous are well drawn, and the human interest in the principals never flags. There is plenty of action—too much, perhaps, from an artistic viewpoint, but this will be no more a fault in the eyes of the lover of romantic fiction than the stirring melodramatic quality that abounds in the numerous climaxes.

The story abounds in beautiful passages, of which the following extracts from the words of a young priest to the hero are illustrative:

"Do you know what charity is?"

"It is a fine word, covered with fine clothes, and goes about in pomp and glitter. It builds in the abstract: telescopes for the blind, lutes for the deaf, flowers for the starved. Bah! charity has had little bearing on my life."

"Listen," said Brother Jacques; "of all God's gifts to men, charity is the largest. To recognize a sin in oneself and to forgive it in another because we possess it, that is charity. Charity has no balances like justice; it weighs neither this nor that. Its heart has no secret chambers; every door will open for the knocking. Mercy is justice modified. Charity forgives where justice punishes and mercy condones. Your bitter words were directed against philanthropy, not charity. Shall an old man's repentance knock at the heart of his son and find not charity there?"

This story is an excellent companion to "Under the Rose." Both are exceptionally interesting and well written romantic novels. "The Grey Cloak" would make a strong melodrama and one that we think would prove a positive success if produced while the present taste for dramatic presentations of popular fiction is at its height.

**THE SONG OF THE CARDINAL.** By Gene Stratton-Porter. Illustrated from photographs by the author. Cloth. Pp. 163. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

This exquisite contribution to the rapidly growing literature dealing with Nature studies and forest lore deserves a place in every American home. It will do for the birds of the forest what "Black Beauty" did for the horse. We cannot conceive of a boy or girl, or one of older years, who has read its pages, ever again being able to wantonly slaughter the feathered singers of forest and field. It will awaken the tender and essentially noble emotions which inspire a reverence for life and a sympathetic and loving interest in Nature, in a way that cannot fail to enrich the character of its readers.

To us the amazing popularity of Nature books—a popularity which rivals that of conventional fiction—clearly foreshadows a renaissance of moral enthusiasm such as precedes every distinct spiritual and humanitarian advance in civilization; and this volume, if widely circulated, will be no inconsiderable factor in awakening the finer side of life which the money-madness of the past thirty years has tended to anesthetize.

"The Song of the Cardinal" is a fascinating story of the life of a redbird, or Kentucky cardinal, as it is popularly called, who is born in the valley of the Wabash. The author possesses the soul of an artist and a poet, which enables her to invest the story with the charm of a rich and vivid imagination; while her knowledge of the habits and peculiarities of the redbird and the love she feels for the cardinal family impart a living interest to her work that makes the reader enter into the joys and tribulations, the triumphs, failures, and final victory of the hero, with much the same personal interest one feels in the leading figures of a well-told romance of life.

Into the web and woof of the story the author has also woven a beautiful picture of an old man and woman who through the song and the presence of the cardinal are brought again into the loving, sympathetic nearness to each other that marked the golden days of their early married life.

The story is admirably told from first to last, and there are many passages of great beauty. The descriptions are especially vivid, while the excellent reproductions of photographs taken by the author add much to the interest of the volume, which is handsomely printed and will make a beautiful and appropriate presentation work. If the Audubon Society should circulate thousands of copies of this work, it would do far more to revolutionize public sentiment than the expenditure of the same amount of money in dry arguments or heated protests.

**WASHINGTON, ITS SIGHTS AND INSIGHTS.** By Mrs. Harriet Earhart Monroe. Profusely illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 184. Price, \$1 net. New York, Funk & Wagnalls Company.

As the capital of the republic Washington holds a special interest for Americans, and whether or not one is able to visit this beautiful city with its stately public buildings and palatial homes, its broad avenues and numerous wooded circles, and its various centers of interest and instruction, a general knowledge of the city is expected from all intelligent citizens. To meet this demand as well as to afford a comprehensive guidebook, as authoritative and complete as a Baedeker and far more interesting and attractive, "Washington, Its Sights and Insights" has been written by the well-known writer and lecturer, Mrs. Harriet Earhart Monroe. The author has made that thorough study of the subject which is essential for an authoritative work, while she has brightened and relieved the descriptive pages with numerous pleasing anecdotes and bits of biographical information that are as entertaining and instructive, while serving to fix other facts in the memory of the reader. The style also is pleasing, and altogether the volume is a work that merits wide circulation. It is profusely illustrated with excellent pictures, and is attractively bound.

**A DAUGHTER OF THE SIOUX.** By Gen. Charles King. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 306. Price, \$1.50. New York, The Hobart Company.

Gen. King is so well known to the American reading public through his stories of western frontier army life, that any fresh novel from his pen is sure to gain a wide circulation, and the present volume will prove no exception.

The heroine of "A Daughter of the Sioux" is a young girl whom the members of the little colony of Fort Frayne believe to be an American, but in whose veins runs a slight strain of Indian blood. Her loyalty to her own people and her treachery toward her white friends and companions form the plot of the story and give General King an opportunity for those vivid descriptions of army and Indian life, and of skirmishes between the Indians and the soldiers, which have won such high commendation for his former works. All who are interested in the fate of the fast-disappearing aboriginal tribes of our country, as well as those who love a story for the story's sake, will find in "A Daughter of the Sioux" a pleasing change from the omnipresent romantic historical novel.

The volume is beautifully illustrated with several color plates by Frederic Remington and Edward Willard Deming.



## BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Our Benevolent Feudalism." By W. J. Ghent. Paper. Pp. 198. Price, 25 cents net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

"The Filigree Ball." By Anna Katherine Green. Cloth. Illustrated. Pp. 416. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

"Can Such Things Be?" By Ambrose Bierce. Cloth. Pp. 320. Washington: The Neale Pub. Co.

"Boston Days." By Lilian Whiting. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 485. Price, \$1.50 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"Washington, Its Sights and Insights." By Harriet Earhart Monroe. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 183. Price, \$1 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

"The Grey Cloak." By Harold MacGrath. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 463. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

"The Main Chance." By Meredith Nicholson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 419. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

"The Song of the Cardinal." By Gene Stratton-Porter. Illustrated with camera studies from life. Cloth. Pp. 163. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

"How Paris Amuses Itself." By F. Berkeley Smith. 135 illustrations. Cloth. Pp. 334. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

"Blind Children." Poems by Israel Zangwill. Cloth. Pp. 136. Price, \$1.20 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

"The testimony of Reason." By Samuel L. Phillips. Cloth. Pp. 116. Price, 50 cents. Washington: The Neale Pub. Co.

"The Willow and the Brook and Other Stories." By Ina Joy. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 99. Price, \$1. Washington: The Neale Pub. Co.

"Verses by Bertha Gerneaux Woods." Cloth. Pp. 120. Washington: The Neale Pub. Co.

"Stolen from a Duchy's Throne." By Leland Dolf Cox. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 191. Price, \$1.25. Washington: The Neale Pub. Co.

"A Story Within a Story." By Dawn Graye. Cloth. Pp. 156. Price, \$1. Washington: The Neale Pub. Co.

"Reform In the Jungle." By Oliver C. McCardell. Cloth. Pp. 60. Price, 50 cents. Washington: The Neale Pub. Co.

"The Science and Philosophy of Life." By Edward H. Cowles, D.P. Leather. Pp. 243. Price, \$1. Portland, Ore.: Published by the Portland Institute of Psychology.

"A Memoir of Robert M. T. Hunter." By Martha T. Hunter. With an address on his life by Col. L. Quinton Washington. Cloth. Pp. 166. Price, \$2. Washington: The Neale Pub. Co.

"The Boy: How to Help Him Succeed." By Nathaniel T. Fowler, Jr. Cloth. Pp. 320. Price, \$1.25. Boston: The Oakwood Pub. Co.

"A Prince of Sinners." By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 386. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

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**CORDIAL RECEPTION OF JUNE ARENA:**—At the present writing a large number of letters are being received from subscribers and readers, warmly commending the June ARENA; and what is more noteworthy, the increased demand for this issue has been so great as to warrant our publishing a larger edition of the July number. This increased demand for a magazine devoted to the discussion of serious subjects during the summer months is something almost phenomenal. We recall but one instance in the history of this review when the call for ARENAS necessitated our increasing the edition during the summer season.

**THE CONSTITUTION AND THE SUPREME COURT:**—Mr. John Brooks Leavitt's paper on "The Evolution of the Constitution" is an exceptionally able historical contribution by a leading thinker especially qualified to discuss this important theme. While the facts dealt with are in the main conclusive and indisputable, many readers will question whether recent decisions of the Supreme Court indicate evolutionary development in the sense that the term "evolutionary" is employed to designate normal growth and healthy process. The fact that the Supreme Court in recent years, with a few notable exceptions, has been recruited from the ranks of the railroad and corporation lawyers—men who for years have been in the habit of viewing problems through the spectacles of class interest and of arguing for the great moneyed corporations in disputes between the government or the workingmen on the one hand and the corporations on the other—has naturally tended to lower the old-time reverence for the Supreme Court in the public mind. For the more thoughtful citizens know full well that no matter how sincerely a man may try to rise above prejudice and pre-conceived opinions, it is almost impossible for him to escape the influence of a world of thought in which he has long lived and to cast aside the influence exerted by trains of thought which he has long made his own. Moreover, a large number of the decisions of the Supreme Court since a time shortly anterior to the famous Income Tax decision, in which all former Supreme Court decisions on the question were reversed, to the present day, have been in keeping with the interests and desires of

the great property classes, and especially the contentions of the corporations, trusts and monopolies. Besides this, in most of the recent decisions the Court has been almost equally divided. It is not strange, therefore, that millions of Americans, and among them many of the most discerning citizens, fail to see a reflection of the old-time high and fine democratic ideals or of normal evolutionary constitutional growth in the imperialistic and other later day decisions of the Supreme Court.

**PERSECUTIONS IN RUSSIA:**—Last month we published a fascinating but pathetic historic sketch of Finland's heroic struggle for freedom against the brutal and treacherous despotism of Russia. This month we give another startling chapter of crime for which the government of the Czar is directly responsible. In "The Kishineff Massacre: Cause and Effect" and "The Kishineff *Pogrom*" we have two papers by scholarly Russians that are important contributions to contemporaneous history. Mr. Rovinsky's discussion is a lucid and graphic picture of internal conditions in Russia under the tyrannical despotism of the Czar's two most trusted friends and servants, Minister of the Interior Plehve and M. Pobiedonostzeff, the head of the Holy Synod. This paper is an admirable companion to Mr. Jackol's "Reign of Terror in Finland." The author of "The Kishineff *Pogrom*" is a well-known professional gentleman and an essayist, residing in New York, but who for sufficient and excellent reasons withholds his name. The views of both these scholarly essayists are those of specialists and experts who are also humanitarians. The papers are important contributions to the literature of protest. Wherever the public press is censored and public education tampered with, despotism, corruption and barbarism will follow.

**REPRESENTATIVE POLITICAL LEADERS:**—Mr. Joseph Dana Miller's keen and incisive pen pictures of President Roosevelt and Mayor Johnson impress us as being one of the most discriminating and accurate analyses of the mental and temperamental qualities of the two men who to-day best represent the opposing political ideals that marked the great struggle of early times led by Alexander Hamilton on the one hand and by Thomas Jefferson on the other. President Roosevelt has been an enigma and a bitter disappointment to many of his former enthusiastic friends, who expected to find his brave words and keen epigrams translated into acts that should redound to his glory and entitle him to a high place among the Presidents great enough to resist the seductions of wealth and the power of political bosses, to which a time-server whose personal ambition was great would readily yield. Men who hailed with

joy his manly utterances against the trusts on his New England circuit last fall, before Congress met, were amazed at his justification of the course of Congress on his western trip as well as at his signing the astounding Elkins Bill, which removed the criminal liability of law-breaking corporation magnates. Patriots who regarded him as one of the strongest and finest representatives of civil service reform in America were struck dumb by his subserviency to Boss Addicks in the nomination of one of his most active henchmen to a position of great importance to purity in politics, especially in the face of the determined opposition of the decent element in his own party in Delaware, and they could frame no excuse for his appointing the most conspicuous type of a machine politician in America to be Postmaster-General; while the fulsome praise which the President is from time to time receiving from Boss Quay and certain other of the most malodorous politicians in the government to-day is a strange commentary on the political course of one who long stood as a foremost exponent of clean politics and civil service. We believe that those of our citizens who have been perplexed in regard to the President's course will find the true explanation in Mr. Miller's paper. The President's first impulses are true, but he is inordinately ambitious—a type of the egoist rather than the altruist—and the calculation which follows upon his first impulses and warns him that he must make friends with the Mammon of unrighteousness if he would further his personal ambitions, leads to the apparent contradictions between the words and the deeds of the man who said: "Words are good when backed by deeds, and only then." On the other hand, Mayor Johnson more than any other statesman of to-day has striven to make good his every promise and to defend the cause of the people against the criminal aggressions, the oppression and injustice of corporate power.

UNDERTAKINGS IN CO-OPERATION:—Last month we presented a most valuable historical summary of the progress of coöperation in Europe from the pen of Professor Frank Parsons. This month the same author discusses "Undertakings in Coöperation in Europe and America" in a most helpful and suggestive manner. Coöperation is the keynote of advance on the economic plane, as Majority Rule is the supreme issue on the political plane.

THE APOSTACY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY EXPOSED:—In his "Defence of the Declaration of Independence" the veteran jurist and life-long Republican, Judge Samuel C. Parks, deals with the apostacy or falling away of the party of Lincoln from its old-time ideals

and principles in a manner well calculated to startle the more conscientious and thoughtful Republicans who have heretofore drifted with their organization and have not realized into what waters the partisan leaders were steering the nation. Judge Parks is a statesman, author, and jurist whose words are entitled to the gravest consideration. Thrice did he receive appointments to territorial Supreme Benches by Republican Presidents. In 1862 President Lincoln appointed him to the Supreme Bench of Idaho. In 1878 President Hayes appointed him to the Supreme Bench of New Mexico, and in 1882 President Arthur transferred him to the Supreme Bench of Wyoming. In 1870 he was a prominent member of the Illinois Constitutional Convention. He belongs to that noble band of true Republicans that forty years ago made our republic the glory of civilization, and he represents the moral or ethical statesmanship that is essential to the upward and onward march of a free government and the perpetuity of republican institutions, just as Senator Spooner well typifies reactionary opportunism which deifies materialistic commercialism and subordinates ethics; which believes in war and justifies the slaughter of the weak by the strong; which is found battling for syndicates, corporations, and exploiters, and which favors the election of the President of the United States for a term of twenty years. In a word, as Judge Parks stands for republicanism and the rights of man, Senator Spooner typifies and embodies the essentially despotic reactionary spirit that is to-day sneering at the Declaration of Independence and employing "the arguments of thrones" in combating the principles, aspirations and ideals of free institutions or tendencies. Judge Parks' paper is a trumpet call to the conscience of friends of freedom of all parties, and should do much toward arousing those who are worthy of the name of Republicans to the peril of the present imperialistic drift of government in the firm grasp of commercial feudalism, which, when not sneering at the spiritual ideals, is playing the hypocrite in Uriah Heep fashion, or engaging in subtle platitudes which sound well but which, like Senator Spooner's remarks quoted by Judge Parks, are thoroughly sophistical and essentially false.

**GOVERNOR GARVIN ON BRIBERY:**—Governor L. F. C. Garvin, of Rhode Island, is the most progressive, outspoken and truly democratic governor in New England. He is no trimmer, and is a man greatly feared by the corrupt element that thrives in boss-ridden states like Rhode Island, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York. He recently discussed the subject of bribery before a club of earnest men in Boston, and by special arrangement revised his remarks for the

**ARENA.** In view of the revelations of bribery recently made in Missouri, of the constant and growing rumors of corrupt practices in Massachusetts, and of ugly facts which are constantly coming to the surface in other states and in many municipal centers, this brief paper will prove timely.

**TREASON THE LAW'S HIGHEST CRIME:—**The recent conviction of Colonel Arthur Lynch of treason in England has awakened an interest in the subject which is ably presented in its historical and legal aspects by Captain William P. Kent in this issue. The author, who is the son of Lieutenant-Governor R. C. Kent of Virginia, holds the degree of Bachelor of Philosopher from the venerable and historic seat of learning, William and Mary College, and that of Bachelor of Law from the University of Virginia. His professions are those of a lawyer and journalist. During the Spanish War he served as Captain of Infantry in the Seventh Army Corps.

**WHAT THE LIFE OF AN ESKIMO EDITOR TEACHES:—**Mr. Axel E. Gibson's sketch of Lars Möller, the Eskimo journalist, is far more than an interesting life story of a truly remarkable man. It bears with it a lesson at once inspiring and impressive for every young man and woman in the republic. It is difficult to conceive of any one meditating on the struggles of this ignorant Eskimo with obstacles that to ordinary comprehension would seem insurmountable, his superb perseverance and tireless consecration to a great work, and the ultimate victory, without being fired with new courage and determination. He who possesses firm resolution or the will to do, perseverance, industry, and a definite and worthy aim, cannot fail in life. Even in his hours of seeming eclipse his example will fall behind him, a trail of glory pointing the way for the oncoming pilgrims through the years that are to come.

**DIVORCE AND PUBLIC MORALS:—**Perhaps the greatest weakness of the American people is a tendency to judge of grave subjects in a superficial manner, yielding to shallow prejudice and emotional appeals rather than broadly and judicially considering the problem in the light of the basic principles involved. Nowhere is this shallowness more in evidence than in the popular discussion of the divorce question. A certain body of narrow-minded religionists are industriously working to secure a uniform national law which would make it almost impossible to obtain divorce. The measureless crime of enforced parenthood where there is no love, the compelling of a wife to remain

for life the companion of a drunkard who is liable to do her violence at any time and who, in all probability, will compel her to bring into the world children cursed before they are born and destined to become a scourge to society—these and other phases of the question, as grave and weighty and which affect the present life of tens of thousands of our people and the oncoming generations, are brushed aside as inconsequential by the narrow-minded religionists whose prejudice seems to have made it impossible for them to consider the problem philosophically or in the light of fundamental truths. In this number Rev. Mabel MacCoy Irwin contributes a very thoughtful paper on this grave subject. It is a hopeful sign to see ministers of the gospel viewing this great question in a sane, broad, and philosophical manner.

#### SOME IMPORTANT FORTHCOMING CONTRIBUTIONS:—

The following are among the important papers which will appear in the September and October numbers of the *ARENA*: "Direct Legislation in New Zealand," by the Hon. H. G. Ell, member of the New Zealand Parliament; "The Aftermath of the Spanish-American War," by Judge Samuel C. Parks, a companion paper to the "Defence of the Declaration of Independence," which appears in this issue; "The Demands of Art in Our Republic," by the eminent sculptor and author, William Ordway Partridge; "The Rights of Property and the Rights of Man," by Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy; "The Practical Value of Public Ownership and Operation of Lighting Plants," by Frederick F. Ingram, Commissioner of Public Lighting in Detroit; "Shall We Have a National or a Bank Currency?" by Wharton Barker; "Art and Socialism," by Professor John Ward Stimson; "Islam and Democracy," by Muhammed Barakatullah, and "The Bible versus Plutocracy," by Dean George McA. Miller, LL.B., Ph.D., of Ruskin University.

In this connection we wish to correct an error made in announcing Dean Miller's paper on "The New Education," which appeared in the June *ARENA*. By an oversight Dean Miller was mentioned as president of Ruskin University instead of as Dean. The error occurred from the fact that he had formerly been president of Ruskin College, and when the college was changed into the university and removed to Chicago, President Miller's office was changed to that of Dean of the Academic Department.

**AN EARNEST WORD TO OUR READERS:—**The paper by Dean George McA. Miller, of Ruskin University, on "The Bible versus Plutocracy," which will be a strong feature of the September *ARENA*, is a contribution of extraordinary importance and timeliness, and

should be read by every Christian minister in America. It will, we believe, produce a deep impression on any conscience-guided clergyman, and will tend to start anew a wave of spiritual enthusiasm over the land. For this reason we ask every reader who feels that he can possibly afford a small outlay for the cause of social righteousness, to order one or more September ARENAS, and when received underscore Professor Miller's paper, after which either place it in the hands of or send it to some minister in your community. When practicable, ask each clergyman as a personal favor to you to read the discussion and tell you exactly what he thinks of the reasoning and of the importance of the thought presented. This paper offers an opportunity to each reader to positively and effectively aid in furthering the cause of justice for all the people; and from our knowledge of our readers we confidently believe that they will not allow such an opportunity to pass unimproved.



*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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# THE ARENA

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## THE DEMANDS OF ART IN THIS NEW REPUBLIC.

ART is no longer a mere vehicle for pleasure, and one can scarcely have patience with the hue and cry of art for art's sake. We recognize that it must to-day help man to realize in the most profound way the consciousness of his own soul. John Morley has said: "The truth is that nothing can be more powerfully efficacious from the moral point of view than the exercise of an exalted creative art; at once enlarging and elevating the range of his reflections on mankind, even kindling his sympathies into the warm and continuous glow which glorifies and strengthens nature, and fills men with that love of humanity which is the best inspirer of virtue."

Art, as some one has wisely said, is not a substitute for life, but a key to it.

I believe that art holds a precious boon for our hurrying race. It presents lofty types for their contemplation; it keeps before the mind of the people the ideal faces of our national heroes. We come suddenly upon a statue in the jar and confusion of the market place, and, for a moment, the buying and the selling are hushed, and the soul is refreshed in beholding some heroic type who has sacrificed life for his country and truth. We are confronted by inspiring faces in bronze, that show the illumination of God-like lives. The spiritual side of life is

nourished by such memorials. One cannot escape them. Their mission is to uplift, and their influence upon character, while a silent one, is as potent as that of nature, working her wonders without noise, but unfailingly. Truly Michael Angelo wrote: "The might of one fair face sublimates my love."

Art is greatly practical, and for two unanswerable reasons: The first is that it makes for manhood, and the second that it nourishes the most conservative and practical idea man has ever cherished, namely, the love of immortality. By presenting high ideals to the imagination, art lifts man above his material possessions and desires into the realms of eternal truth and spirit. It works constantly for our happiness, and is grandly, democratically practical, because it makes great and true men.

But modern art deals preëminently with humanity in its most humble aspects. It teaches us that the meanest life has something in it worthy of all reverence; greater, even in its rags, than all physical nature. It not only is the molder of idealism, but it teaches the citizen to live sanely and quietly, furnishes a healthful and inspiring order of amusement, and so conserves the individual and national life. It holds something for all conditions of men; it reveals to the peasant the beauty that he walks upon, unwittingly, and he listens with new ears to the songs that nature sings.

Phillips Brooks wrote: "Art and poetry and music and deeper thought are helping men to the sense that this new world which science finds, where the old faith lies captive and lamenting, is not a world all alien and terrible, but that our human lives can rise into harmony with its glorious order; that the heavens are vaster and the earth holier than what our fathers knew."

Thus science opens new purposes to art, and art records the achievements of science; there is no antagonism between the two. Indeed, there can be no great art without a great science. The men who placed the pyramids in their everlasting stations—who handled masses of stone as large as a small house, wedding one to another with a nicety that baffles our artisans—Ictinos, who planned the Parthenon, and Phidias, who designed

its sculpture, were masters of scientific laws that make us appear like tyros and children. Let us welcome science, but let us remember that as Whitman says:

"Your facts are useful, but yet they are not my dwelling,  
I but enter by them to an atrium of my dwelling.

\* \* \* \*

I know I am deathless,

I know this orbit of mine cannot be swept by a carpenter's compass."

Art, however, is and must be inevitably, a reflection of life. The art of the landscape painter is, to define it poetically, the reflection in the river, tree and cloud-form and blue sky, softened and arranged in some harmonious grouping. It seems almost idle to be talking of art, when nature is making it on every side. The fact is that we talk art too much and love it too little. Praxiteles is said to have permeated the marble with moods of his own soul, and to Amiel every landscape appeared to be a state of the soul.

When a great preacher returned from the far West he spoke of the scenery as being wonderful, yet lacking an all-comforting human interest; it had no human history. His meaning is clear; no man had yet adequately gathered up the mighty fragments of human life and given them back to his fellows in such terms of beauty that our world could appropriate them with satisfaction to the heart and soul, as well as to the understanding. The notes of human pathos, suffering, and joy were scattered on a disordered scale, waiting for some Beethoven to arrange them into divine harmony.

Bacon, with his peculiar astuteness, has justly defined art to be "man added to nature." This quality, then, the modern man asks to be added to the physical side of the universe. We have no terms as yet to express it. We may call it human sympathy or feeling. Terms will not be wanting when the thing itself exists more generally. It is this precious quality which is to make our art different from the art of Egypt and Greece and Rome, which is to make American art grander than that of any nation in the past. The Greeks scarcely dreamed of this thing, this delineation of character—the writing of life upon

the human face. What a fascinating study! It is the difference between the Venus of Milo and the Sistine Madonna, and something more, which I shall attempt to make clear. The spiritual import of the subject is to be wrought out, not necessarily by the accessories of crucifix and sackcloth, but told in the execution of the work, by the model selected, by the hand that works, and judged by the feeling inspired in the spectator, who is part of the whole plan.

"Art is the child of Nature,  
Her darling child, in whom we trace  
The features of the mother's face,  
Chastened and softened and subdued  
Into a more attractive mood,  
And with a human sense imbued."

This little verse of Longfellow's gives us the philosophy of art in a nutshell, the kind of art we produce depends upon the character of the human sense with which it is imbued. Men do not produce figs of thistles.

We see, then, the vital relationship between character and the art product. It determines the product. This is a tremendous thought, that we are writing, day by day, history in poetry and bronze, that shall make posterity glad that we have lived and blessed the earth, or make the men who come after us think of us as mere soulless clods, having no ideals worthy of perpetuation, no life higher than the beasts of the field.

Now, let us bring this question of art directly home. We do not belittle it by considering it in relation to the most simple talent or appreciation which we may possess. If it is sincere, that is all that is necessary. American art is the result of every degree of talent and appreciation which the country may afford.

History teaches that Greece gave something to this world beyond all its natural beauty, and that Greece did this inevitably; that she added the glory of thought and human feeling to mere physical and animal beauty. There are men who think that Greece told the story for all time, but those who study history in the sympathetic and searching light of to-day, and who live with and study their fellow men, know that this is not so. They are conscious that America has a sublime contribution to

make to the art of the world; a new chapter to write in the history of human achievement. What is it to be? We shall understand it better, perhaps, by considering first what it is not to be. It is not to be the imitation of any foreign schools, be they Greek, Florentine, or French. We are to give these schools and nations their meed of appreciation and reverence, and then to go our way alone. It is for this, I take it, that America was called into existence. Let no criticism daunt us and no past fetter us. The veriest wretch who feeds some benumbing piece of machinery in the noisy whirl of a manufacturing town has something to give to the world. It may be only that drop of his hopeless prison experience; but, no matter what it is, there are two rights which must be attained before we can be spiritually free or actually just. The one right is to let every individual express himself, and the other right is the world's claim to that expression. Each must give his moral quota, or something is lacking in the balance. Little did men dream years ago that the poor, wretched, crippled slave Epictetus had something to say of greater import than all the patricians in the land. We have not yet done with slavery; we have only advanced a plane higher in the scale of civilized living.

Shall we not find out what education in art means, if we can discover what it is in life? If we can but feel that each one of us has within him something so sacred, so precious, so well worth striving to develop, and to die for, if need be, that he may press forward unfalteringly, with that high faith that belongs to the youth of a great people. We are confronted with new problems that call upon us for independent solution. But we are the "heirs of all the ages," and surely we are not willing to accept tamely and supinely the opinions and achievements of a people who had a different light and a different social environment, and who were good and great according to the interpretation of their age.

Remember that art is not to be borrowed, or stolen, or invented. It comes only by evolution. Each flower is beautiful after its kind. The violet is not forever seeking to become a rose; nor is the rose envious of the violet. The commingling

of the two would not produce anything more beautiful. Each beautiful thing after its kind, and in the natural order of development. The evolution of art works according to universal, unchangeable law. Suppose, in physical nature, a tree should take it into its head to grow downward, and so cast its tortured roots into the air, would its life be any more satisfactory? The simile is not unlike the man, or the artist, or people, who are forever attempting something new, something strange. Sanity should be our watchword. The flower of a man's genius and a nation's should develop according to the law of their life-principle. It expands or contracts with their soul.

"Strength ever veiled with grace;  
The mind's anatomy implied, not shown,  
Nor grasping for the vague, no fruitless fires,  
But heard 'neath all the tone  
Of that far world to which the soul aspires."

And it is absolute sincerity in life alone which shall make for us a great art. There are those who dare to say that the soul is not still oracular, and that all revelation is of the past. But is not every stroke of genius a revelation of the divine power in man striving for expression, the voice that will not be stilled and cannot be hushed? There is a heaven which, as Wordsworth says, "lies about us from our infancy"—the world of vision; and at its well-springs life renews itself; the world of the real, and that world of the ideal which comprehends the real, and of which we are so often cheated by such pessimistic utterances.

We know to-day that the vision of beauty belongs to all mankind, and not to any clique or coterie, priest-craft or royalty. The poorest among us has the same right to enjoyment as the richest; character alone, not rank, determines the right to enjoy. The clearest and the most ecstatic vision belongs inevitably to the pure in heart.

WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE.

*New York.*

## THE BIBLE VS. PLUTOCRACY.

### I.

THE contention for the plaintiff in the case at bar is based upon the two propositions discussed under the main heads given below. The authority relied upon is the Jewish literature compiled in the sixty-six books of which the Bible is composed. The questions of divine authority, inspiration, and chronology do not concern this discussion. No matter how the political and economic principles herein discussed came to the Jewish people, they were great factors in the problem of their national life. No matter when they were reduced to writing they were the fundamental laws by which as a nation they lived, and by violation of which as a nation they died.

### II. THE BIBLE TEACHES A SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY WHICH IS OPPOSED TO PLUTOCRACY IN ALL ITS FORMS.

The principles of this policy are:

1. Direct administration of political affairs by the people.
2. Economic equality in the tenure of land.
3. Economic equality in industry and commerce.

1. The Hebrew people were in a lower state of civilization when they left Egypt than were our negro population at the time of their emancipation. They unquestionably were far inferior in this respect to any of the inhabitants of our "insular possessions." But even in the desert when they were supposed to have been little else than a military camp they had self-government. Moses rehearsing to them their history in the desert, and quoting his own words, said:

"How can I myself alone bear your cumbrance, and your burden, and your strife. Take ye wise men and understanding, and known among your tribes, and we will make them rulers over you. And ye answered me, and said, The thing which thou hast spoken is good for us to do."—Deut. 1:12-14.

This was before the giving of the law at Sinai by which they were to be governed after reaching Canaan. When this law was given at Sinai it was submitted to the people by Moses and adopted by them as definitely as was the constitution of any of our States adopted by popular vote.

"And all of the people answered together and said, All the words that the Lord hath spoken we will do."—Ex. 19:8.

After this law was adopted legislation was at an end. The law defined the relations of the people to each other and was complete. It was a statement of certain general principles, the application of which was to be made in all minor matters by the judiciary. But here also the government was a pure democracy. The judges were chosen by the people.

"Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates throughout thy tribes, and they shall judge the people with judgment."—Deut. 16:18.

The highest court, however, was the people themselves, and in the case of murder and in matters of national importance they had original and supreme jurisdiction.

"And they shall be unto you cities of refuge from the avenger that the manslayer die not until he stand before the congregation in judgment."—Num. 35:12.

When the contention in Nehemiah's time as to the rights of debtors and creditors arose, the court was the people.

"I rebuked the nobles and the rulers and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brother. And I set an assembly against them."—Neh. 5:7.

In this case they had the law. It was a thousand years old. What it needed was enforcement. Nehemiah enforced it, but only after the decision of the great assembly, which was the whole people or all who cared to participate, that the law was being violated. The above quotation gives the indictment and the convening of court.

The Jewish system provided for no legislative body either to amend or repeal any part of their organic law, and there is no account of any legislation, either by the people or by their representatives.



This principle of self government was approved and expanded in the teachings of Jesus. On the occasion of the strife among His disciples in regard to official position in the new kingdom, He said :

"Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you ; but whosoever will be great among you let him be your minister ; and whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant. Even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister."—Matt. 20:25-28.

It is clear that Jesus in these discourses was not stating a rule of conduct for His hearers only, but for all men in all relations of life. That His teaching was intended to express the Mosaic principle of political equality which was obligatory upon the Jewish nation is evident from the use of the word "Gentiles," which is always used in contradistinction to "Jews."

This is in keeping with His exhortation elsewhere to call no man master, and properly understood contains the germ of all democracy, and is the death knell of all individual or class authority, whether monarchical, oligarchic, plutocratic, or ecclesiastic.

This view of the matter is sustained by the policy adopted by the Pentecost Christians, as related in the first six chapters of the Acts. As soon as they were numerous enough to have a social organization of a general character they organized a pure democracy founded upon economic equality. This was not simply a church for the promotion of their spiritual welfare. It was a social order for the protection and promotion of their spiritual and temporal welfare ; for they seemed to understand that the separation of these interests into sacred and secular is disastrous to both. Their first election, an account of which is given in the first part of the sixth chapter of the Acts, relates that the "whole multitude" chose the seven officers that were to administer their business affairs.

The most practical method of applying this principle of self-government to our affairs is the adoption of the initiative and

referendum. Unless some such course is taken to vest the government in the people all attempts at economic reform will be futile. On the other hand, unless economic equality shall be established, political equality is forever impossible. Hence the importance of the second principle of the Jewish system—economic equality in the tenure of land.

2. The land was divided upon the basis of absolute equality.

“Unto these shall the land be divided for an heritage according to the number of the names. To many thou shalt give the more inheritance and to few thou shalt give the less inheritance.”—Num. 26:53.

The principle underlying the system of land tenure is stated thus:

“The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.”—Lev. 25:23.

The Lord is represented as speaking in this verse and the principle of land not being subject to absolute title any more than is the air or the sunlight is clearly announced. Absolute alienation of the title was not allowed, and land monopoly was thereby rendered impossible.

The year of jubilee ended all titles by conveyance:

“And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year; it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return every man to his possession.”—Lev. 25:10.

The term “rent” does not occur in connection with the account of the Jewish system of land tenure, but the taking of rents seems to be clearly prohibited in the provisions against taking “increase” which occurs in connection with the numerous prohibitions against usury (interest).

This view is sustained by the action of Nehemiah (Neh. 5:11), when, after the assembly of the people had adjudicated the matter, he compelled the “nobles and the rulers” to restore to the people not only the “hundredth part of the money” (interest), but “the corn, the wine and the oil” which they exacted of them, which evidently means rent in the modern sense. This view is further sustained by the fact that the same verse contained a command for the restoration to the peo-

ple of their "lands, their vineyards, their olive yards and their houses" which the nobles had taken under mortgage. If the taking of these products had not been unlawful Nehemiah could not have required the restoration of them.

Amos (5:11) denounces the rich for taking from the poor "burdens of wheat." This unquestionably refers to rent, and would not have been denounced if it had not been unlawful. In these cases, also, as in the denunciations of usury, not the taking of too large an amount but the taking itself is the thing that is condemned.

The prophets who are supposed to refer to Jesus and the triumph of His teachings in the affairs of men give us beautiful visions of economic equality:

"They shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree."—Micah. 4.

"And they (the people) shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat."—Isaiah 65:21-25.)

In accordance with these predictions Jesus said in the Sermon on the Mount:

"Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth."

It is clear from Luke's account of this same discourse (Luke 6:20-38), where the rich and poor are set in contrast that by the "meek" is meant the humble, lowly classes who were being oppressed by the rich who at the time held nearly all the land, in violation of the Mosaic law governing land tenure. That land tenure is here referred to is further supported by the fact that in many translations the word "land" is used instead of "earth," and this is considered by eminent scholars the better translation.

3. It was once the cherished belief that if political equality were achieved the "Ultima Thule" of progress in government would be reached. This has been found to be error, and was so considered in the adoption of the Jewish system.

It is now held by many that political plus economic equality in land tenure would equal Utopia. This would be a long

march toward the goal, but only two-thirds of the way, and this was clearly recognized in the Jewish system, and the principle or third proposition stated in the beginning of our discussion was added to complete the civic fabric. This principle was embodied in two provisions:

1. That tools for the production of the necessities of life should be absolutely exempt from the control of wealth.

2. That the means of exchange of products should be safeguarded so as to prevent the commerce of the people from falling under the control of wealth.

As to the first provision, detailed regulations are not given, but the principle is clearly stated:

"No man shall take the nether or the upper millstone to pledge; for he taketh a man's life to pledge."—Deut. 24 :6.

From the above quotation we may fairly infer that all tools for producing the necessities of life were likewise exempt. This view is sustained by the fact that similar provisions were made for the exemption of clothing, and from the general character of the laws for the prevention of oppression. However, with the land free for the production of grain and free machinery for reducing it to food, with clothing, and doubtless included therewith the means of producing it—all exempt from the grasp of wealth, a valid mortgage being impossible even when the owner was willing to part with the means of his living, nothing more seemed necessary so far as providing for primary wants was concerned.

Notice the force of the language: "For he taketh a man's life to pledge."

But could not the poor people borrow millstones or exchange work for the use of them? No matter. The Mosaic law says: "He taketh his life." In either case he puts it under tribute to another which destroys its value. The same universal principle is stated in the "Merchant of Venice" and has always been recognized by the moral sense of the race until monopolies and trusts debauched the social conscience:

"You do but take my life

When you take the means by which I live."

In the light of this principle the flour trust and every other combination of wealth that controls the necessities of life or the means of producing them stands convicted, not only as robbers but murderers as well.

But the most important commercial regulations were those relating to money and to matters involving debt and credit.

The shekel was the standard of value, and so sacred a matter was its purity and stability that it was tested by a sacred coin kept in the sanctuary for that purpose.

"And all thy estimations shall be according to the shekel of the sanctuary; twenty gerahs shall be the shekel."—Lev. 27:25.

The object of this regulation of the shekel and other matters as expressed in Ezek. 45:9 is to "remove violence and spoil" and to "take away exactions from the people." His remedy for strikes and lockouts and their accompanying violence was not more policemen and a greater standing army, but more industrial and commercial righteousness.

But this sacred thing called the shekel, so closely connected with the sanctuary, was protected not only as to its composition, so many gerahs, but also in its use so as to prevent its becoming monopolized by the few who might find it convenient to make use of it for levying tribute upon the many.

This was accomplished by prohibiting the taking of usury money for the use of money, now termed interest. It may here be noted that the term usury as used in the Bible meant interest, and not excessive interest only, and it had no other meaning in the English language until 1623, when, by act of Parliament under James I., usury was legalized and christened interest to hide its shame.

"Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury."—Deut. 23:19.

This prohibition is also stated in Lev. 25:36; and in innumerable passages the taking of usury is listed among the vilest of crimes and assigned as the cause of national disaster; the object of the prohibition being national prosperity, as stated in Deut. 23:20, "that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that

thou settest thy hand to in the land whither thou goest to possess it." This language fairly implies that this principle of free means of exchange was intimately related to all that the people should set their hands to.

But in order that this prohibition of usury might not prevent the giving of assistance by way of lending when some extreme necessity seems to demand it, gratuitous lending was commanded in such cases :

"If there be among you a poor man of thy brethren thou shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in that which he wanted."—Deut. 15:7-8.

So dangerous a thing is debt, however, that in order that lending of this kind might not become a means of oppression, a pledge of property other than absolute necessity being permitted in such cases of lending, a provision was made for the complete cancellation of all debts every seven years, whether such debts were seven years or only seven days old :

"At the end of seven years shalt thou make a release; every creditor that lendeth ought to his neighbor shall release it, save when there shall be no poor among you: for the Lord shall greatly bless thee.

Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart saying the seventh year is at hand and thou givest him naught."—Deut. 15:1-9 (condensed).

The above quotation contains two important suggestions as to the practicability of the principle involved. First, that if the Mosaic system as a whole were practised, but little of such lending would be necessary. Second, the possibility of there being no poor at all under such a system.

Finally, to guard against the possibility of the robbery of the people by usury collected through the government (since it would not be collected from private parties, the system now in vogue throughout the world, the masses of the people having become too poor to be profitable borrowers and being given a chance to pay interest in the form of taxes, the government furnishing the security, and borrowing in large sums), a provision was made in the Mosaic system against this peril.

"Thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow. And the Lord shall make thee the head and not the tail, and thou shalt be above only and thou shalt not be beneath."—Deut. 28:12-13, 15-6.

Whether the Jews as a nation were allowed to lend for the purpose of national conquest or not, we need not here discuss. That their supremacy, however, depended upon their keeping out of debt to other nations and to money mongers of their own nationality, which is also implied, is clear beyond a doubt.

Every principle of the Mosaic system of industrial and commercial equality was distinctly ratified and expanded in the teachings of Jesus.

He approved the prohibition of usury when He said: "Lend hoping for nothing again."—Luke 6:35.

He approved the principle of gratuitous lending to persons in need when He said: "From him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away."—Matt. 5:42.

He approved the principle of cancellation of debts of this kind when He taught his disciples to pray, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors."—Matt. 6:12.

All Bible scholars are agreed that "debts" as here used include financial obligations, and there is a strong suspicion that the ritual version which used "trespasses" instead was influenced by the mammon worship that filled the debtors' prisons of the time in which it was made.

His cleansing of the temple near the close of his career, which was one of the chief causes leading to his crucifixion, was an additional ratification of Mosaic principle of commercial equality, and the climax of his condemnation of mammon worship.

This was not an act of religious reformation as such, but of commercial reformation. He did not call the money changers and salesmen blasphemers. His name for them was "thieves." (Matt. 21:13.)

The cause of his severe accusation deserves notice. The priests and money lenders had made a tax which was levied in the time of Moses for a special occasion (Ex. 30:13), a perma-

nent institution, making it a temple tax which the two or three millions who attended the three great annual feasts of Jerusalem must pay before they could worship. Jesus condemned this tax as illegal. (Matt. 17:24-27.)

Not only was the tax illegal, but it was required to be paid in the Hebrew half shekel, which, on account of the Jews having lost their sovereignty and power to coin money had become very scarce. (Smith's Bible Dictionary, Shekel.) This may explain the account of Jesus having exercised miraculous knowledge to get it when it was demanded of him and his disciples, finding it in the mouth of a fish.

The people were compelled to exchange their every-day Roman coin for this Hebrew half-shekel, and from the best that can be known of the circumstances it is probable that the money changers were able to exact at least ten for one in the exchange, and did so. Hence the accusation "thieves."

### III. THE VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MOSAIC SYSTEM LEADS TO PLUTOCRACY AND TO NATIONAL DECAY AND DEATH.

The historical facts relating to the three distinguishing features of the Mosaic system in their order fully sustain the above proposition.

I. The principle of political equality was maintained by the Jews with greater or less fidelity for almost four hundred years. This was the most prosperous period of the Jewish history. The history of this period contains no accounts of poverty or oppressions of the poor. As the general wealth increased, however, toward the close of this period there was a less rigid adherence to the economic laws of the Mosaic system, and some of the judges "turned aside after lucre and took bribes and perverted judgment." (I. Sam. 8:3.) The next step was a demand for a change in the form of government. This demand did not come directly from the people. An official aristocracy seems to have been developed at the same time that the courts were being fitted for the market.



Following the account of the purchase of the judges the record reads:

"Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together and came to Samuel and said: "Now make us a king."—I. Sam. 8:4-5.

Doubtless some of the same men who made this demand, urging corruption of the courts as the reason for it, were among those who had been buying decisions, for the object of the demand was not that they might reestablish a pure judiciary and an equitable government, as provided by the Mosaic law as stated by themselves, but that they might be "like all the nations," whose governments were then rotting into oblivion, and as much unlike the Mosaic ideal as possible. But the change would give these "Senators" a better chance for investments.

This proved to be true, for under the reign of the first king the economic features of the Mosaic system seem to have been also almost entirely abandoned, and the people were divided into two classes. Saul, with his headquarters at Gibeah, represented the official and plutocratic class, while David, with his headquarters at the Cave of Adullam, became the leader of every one that was in distress, and every one that was discontented. (I. Sam. 22:1.) So numerous in time did this class become that in the civil war that followed they put David on the throne. This brought a measure of relief to the oppressed, for David in the main continued to be a man of the people.

Of the forty-two kings who reigned over the Jewish people, according to the record, not to exceed three of them proved themselves fit for any official position, the monotonous reiteration at the close of the account of almost every reign being "and he did evil in the sight of the Lord, as his father had done before him."

In no case, however, is the change in the form of government assigned by the prophets as the direct cause of the overthrow of these Jewish kingdoms, while the violation of the principle of economic equality is thus assigned repeatedly, from which it appears as it does in every analysis of the relation of eco-

nomics to civil government, that *political equality is of less relative importance than economic equality*, and that if it were possible to preserve the latter where the former does not exist, which is doubtful, national existence might be indefinitely maintained in the absence of the former.

2. The violation of the principle of equality in land tenure was one of the chief causes of the establishment of the Jewish plutocracy and is assigned by the prophets as one of the direct causes of the downfall of the Jewish kingdom :

"Woe unto them that join house to house and lay field to field till there be no place; that they may dwell alone in the midst of the earth."—Isaiah 5 :8.

The effect of this condition of land monopoly upon the courts, and, as a result upon the people, is given in the preceding verse :

"He looked for judgment, and behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry."

"And they covet fields and take them by violence, and houses, and take them away; so they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage. Therefore saith the Lord, Behold against this family do I devise an evil from which ye shall not remove your necks."—Micah. 2 :2.

Here is its effect upon the church :

"Prophesy ye not, say they to them that prophesy; they shall not prophesy to them that they shall not take shame.—Micah. 2 :6.

The land monopolists did not want to hear any denunciations of landlordism. Still they were willing to support the church and the preachers as long as they were willing to support them :

"They build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity. The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire and the prophets thereof divine for money."—Micah. 3 :10-11.

Their professions of spirituality were none the less ardent, however, and their claims of special privilege in Providence and their prophecies of perpetual prosperity none the less earnest, as appears from the latter part of the 11th verse above quoted :

"Yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? None evil can come upon us."

The theme of these two chapters is land monopoly, and the closing verse of the third chapter, following the one above quoted, describing the complacency of the priests amid all of this oppression, assigns this plutocratic landlordism as the cause of the nation's downfall :

"Therefore, shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field and Jerusalem shall become heaps ; and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest."

The above quotations have reference to Judah, the southern kingdom. The evils of land monopoly cursed the northern kingdom in like manner, and the violation of the law of land tenure, especially in the matter of rent, is assigned by Amos as the cause of its downfall :

"Forasmuch therefore as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat ; ye have built houses of hewn stone and ye shall not dwell in them ; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink the wine of them.

"Therefore wailing shall be in all streets and they shall say in all highways, alas ! alas !" — Amos. 5 : 11-16.

3. The laws regulating commercial transactions were violated by the Jewish plutocracy, and those violations were assigned by the prophets as causes of national death.

"Thou hast taken usury and increase and hast greedily gained of thy neighbors by extortion. And I will scatter thee among the heathen." — Ezek. 22 : 12-15.

Closely connected with this denunciation of usury, in the latter part of the same chapter we find a more general charge of the violation of the principle of commercial equality.

"Her princes in the midst of her are like wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood and to destroy souls, to get dishonest gain. Therefore I have poured out my indignation upon them."

As in the case of the violation of the land laws, as noted above, this was done not only with the sanction of venal courts, but with the most pious benedictions of a purchased priesthood, as we find in this immediate connection, verse 28 :

"And her prophets have daubed them with untempered mor-

tar, seeing vanity and divining lies unto them, saying, Thus saith the Lord God, when the Lord hath not spoken."

These quotations relate to Judah, but similar violations of the law regulating commercial relations are also charged against Israel and assigned as the cause of her national ruin. The most specific charge against the northern kingdom, however, is that of tampering with the currency and making a dear shekel and using the market for robbery:

"Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, saying when will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? And the Sabbath that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small and the shekel great and falsifying the balance by deceit. That we may buy the poor with silver and the needy for a pair of shoes.

"Shall not the land tremble for this, and it shall be cast out and drowned as by the flood of Egypt."—Amos 8:4-8.

It will be noted above that these "captains of industry," whose genius reduced the value of a man to the price of a pair of shoes, were a pious folk so far as the observance of the Sabbath and feast days was concerned, but on the market "business was business." But Israel found, as we may yet find, that Sabbath observance is not religion nor Fourth of July festivity patriotism of a kind that saves.

Closely connected with these sins that destroyed Israel were the debauching of the youth and the suppression of all the enthusiasm of the young for political purity and the forbidding of religious agitation against public wrongs:

"And I raised of your sons prophets and of your young men for Nazarites. But ye gave the Nazarites wine to drink; and commanded the prophets, saying, Prophesy not."—Amos 2:11-12.

The college that will not allow the truth on social problems to be taught to its students and the ecclesiastical muzzle designed especially for ardent young ministers are not wholly modern institutions.

It may also be noted that by close analysis of the matter it will be found that where other national sins not strictly violations of economic law are referred to as causes of national

disaster they are secondary causes growing out of economic wrongs. Such, for instance, is intemperance which is so closely connected with the national sins that destroyed these two kingdoms :

"Hear this word, ye kine of Bashan that are in the mountain of Samaria, which oppress the poor, which crush the needy, which (the oppressed) say to their masters, Bring, let us drink."—Amos 4 :1.

This passage sustains the contention of the economic reformer who claims that it is useless to waste social energy in the attempt to suppress intemperance while economic oppression creates conditions that make it impossible, and that the chief cause of the drink evil lies deeper than the drink, and that the saloon will go only when the economic causes that make it inevitable shall go.

But the two Jewish kingdoms are not the only examples which the Bible furnishes of nations that fell a prey to plutocracy.

Ezekiel says to Jerusalem :

"Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her and in her daughters (suburbs) ; neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and the needy."—Ezek. 16 :49.

The social abominations of Sodom, as appears from the above, were the effects of the extremes of wealth and poverty growing out of the violations of economic law.

Jeremiah says of Babylon :

"O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures, thine end is come and the measure (penalty) of thy covetousness."—Jeremiah 51 :13.

From data furnished by history it is estimated that when Babylon fell two per cent. of her population owned all the wealth.

The charge against Tyre was :

"By the multitude of their merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou has sinned. Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffic."—Ezek. 28 : 16-18.

If the plain statement of social and economic laws as given by Moses and the prosperity that followed their observance are not sufficient to convince readers of the Bible of their binding force, the woes that wait upon their violation which we see on every hand should. Attention has been called to both herein without censure or denunciation of those who profess to believe the Bible and teach its truth, and yet either ignore or apologize for the social wrongs which it condemns.

What seemed to be the wiser course has been followed, namely, giving by quoted reference Moses and the prophets with but little comment or argument; for, as was said to Dives who wanted Lazarus sent back to the earth to warn his five brothers that they might not live in violation of the Mosaic law of social justice as he had done,

"If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

GEORGE McA. MILLER.

*Chicago, Ill.*

## SOME CONSEQUENCES OF THE SPANISH AND PHILIPPINE WARS.

### I.

THE author of this paper has shown in previous publications that the war with Spain was unnecessarily and voluntarily made by the United States, and that it was a violation of the law of nations and of the Divine law. He has also shown that the Philippine war was not only a violation of Divine and international law, but of the Declaration of Independence. It is proposed in the present article to show some of the consequences of these infractions of vital principles.\*

In "A Defense of the Declaration of Independence," which appeared in last month's ARENA, one of the most deplorable if not the gravest consequence of these unhappy wars was discussed at length. In the present paper some other evil results will be briefly noted.

### II.

In the article on the causes of the Philippine war, in the ARENA of June, 1902, allusion was made to "a joint note" of the great "Powers" of Europe, containing "a pressing appeal to the feelings of humanity and moderation of the President and of the American people" to settle their differences with Spain without war. This note, which is really a diplomatic but earnest protest against the proposed war, is an important historical fact, and is here given in full, as illustrating one point to be made in this paper, and for convenient reference.

"Washington, April 6, 1898.

The undersigned representatives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia, duly authorized in that behalf, address, in the name of their respective Governments, a pressing appeal to the feelings of humanity and moderation of the President and of the

\* "The Great Trial of the 19th Century," and articles in THE ARENA of June, 1901, and June, 1902.

American people in their existing differences with Spain. They earnestly hope that further negotiations will lead to an agreement which, while securing the maintenance of peace, will afford all necessary guarantees for the reestablishment of order in Cuba.

The Powers do not doubt that the humanitarian and purely disinterested character of this representation will be fully recognized and appreciated by the American nation.

JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE,  
*For Great Britain.*

HOLLEBEN,  
*For Germany.*

JULES CAMBON,  
*For France.*

VON HENGELMÜLLER,  
*For Austria-Hungary.*

DE WOLLANT,  
*For Russia.*

G. C. VINCI,  
*For Italy.*

In connection with this appeal, a brief recapitulation of some of the principal facts preceding the war is deemed proper.

Mr. Woodford, our minister to Spain, was an efficient officer, and was repeatedly commended by the McKinley administration for his faithful services in that country. On the 3d day of April, 1898, he telegraphed the President in cipher as follows:

"I know that the Queen and her present ministry sincerely desire peace, and the Spanish people desire peace, and if you can still give me time and reasonable liberty of action, I will get for you the peace you desire so much and for which you have labored so hard."

Mr. Woodford had already obtained from Spain all that his instructions required except the granting of an armistice to the insurgents in Cuba. On the 9th he telegraphed Assistant Secretary of State Day that "armistice has been granted." On the 10th, he telegraphed directly to the President, "I hope that nothing will now be done to humiliate Spain, as I am satisfied that the present government is going and is loyally ready to go as fast and as far as it can." On the 10th, Mr. Day received notice of the armistice or "suspension of hostilities by Spain in Cuba" from the Spanish minister resident in Washington. Thus all that had been required of Spain by the President had been obtained by Mr. Woodford, with the assistance of the Pope and of the representatives of the six great European powers. The minister said truly that he "had worked hard for peace."



But the President did not comply with his reasonable and proper request that "nothing be done to humiliate Spain." On the contrary, turning his back on his minister, and ignoring the fact that the Spanish government had "gone as far and as fast as it could," he, on the 11th of April, sent an elaborate war message to Congress, instead of concluding the treaty of peace which was clearly in his power "upon his own terms." He made in that message the remarkable demand that "the war in Cuba must stop," when he knew that Spain had stopped it two days before, in the way demanded by him, by "armistice" or "suspension of hostilities," and he asked of Congress authority "to use the military and naval forces of the United States" against Spain. That "soft and cat-like hand and velvety touch" which have been ascribed to Mr. McKinley, were not in use when he wrote that. It was not only calculated to "humiliate" Spain, but, under the circumstances, was insulting, and no nation in Europe, capable of defending itself, would have tamely submitted to it. It meant war. Congress complied with the President's request, and war followed, as desired and intended.

The last instructions to Mr. Woodford to obtain the revocation of the reconcentrado order and an armistice, were given on the 27th and 28th of March, so that it was after that time that the President became, after apparently considerable vacillation, finally and permanently a war man. The fact that the message was written before the armistice was granted, and was dated and sent to Congress two days after it was granted, makes the course pursued by him appear more strange, complicated and objectionable.

The best explanation of the conduct of the administration in this matter was given by Mr. McComas in the Senate on the first day of July, 1902. Mr. McComas was a prominent republican war senator. On the last day of the session he closed a long debate on the Philippine business, in which many senators had participated. He called that imbroglio "the most troublous legacy of that Spanish war which the Democracy forced upon us and then flinched from in a craven spirit."

There was no dissent from this statement. It was acquiesced in by all parties in the Senate, and the charge that the Democracy forced the Spanish war upon the Republicans was thus admitted to be true.

The limits of this article will not permit a full exposition of the manner in which the Democracy forced the Republicans into the war. It may be said briefly, that the question whether we should make that war was a question of domestic politics. It was a game between the two great parties for popularity and power, in which owing principally to the fact that the people did not know the real state of the case between the two nations, the Republicans won the stakes.

The foregoing statement is considered appropriate as an introduction to a discussion of the subject of this article.

### III.

A great American writer says that there are times in the history of nations when hypocrisy becomes organized, and when the intelligent and ruling classes give for long periods either a quiet and implied, or an express and positive assent to the hereditary religious or political errors of the unenlightened masses. Such was the condition of things in the Roman Empire before the reign of Constantine.

Another period of great religious hypocrisy was the fourth century, when Christianity became utterly corrupt, and the ruling classes became morally and religiously worse than pagans as some historians plainly state. The priests, monks, and other orders who made the most noise about religion, practically had no Christianity about them. The horrible death which they inflicted upon Hypatia was a fit illustration of their hypocrisy and brutality.

Another period of organized religious hypocrisy occurred when Henry VIII, Francis I, Charles V and Leo X were the controlling spirits of the Christian world. All of these men professed to be devoted Christians—none of them were even men of good moral character—all of them were ambitious to

extend their territories and increase their power, and were unscrupulous in their methods of doing it. Henry was a brutal tyrant, Francis, in spite of some noble qualities, was a reckless profligate, who ruined his constitution by his vices. Charles was a miserable bigot, who, on his death bed enjoined upon Philip, his son, the extirpation of religious freedom in the Netherlands, and was the original and responsible author of the atrocities of the Duke of Alva. His gluttony was excessive, and he left numerous natural children as evidences of his marital infidelity. Leo, according to Mr. Roscoe, his biographer, was one of the most treacherous princes in Europe, and was probably poisoned by one of the Italian princes whom he had wronged out of his estate. No amount of devotion to science, art, and literature could atone for the vices and crimes of these men, or change the fact that they were hypocrites. With all their pretensions to piety, it may be doubted whether any of these princes (except perhaps Leo) was morally very much superior to their great Moslem contemporary, Solyman "the Magnificent," emperor of Turkey.

The great power and influence of these princes caused their vices and crimes to be adopted by the controlling mass of their people, and made organized hypocrisy permeate and govern Western Europe for more than a century. In their foolish and wicked wars (many of which were undertaken and carried on in the name of Christianity) they murdered hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children.

Charles, personally and by his dying directions to Philip, his son and successor, caused the slaughter of at least sixty thousand in the Netherlands, his native country. He professed to be the devoted servant of the one living and true God, and of his son, the Prince of Peace. In reality he had at least four other Gods before them. He was a faithful worshipper of Mars and Moloch. His devotion to Venus is proved by the number of his "natural" children, of whom Duke John of Austria was the chief. And his excessive gluttony, which probably shortened his life, proves his devotion to that vulgar God described by the Apostle Paul.

Grotius describes the conditions which existed during the reigns of these four princes, and up to his own time in the following words:

"One observed throughout the Christian world a licentiousness in regard to war, which even barbarous nations ought to be ashamed of; a running to arms upon every frivolous or rather upon no occasion, which, being once taken up, there remained no longer any reverence for right, either divine or human, just as if from that time men were authorized and firmly resolved to commit all manner of crimes without restraint."

This is a terrible indictment, but the history of Europe from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, prove it to be true. And its force is increased by the fact that it was uttered by a truly great man; who, in mental and moral excellence, has had few equals in the history of our race.

The United States has afforded the world within the last six years another instance of remarkable national hypocrisy. It has been clearly proved that the war this country made upon Spain was entirely voluntary; that there was no necessity for it; that the administration which made it knew at the time that all questions between the two countries could be settled by treaty or arbitration.

The political hypocrisy which grew out of this war began with the suppression of the correspondence between Spain and the United States, which showed there was no necessity for war—a suppression which continued for three years and until public opinion demanded its publication, and it has continued with various false pretenses, till the present time.

Occasionally a bold and outspoken war paper would tell the plain truth and chide its contemporaries for their duplicity, and an unguarded one would leak it out, and sometimes a member of Congress would do the same thing.

One of the ablest of the Eastern war papers says: "Foolishly or wisely we want these newly acquired territories, not for any missionary or altruistic purposes, but for the trade, the commerce, the power, and the money there is in them. Why beat

about the bush and promise all sorts of things? Why not be honest?"

Another leading war paper in the interior informs us that what the American people "have been asking themselves is whether or not the Philippine islands are a good bargain" and that "this is the issue upon which our permanent relations with the Philippine people will eventually be established."

Another very candid and outspoken one in San Francisco informs us that:

"Touched by the wand of American enterprise, fertilized with American capital, these islands would speedily become richer than Golconda was of old. But, unfortunately, they are infested with Filipinos. There are many millions of them there, and it is to be feared that their extinction will be slow. Still every man who believes in developing the islands must admit that it cannot be done successfully while the Filipinos are there. They are indolent. They raise only enough food to live on; they don't care to make money, and they occupy land which might be utilized to much better advantage by Americans. Therefore, the more of them killed the better. It seems harsh. But they must yield before the superior race and the American syndicate. How short sighted, then, to check the army in its warfare upon these savages; particularly when the army is carrying out its orders and the duly expressed will of the American people, as shown through their elections and their representatives!"

There is abundant evidence that, while the Philippine business has been carried on under the cloak of humanity, liberty, and religion, the real object of the controlling actors in that speculation have been selfish and commercial.

A fair example of the religious hypocrisy which has attended this business was afforded by a sermon heard by the writer about two years since in favor of the Philippine war. It was from the text: "Think not I am come to send peace on earth: I come not to send peace, but a sword."

The preacher was too intelligent a man not to know that Christ was not talking of war, but of difficulties in families, as the context clearly shows. But he founded a long speech in favor of war upon it, and led his hearers, who did not know

any better, to believe it was a sound and wonderful sermon. And really it was wonderful, coming from a professed follower of the Prince of Peace.

The Sermon on the Mount is the fundamental law, the constitution of the Christian world. All professedly Christian men, both rulers and people, are bound by it. There is no escape from its obligation. One of its leading principles is, "Blessed are the peace-makers for they shall be called the children of God."

There is nothing in it for the war makers, but an appropriate corollary from it would be "unblest are the war-makers for they are not His children."

We are not speaking here of soldiers, who are only instruments used by war-makers in carrying on their work.

The teaching and preaching of professed Christians against this great law, and in favor of War, is demoralizing to the whole people, and especially so to the rising generation. And one of its worst elements is its enormous hypocrisy.

In concluding this topic a recent occurrence of some importance may be briefly noticed. On the 3d day of April, at Waukesha, Wisconsin, President Roosevelt took occasion to speak very strongly in favor of international courtesy, and said that "strength should go hand in hand with courtesy, with scrupulous regard in word and deed, not only for the rights, but for the feelings of other nations." He also said that, "if we are to be true to our past, we must steadfastly keep these two positions: To submit to no injury by the strong nor inflict any injury on the weak. We want the good will of mankind. We want so to carry ourselves that, if, as is most unlikely, any quarrel should come, it would be not a quarrel of our own seeking, but one that is forced upon us." These and other similar statements were made in the face of the fact that, less than five years before, we forced a war upon Spain which the Spanish government had done all it could to avoid; after it had done all that was required by the instructions of President McKinley to his Minister, Mr. Woodford, including the granting of an armistice to the Cubans, as stated in the beginning

of this article, and in the face of the fact that the speaker was a member of the administration that made the war and has ever since been its defender and justifier. The want of sincerity and courtesy, the desire for war, and the disregard for justice exhibited in our treatment of Spain, make the foregoing quotations from the Waukesha speech seem like mockery.

#### IV.

Some of the financial consequences of these wars may be briefly stated. A reasonable estimate of the increased expenditure of the United States by them (including the accomplished and proposed cost of the enlargement of the army and navy) till the close of the present administration is not much less than a billion dollars. The stupendous folly of such a waste of money is shown by a single illustration.

It has been estimated that the arid lands of the United States, if reclaimed by irrigation, would support 70,000,000 people. Prof. Shaler, of Harvard University, in lecturing on this subject, said:

"I say to you from actual knowledge that the land susceptible of irrigation is capable of supplying to the world as much of the necessities of life as does the great Mississippi valley. The semi-arid region is about one-third of the entire area of the United States, and of this area about one-third can be reclaimed; this provided the government undertakes the matter and carries it on a scale commensurate to the results to be achieved. So great is the productiveness of the soil under perfect conditions for agriculture, viz.: long days of continuous sunshine during the growing season, fertile soil and water supplied just when it is needed, that this one-third will equal in aggregate productiveness both in quantity and quality the average productiveness of the whole as compared with the Mississippi valley."

This magnificent domain could have been reclaimed with much less than the cost of these foolish wars, and when reclaimed would have been worth far more to the government and people of the United States than all the islands we claim to have acquired from Spain ever can be.

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## ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY.

DEMOCRACY is the only form of government which will be able to establish peace on earth and good will among all the nations of the globe. That form of the polity which tends to secure the greatest happiness of the largest number possible, now known to mankind, is the government of the people *for* the people and *BY* the people. Democracy, therefore, will help the human race to ascend to the *ideal* state, shadowed forth sometimes as a state of nature and sometimes as a condition of millennial blessedness. No better illustration of a successful democracy can be found than the United States of America, where there is greater prosperity and less misery than anywhere else.

This popular democratic movement of modern times we owe, to a large extent, to the influence of the ancient Greek political philosophers, the Roman jurists, and the mediæval Arabian civilizers.

If Greece and Rome set by turns noble examples of republics in their palmy days, Arabia did not fail in her turn to contribute to the historic examples of notable republics. If our eyes are dazzled by the glorious periods of Grecian and Roman republics in the dark days of the past, we are none the less filled with admiration to see the wonderful genius of the prophet Mohammed, who founded the Arabian polity on a democratic basis, especially when we take into consideration the degraded condition of human mind thirteen centuries ago. He carried light into chaotic darkness, and for the first time in the history of Arabia preached the gospel of humanity with success. He leveled all distinctions, and taught the doctrine of universal brotherhood. "Verily, the *faithful* are ALL brethren,"<sup>1</sup> says the Quran. For centuries Arabia had been a hot-bed of internecine wars. Mohammed succeeded in reconciling the hostile

<sup>1</sup>Quran, ch. 49,—10.



tribes, and out of them he made the solid nation. It was on the sacred plain of Arafat, in the sacred month of Zulhijjah, on the sacred day of the 9th of that month, that he abolished all the blood feuds standing for centuries in the presence of a hundred thousand people, and proclaimed fraternity, equality, and liberty for all men for all times. He said: "Verily, the blood, the property, and the honor of each of you are henceforth forever to all of you as sacred as this land, this month, and this day. And soon shall you have to meet your God, who will ask you as to your deeds, i.e., your treatment of each other. So do not go back to error by flying at each other's throats. Beware! let those who are present here deliver this message to those who are absent; for, perchance, some of those who would receive the message, might be better preservers of it than those who have heard it (from me)." Then he turned his face towards heaven, and said, "O Lord, I have delivered it," repeating it thrice.<sup>1</sup>

The Arabs were lawless, he gave them laws and made them a law-abiding people. He then, as a practical man, set a good example by his pure and simple life, to guide them through all generations. We shall, therefore, observe, first how he established the Islamic republic; secondly, what laws he laid down concerning it, and, lastly, what bearing his own life had upon it.

Mohammed was born A.D. 571, of respected parents, in a distinguished and ancient family of the tribe of the Quraysh in the lineage of Ishmael, the son of Abraham. He was a self-made man, and raised himself from the rank and file of the people. His rise was slow and gradual. It was only when he attained the age of wisdom—forty years—that he began to preach reform in the religious, moral, social, and political institutions of the country, that were so badly in need of it. He won the good will of the people, with no small resistance, at first, on their part, simply by preaching perseveringly and addressing public gatherings constantly at the annual fairs of Zulukaz and Zulmajinnah, and at Arafat during the season of pilgrimage. Now, we find him, after thirteen years' preaching,

<sup>1</sup>Albokhari.

taking the allegiance of the twelve illustrious chiefs of Medina who had invited him to immigrate to their own town and make it his adopted home. His ascendancy grew rapidly, and the circle of the faithful was enlarged. Medina became the capital of the Islamic republic, and the representatives of tribes swarmed there from all around to receive instructions from the fountain-head of Islam. Mohammed may well be called the first elected president of the Islamic commonwealth. It was not, however, until four years after Hejira that formidable resistance against and armed attacks on the newly formed democracy began to vanish away, and obstacles diminished. Henceforth, the supremacy of that growing power became felt in the Arabian peninsula. In the tenth year of Hejira, the whole of Arabia was under its sway, and no less a person than the emperor Heraclius of the Byzantine empire of the time, expressed his desire in these words: "Verily, could I know how to reach Mohammed, I would make a grand occasion of the interview and could I be in his presence I would wash his feet."<sup>1</sup>

Now there was established a commonwealth in which existed perfect equality between man and man. There was no distinction of caste, color, race, or position. Bilal, a negro ex-slave, had no less respect than Omar, afterwards the second Caliph, as the latter once said about the former, "Abu-Bakr, our master has emancipated our master, Bilal."<sup>2</sup> Every one was received, no matter who he was, with great pleasure, and "whosoever entered the Islamic republic was secure."<sup>3</sup> No partiality and favor could make their way into that realm. Even the very daughter and aunt of Mohammed were taught the lesson of impartiality and self-reliance.

The offices of the state were never conferred on those who coveted them, but on those alone who were worthy and took them as duty. Zaid, who was formerly a slave and had received his freedom at the prophet's hand, led the army of the

<sup>1</sup>Albokhari.

<sup>2</sup>Albokhari.

<sup>3</sup>Quran, ch. 3,—91.

faithful in the battle of Mootah. Zaid's son Us-amah was appointed by Mohammed, when the prophet lay on his death-bed, to lead the army of the Muslims, among whom Abu-Bakr and Omar, afterwards the first and the second Caliphs, respectively, were no more than common soldiers. In short, the Islamic democracy, in the time of the prophet, Mohammed, consisted of men, whose equal in humility, self-sacrifice, mutual love, love for truth, and adherency to principles, have seldom been found in the known history of mankind. The Quran depicts their faithful picture thus: "The servants of the Merciful are those who walk upon the earth with humility; and when the ignoramus crack jokes at them, they (politely) say (unto them) peace be (unto you); those who pass the night in the worship of their Lord, either in prostration or standing, . . . those who, when they spend, are neither spendthrift nor parsimonious, but (adopt) a *via media* between the two; those who associate no other god with the true God, neither do they kill any soul, which God made sacred, excepting lawfully, nor do they commit adultery; . . . those who never bear false testimony (or who are never present where falsehood prevails), and whensoever they pass by something indecorous they pass by (it) with unruffled spirit of nobility and magnanimity; . . . and those who pray (thus) Our Lord grant us in our wives and children light of our eyes, and make us leaders of the pious."<sup>1</sup>

The fundamental law, which leads to the democratic form of government, is the verse of the Quran which runs thus: "Obey God and obey the apostle and those who hold the reins of the government FROM AMONG YOURSELVES." The phrase "from among yourselves," according to the orthodox interpretation, signifies those that are chosen by the popular approval. The traditions of the prophet explain it thus: "Obey the Ameer (*i.e.*, the ruler) even if he be a negro slave, whose head is as small as a raisin, for he who goes against the will of the majority and dies, dies the death of ignorance."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Quran, ch. 25,—64—75.

<sup>2</sup>Tirmizi.

It early came to pass that the sense of the majority became one of the fundamental principles of Islam. Then the practise of electing the Caliphs (the successors) after his death, confirmed and established without ambiguity the democratic constitution of the Commonwealth.

The Shura (council) of the faithful may correspond to our modern legislative assemblies, and the Caliph, as an executive power, to the president of a republic. Hence, nothing was done in the halcyon days of the Islamic republic without having been discussed by the assemblage of the faithful. "Consult with them (the Muslims), O Mohammed, on (public) affairs, and when thou hast made up thy mind, then trust in God;"<sup>1</sup> and also, "their (the Muslims') affairs are to be managed by mutual consultation,"<sup>2</sup> are the injunctions of the Quran. This legislative assembly, so to speak, developed and took a practical shape in the reign of the second Caliph. The members of the Council were invariably chosen on the principle of merit.

In order to appreciate the simplicity of life in those days, we must look to the life of Mohammed, which was a model to his followers. His was a life simple in the extreme. He always lived up to the injunction of the Quran: "Say, O Mohammed, I am no more than a man like you, excepting the fact that I am the recipient of revelation."<sup>3</sup> He used to mix with the people with perfect equality. A foreign envoy was often obliged to ask: "Which of you is Mohammed?" only to receive the answer, "That fair, handsome man there."<sup>4</sup> Whenever he met the people he was the first to address them, saying: "Peace be unto you, your Lord has enjoined mercy on Himself,"<sup>5</sup> quite contrary to the usage of the Eastern potentates. The very name of King was hateful to him. He used to nurse the sick and wounded, assist the widows, patronize the orphans, and help the needy, while he was the leader of thousands and thousands of people who were ready to do anything for him. What-

<sup>1</sup>Quran, ch. 3,—153.

<sup>2</sup>Quran, ch. 42,—30.

<sup>3</sup>Quran, ch. 18,—110.

<sup>4</sup>Albokhari.

<sup>5</sup>Quran, ch. 6,—54.

ever revenue was brought to him he used to distribute among the people, sparing nothing for himself. He and his family often passed days and weeks subsisting only on dates and water. Hence, when he died, he left "neither gold nor silver coins (nor property), excepting his white mule, on which he used to ride, his arms and a piece of land, which he had assigned as charity to help the travelers."<sup>1</sup> The Islamic republic grew under his fostering care. In his life time it developed well, and he left it in its full bloom.

After Mohammed's death (A. D. 632), Abu-Bakr was elected as Caliph (successor), who reigned for two years only. Then (A. D. 634) Omar was chosen after him, whose reign lasted ten years, full of conquests of an unparalleled nature. Then Othman was elected (A. D. 644), who remained Caliph for twelve years. Then Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet, succeeded him (A. D. 656) and reigned for four years only. These first four successors of the prophet are called the Orthodox Caliphs, who adhered to the principles of democracy, followed in the footsteps of the prophet in leading pure and simple lives, and in preserving the liberty of speech and freedom of opinion for the public. They used to wear coarse dress and eat scanty food and go about in the streets on foot like ordinary men, in spite of the fact that some of them were the absolute masters of a mighty empire comprising Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Persia, Afghanistan and a portion of India. Their government was a sort of socialistic polity and the society almost communistic. The baitulmal or public treasury was a main source from which the paupers, the poor, the sick, the infirm, the aged, the widows, the orphans, and, in fact, all that could not work for themselves, used to receive assistance.

In the early days of Islam the principle of brotherhood between the Mohajireen (the immigrants) and the Ansar (the supporters) was established, by virtue of which they used even to inherit from each other like brothers of the same blood. But later on, in the days of prosperity, the principle of inheritance was repealed.

<sup>1</sup>Albokhari.

A few anecdotes of the lives of the immediate successors of the prophet will, I believe, be not only interesting and instructive, but will enable us also to divine the state of Muslim society in the world in those days. When Abu-Bakr was elected as the first Caliph, he arose early the following morning and started to the market with a few pieces of cloth in his hand to sell. Omar saw him and said, "Where are you off?" He replied, "To the market." Omar exclaimed: "What, now, when you are appointed to look after the affairs of the Muslims?" He said: "From where have I to feed my family?" Omar said: "Come along with me to Abu-Obaydah (the superintendent of the public fund); he will fix some amount for you." Abu Obaydah said: "I appoint for you what would suffice an ordinary man from the immigrants, neither the richest nor the poorest, and two suits, one for winter and one for summer, and whenever they wear out, return them and take new ones in their stead. So Abu-Obaydah and Omar appointed for him the price of a half-goat daily, and that which could cover his head and body."<sup>1</sup> Once Omar in his reign distributed pieces of cloth of equal size among the people, and on the following Friday ascended the pulpit wearing a new garment made out of the same cloth. A man got up and said: "We shall neither obey nor listen to you, as you have been unjust; for you took a larger piece than you gave to others, or else it would not suffice to make a garment for a big man like you." Omar said: "Your contention is right, but my son, who is here, will explain the matter to you." His son got up and said that he gave his share to his father, in order to enable him to have a new garment, which he wanted very badly. This answer satisfied all.<sup>2</sup>

It passes the wit of man to conceive how the wild Bedouins, erstwhile living in a nomadic state, were in a short time transformed into a compact nation, filled with conscious rectitude, spreading light, dispensing justice, administering a mighty empire, and establishing law and order in the spirit of fraternity, equality and liberty.

<sup>1</sup>History of Khulafa, by Soyooti, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup>Addenawari.

This world is an arena where good and evil are constantly struggling against each other, and where evil often prevails. This glorious democracy, which was moving onward with invincible tread, was destroyed by the cunning ambition of a few men. There appeared a cloud in the horizon no bigger than a man's hand, which in course of time blackened the heavens. The origin of this mischief may be summarized thus: Othman, the third Caliph, who was an octogenarian, being influenced to some extent by his relatives, appointed some of them to high posts in the State. His governor in Egypt did not prove to be persona grata with the people there, and complaints were made against him at the Capital. Accordingly, a new governor of Egypt was appointed, with the approval of all. While the new governor and his party were making their progress toward Egypt, they observed a camel rider going post-haste, "as if pursuing some one or being pursued." He was stopped, and after a thorough investigation a compromising document, bearing the seal of the Caliph, was discovered in his possession. It contained an order to the acting governor of Egypt to continue in his post, kill the new governor and imprison his party, and wait for further orders. The governor-elect and his followers returned to Medina, and the incident created consternation in the metropolis. Othman pleaded ignorance of the matter, and he was really innocent, too. The handwriting of the document was identified with that of Merwan, the private secretary of the Caliph. Thereupon the people demanded that Merwan should be handed over to them. Othman, fearing lest Merwan should be killed, hesitated to hand him over to them. This created indignation against Othman, consequently he was deposed and his house was besieged by the populace. Ali and other leading men, who stuck to their houses, sent their sons to protect Othman from being molested. Meanwhile, some of the excited mob climbed over the wall, and, entering into his house, killed Othman. Merwan, the mischief maker, fled to Damascus, where Moaviya, his kinsman, was the governor. Now, Ali was persuaded with difficulty to be elected as Caliph. Then some designing people circulated a report that Ali

was harboring the murderers of Othman, which led to a rising against Ali's authority. Ali, however, succeeded in putting it down after some fighting. Ali was acknowledged as Caliph everywhere except in the Province of Syria, where Moaviya—a capable administrator, a masterful diplomat and an ambitious man—was governor. He industriously circulated false stories against Ali and raised the banner of rebellion with the pretext that Ali had a hand in the murdering of Othman. All efforts on the part of Ali to reconcile him failed. At last civil war broke out, at the plain of Siffeen. At the point of being defeated, Moaviya applied for arbitration, by raising the copies of the Quran upon the points of banners. The arbitration was agreed upon. Ali with his followers returned to Koo-fah, while Moaviya with his army went back to Damascus, and the arbiters met at Doomatuljundal, a place equidistant from the two headquarters. Amr-ibn-Alas, an evil genius, who represented Moaviya, again played treachery, which resulted in confusion and dissension. In short, Moaviya did not make allegiance to Ali, as long as the latter reigned.

After Ali's murder, his son, Hason, was elected as Caliph. Moaviya again brought his legions to Koofah. But Hason, being a man of peace at any price, was persuaded by Amr-ibn-Alas, and resigned his position, preferring union and peace to division and bloodshed. So, in the year 41 of the Hejira (A. D. 661) Moaviya became the supreme lord of the Muslim world, and the founder of the Omyyad dynasty. The first crime of Moaviya against that wonderful democracy was that he undermined the very foundation of the republic—truth, honesty, and conscience, for it was established under the influence of religion—by making use of foul means to attain his ambitious ends. Secondly, he set a bad example for ambitious men who followed him, that it was possible for a Muslim to rebel against the authority of the lawful Caliph with success. Thirdly, he destroyed the brotherhood and union which was established by the prophet, by having recourse to civil war. Fourthly, he, by making Damascus the seat of government, and enlisting new converts to Islam, who were accustomed till recently to live



under the despotism of the Byzantine and Persian emperors, into his legions, established a military despotism. Fifthly, he inaugurated hereditary succession.

The remark of Abdur Rahman, son of Abu-Bakr, upon the speech of Merwan, who was appointed governor of Medina by Moaviya, will throw some light on the fact as to how much the sentiments of the democratic party of the time were outraged by this arrangement. Merwan said that the Commander of the Faithful (Moaviya) saw it advisable that he should appoint his son as heir-apparent, *following the glorious example of Abu-Bakr and Omar*. To this allusion Abdur Rahman retorted: "No, but after the fashion of the King of Persia and Caesar of Rome."

There is a striking analogy between the circumstances and causes that led to the downfall of the Roman republic and those that destroyed the Islamic Commonwealth. The growing power of Julius Caesar filled Brutus and other patriots with alarm as to the safety of the Roman Republic, and they decided to save it by assassinating Caesar. Similarly, the partiality of Othman to his kinsmen alarmed the Muslim patriots in regard to the security of the Islamic Commonwealth; so, they also imitated Brutus in killing Othman. But both the Roman and Arabian patriots did not know that they, by so doing, were laying an axe at the very root of democracy. When Antony, with his legions, joined interests with Octavius and succeeded in arousing in the old veterans of Julius Caesar the desire to take vengeance on his murderers, the fate of the Roman Republic and of Cicero, who moved heaven and earth to save it, was sealed. In the same manner as when the wily Amr-ibn-Alas and Moaviya sat down in a conclave to draw up a document by virtue of which Amr should receive the province of Egypt as a pocket borough, "to meet the expenses of his kitchen," if Ali could be ousted of the Caliphate and Moaviya be installed in his place, the death-warrant against the life of the Islamic democracy and of the Muslim patriots like Ali and his son Husain, who tried their utmost to save it, was signed.

Just as the Augustinian Age saw the acme of Roman impe-

rialism, its might and majesty, as it became proverbial in history, so did the reign of Moaviya behold the zenith of the Islamic imperialism, its power and glory. Just as the shadow of the Roman Empire was annihilated by the barbarians of the north, so the tottering empire of the Arabs was destroyed by the hordes of Mongols under Hulagu, after six hundred years.

The dynasty of the Omyyad Caliphs, fourteen in number, lasted from A. D. 661 (40 A. H.) to A. D. 750 (132 A. H.). It was supplanted by the dynasty of the Abbasid Caliphs, numbering thirty-seven, whose capital was Bagdad. The Abbasid Caliphate at Bagdad was exterminated by the Mongol Hulagu in A. D. 1258 (656 A. H.). A line of their descendants, the Abbasid Caliphs of Egypt, held a shadowy spiritual dignity at Cairo until the last of the house was carried to Constantinople by the Ottoman Sultan Salim I, after the conquest of Egypt in 1517, and surrendered the title of Caliph to the conqueror.

Since Moaviya, who had the advantage of the prophet's company for two years, but profited from it just as much as Judas Iscariot from the company of Jesus Christ, deviated from the path of democracy, the governments of Muslim countries have been up to this day under the ban of despotism. This despotism gave rise to fratricidal wars, change of dynasties and weakness of the bond of cohesion among the followers of one faith. No doubt, some of the Muslim rulers in Spain, Egypt, Syria, India and other countries rendered great services from time to time to humanity by spreading civilization and patronizing the sciences and arts; but had the Islamic democracy as started thirteen hundred years ago prevailed it is probable that the progress of the world would not have been delayed so long. We, nevertheless, can study the facts about those people who played an important part in the history of the world, and whose personality will remain imperishable up to the end of the chapter, with great advantage to ourselves, for our civilization is based on the experiences of past ages. From this story we may learn a lesson that the real democracy can only be established when both the head and the heart of the

population are cultivated, and kindness and love are extended to humanity as a whole. "In nothing do men reach so near the gods," says Cicero, "as when they can give life and happiness to mankind."

Perhaps there is no danger of a malevolent despotism endangering democracy in the United States of America, but it behooves us to be cautious even against the encroachments of a benevolent feudalism on the liberty and rights of Demos. It is patent to all who have been watching the game of international politics, that a determined reaction against democracy and in favor of despotism has been set on foot of late years in many countries of the old world, the echoes of which even reach the shores of this land of the free. We cannot be too careful of the designs of the empire builders, like the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who want to form a Jesuistic fraternity of the millionaires for the purpose of subjugating the whole world through the medium of a powerful literature, for the domination of a particular race. Such a plan may succeed for a short time, but is fraught with far-reaching consequences both to the conquerors and the conquered, as, in the lives of nations, centuries count but for days.

The creation of the Cuban Republic by the people of the United States reflects great credit on the integrity, honesty, and humanity of the great Republic. It is hoped that this country will be saved from playing in the Philippines the role of Great Britain in Egypt, and it may yet be possible that the Muslims in the Sulu isles may learn from the United States the democracy taught by the founder of their religion.

I believe that the heart of this country is sound, and that this people, by their conduct, will one day demonstrate to the world at large that *life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness* are the *birthrights* of every child of man.

MUHAMMAD BARAKATULLAH.

*New York City.*

## DIRECT LEGISLATION IN NEW ZEALAND.

**P**UBLIC opinion in New Zealand is rapidly ripening in favor of placing the Initiative and the Referendum in the hands of the people in both general and local government. The Referendum is in operation in New Zealand in a restricted form in general government. We take a Referendum of the electors every three years on the subject of the sale of alcoholic liquor; for this purpose every male of twenty-one years and every woman of twenty-one years, whose name is on the roll of those entitled to vote, may vote. The licensing district is each electoral district, a poll being taken in each on the same day as that fixed for the election of members to represent the people in Parliament, the ballot paper for the poll on the liquor question being of a different color to the ballot paper used for the election of members. Mr. Eltwed Pomeroy has summarized this in the March, 1903, *Direct Legislation Record*, and I quote from him, slightly condensing:

If we except the cities of Christchurch, Dunedin, Wellington and Auckland, which have each about 15,000 voters, the other districts are nearly uniform, with a population of 3,000 and 4,000. In balloting the voter has three choices: I.—For continuance of licensing. II.—For reduction of the number of licenses. III.—For prohibition of sale. A man can vote for the first and second or the second and third, but, of course, not for the first and third. The following table tells the story of the three votings. To get the municipal districts I have added to the four cities already named, Nelson, with nearly 4,000 population, and the suburbs of Wellington. There are sixty-two districts altogether.

NEW ZEALAND'S LIQUOR REFERENDUMS.

What For.	Rural Votes.	Per Cent.	Urban Votes.	Per Cent.	Total.	Per Cent.
Continuance, 1896 ...	107,984	42.0	33,347	43.2	141,331	42.0
Reduction .....	71,581	27.7	24,291	30.2	95,872	28.4
Prohibition .....	77,867	30.3	22,104	26.6	99,971	29.6
Total ballots .....	257,432	100.	79,742	100.	337,174	100.
“ voters .....	197,631		63,830		261,461	
Double ballots .....	59,801		15,912		75,713	

## NEW ZEALAND'S LIQUOR REFERENDUMS.

What For.	Rural Votes.	Per Cent.	Urban Votes.	Per Cent.	Total.	Per Cent.
Continuance, 1899....	109,182	39.0	34,780	37.3	143,962	38.5
Reduction .....	79,889	28.4	29,560	31.7	109,449	29.3
Prohibition .....	91,690	32.6	28,843	31.	120,542	32.2
Total ballots .....	280,770	100.	93,183	100.	373,953	100.
" voters .....	211,381		68,401		279,782	
Double ballots .....	69,389		24,782		94,171	
Continuance, 1902....	116,674	36.8	31,775	33.3	148,449	36.0
Reduction .....	100,284	31.7	31,956	33.4	132,240	32.1
Prohibition .....	99,771	31.5	31,753	33.3	131,524	31.9
Total ballots .....	316,729	100.	95,484	100.	412,213	100.
" voters .....	249,191		69,668		318,859	
Double ballots .....	67,538		25,816		93,354	

One quarter of New Zealand's population is urban, three-quarters rural. Commenting on the 1899 vote, I said: It is usually supposed that the prohibitionist sentiment is stronger in the country than in the city, but in New Zealand the vote for continuance or for license is a little larger in the cities than in the country, but the no-license vote is also a larger percentage in the cities than in the country. The percentage for reduction is the only one of the three which is larger in the country than in the cities. In the 1896 vote a slightly larger percentage of the double ballots was cast in the country than in the cities, but in 1899 this was reversed and more double ballots were cast by nearly 22,000.

Comparing the 1896 vote with the 1899 vote we find a decided growth in the temperance sentiment. Thus the votes for continuance, which is really license, decreased from 42 per cent. to  $38\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; of the 3 1-2 per cent. lost nearly 1 per cent. went to reduction of licenses and 2.6 per cent. went to no license, thus showing a growth of the more radical sentiment.

The 1902 vote shows a strengthening of the tendencies shown in 1899. The percentage for continuance has decreased and the percentage for reduction and prohibition have increased about equally in the rural, urban and total vote. Three years ago

only one district, Clutha, polled the requisite three-fifths majority to get prohibition. This year six out of the sixty-two districts get it, and two of these adjoin Clutha, the prohibition district. But in two of these districts the vote has been declared void because of irregularities, but on revote they will probably vote the same way. Nine voted for reduction. It is significant that of the 318,859 votes cast 180,294 were by men, or 56 per cent., and 138,565 were by women, or 44 per cent., and there were 415,789 persons on the poll, so that 77 out of every 100 voted. This percentage was practically the same in the country as in the city. The *Otaki Mail* well sums up:

"The Prohibitionists have been working assiduously, though quietly, during the past three years, and the fact that there was not so much aggressiveness in their tactics led many people to suppose they were inactive. That these people were entirely mistaken was clearly demonstrated by the voting, the great increase of votes accorded the no-license proposal showing that the Prohibition movement has gained in popular favor to a very large extent. One result of the poll will undoubtedly be to cause a reduction in the value of hotel property throughout the colony, and the position is one that needs careful thought. If the Prohibition party succeed in adding to their victories in the future, as they have done in the past, it would appear that the date is not so very far distant when no-license will be carried throughout the colony. The liquor men are now trying to change the vote from one by districts to one of the whole colony—thus, if a majority in the whole colony vote for prohibition, then the whole country would have it. Probably they will fail in this effort."

We have the referendum and initiative in our local government system—before a concession for a lease can be granted to a private company, which is done by a special order made by a county, city or borough council, the special order embodying the terms of the concession has to lay for thirty days at the council office, and it is open for 5 per cent. of the rate payees to demand a poll as to the approval of the proposed concession. The poll is mandatory.

We have three systems of local rating, or method of taxation. A local rating authority may in its own motion either

adopt the annual rating value system, or the capital value system; the basis of the latter being the value of land and improvements; then we have the rating on land value system, which can only be brought into operation on the initiative of the rate payers in the following proposition: Where the number of rate payers is 100 or less, 25 per cent.; where the number exceeds 100, but does not exceed 300, 20 per cent.; where the number exceeds 300, 15 per cent.; the requisition is mandatory. The poll must be taken within twenty-eight days after the presentation of the requisition, and a fair majority of those voting determines the result of the poll. This law has and is still being made frequent use of. Thirty-eight of the sixty-two districts have voted on this question, and twenty-nine of these have voted in favor and nine against accepting this, which is practically the single tax. The vote for has been 7,673, and against 4,938. Among these are three of the four large cities. Wellington adopted it by 1,261 to 591, Christchurch by 596 to 512, and Auckland rejected it by 753 to 1,697. In the smaller places the vote was often overwhelmingly in favor, such figures being in the table as 175 to 7, 93 to 3, 187 to 8.

The initiative and referendum was extended last session of Parliament to apply to amalgamation proposals. During the session of 1901 I asked Mr. Seddon if he would introduce a bill providing for the application of this system to amalgamation proposals, but he declined, so in the session of 1902 I prepared and introduced a bill embodying the initiative and referendum, and these were subsequently embodied in a bill introduced by the government and passed into law.

The councils of three small boroughs bounding on Christchurch City have been discussing the proposed amalgamation for years. I promoted a petition in each borough in accordance with the foregoing law, and it was quickly settled.

The law provides for a fair majority carrying a proposal. Melrose Borough and Cornical, near Wellington City, have been haggling over this proposal for years. The electors under the new law settled it in one day in favor of the proposal.

In Parliament, Sir William Stewart proposed an amendment

to his bill providing for the election of the members of the executive of Parliament, that his bill be submitted to a vote of the people, but the opponents of the bill were afraid that the people would approve of the bill providing for the election of the executive, so they threw the bill out, referendum clause and all. I proposed a referendum on the abolition of the totalizer on State gambling machines, but it was also rejected. The government referendum bill did not come up last session. People outside of New Zealand imagine that we have a democratic form of government in this country. If these people came and lived here they would soon find that it is not as pictured. For two or three sessions of the Legislature, a referendum bill has passed the lower house, the last time by a good majority, but it was decisively rejected by the upper house, only two members voting for it. The New Zealand Senate is not elected by the people, but appointed by the Governor in Council, most of its members for life, and it is a reactionary drag on legislation and non-creative. What to do with it is one of New Zealand's pressing problems, and probably its solution lies along the lines of this bill.

I am in favor of abolishing the upper house, having one chamber, and the referendum and initiative.

At the close of our session of Parliament, I made a lecture tour through Canterbury and Otago, covering 260 miles. I spoke on State Banking, as well as the Referendum and Initiative, but submitted motions in favor of the latter, and in not a single case were they rejected, but generally adopted nearly unanimously. At all my election meetings I strongly advocated the referendum and initiative and I think this largely aided in my election. I was re-elected from Christchurch with 7,924 votes, being only beaten for the top place by 198 votes. I am sure the democratic sentiment for direct legislation is rapidly growing, and that as time goes on we shall get more and more of it till we get it completely.

H. G. ELL.

*Christchurch, New Zealand.*



## PROFESSOR STIMSON'S GREAT WORK ON ART.

A SYMPOSIUM BY GEORGE LANSING RAYMOND, L.H.D.; R. HEBER  
NEWTON, D.D.; JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN, LL.D.;  
JOAQUIN MILLER, AND EDWIN MARKHAM.

[It is our profound conviction that Professor Stimson's work, "The Gate Beautiful," is the most vital and fundamentally important book by an American author that has appeared in recent years. Its greatness lies not only in the broad and masterly handling of the basic principles of art and the multitudinous manifestations of nature's varying moods—though as a philosophical and practical treatise on art it is far superior to any work of which we have any knowledge—but also in its suggestive revelation of Nature in her secret workings; while its implications and the ennobling philosophy it embodies are better calculated to exalt the ideals of the masses and to stimulate the highest aspirations than any similar work from an American pen. If the volume had been merely a fine technical work, if it had been superficial in character, if it had been written simply for the few or to delight the dilettante, we should have been content to dismiss it with a passing notice; but inasmuch as it strikes at the very root of the basic principles that affect alike the artistic and esthetic as well as the ethical and spiritual verities; because the supreme aim and passion of the author has been to reach the vast masses of the people and awaken in them such a knowledge and appreciation of great and original art that they may recognize, enjoy, and cultivate it; because the author is, we believe, the first great master among our own art teachers who has insisted that the pure delight, the refinement and culture born of true art shall become the precious heritage of the millions; and, finally, because this work is a conscience book as well as a luminous intellectual production—a work of genius of the highest order that appeals at once to the imagination, the reason, and the heart in dealing with the most vital problems of life, we have secured the following symposium of criticisms and appreciations from five representative thinkers in various walks of life. The first three criticisms are by George Lansing Raymond, L.H.D., Professor of Esthetics in Princeton University and author of "Art in Theory," "The Genesis of Art-Form," "Poetry as a Representative Art," and other volumes upon comparative esthetics; R. Heber Newton, D.D., the famous liberal-minded Episcopalian clergyman; Joshua L. Chamberlain, LL.D., who was for many years president of Bowdoin College and whose valuable labors for progressive education have been only second to the services rendered to the State on the field of war and as chief executive of Maine. To the criticisms of the art teacher and critic, the divine, and the educator, we have added two brief appreciations from poets—representatives of widely different thought-worlds, Joaquin Miller, the mystic poet of the

Sierras, and Edwin Markham, the noble laureate of the common life. These appreciations form a worthy tribute to a work which cannot fail to broaden and deepen the culture and exalt the life of every reader.

B. O. FLOWER.]

# I.

IT gives me pleasure to be able to say a few words concerning Professor John Ward Stimson's work, "The Gate Beautiful."\* According to my judgment, it has three characteristics which make it an extremely valuable contribution to the art-thought and art-culture of our country. The first characteristic is the minute, and, in most cases, accurate analysis to which almost every phase of the possibilities of form has been subjected. That so much thought could be suggested by sources so apparently superficial as line and color, will appeal to large numbers, who have never studied the subject, with the force of revelation; and no one, no matter how much he has studied it, can, even in a hurried way, turn over the pages of the book without obtaining an enlarged conception of the importance, the dignity, and the comprehensiveness of the message of art for the thoughtful mind.

The second characteristic of the book is the attempt, in the main successful, to indicate the peculiar tendency of thought or feeling represented by each phase of line or color. To appreciate the force of the argument presented, it is not necessary for one to accept without limitations the exact significance which Mr. Stimson ascribes to each of the almost infinite varieties of the elements of form which he considers. No matter how much one may differ from him when explaining details, enough will remain to cause the candid reader to recognize as well nigh unassailable that which alone is of supreme importance, namely, the truth of the general principle which all the details, taken together, are intended to illustrate.

The third characteristic to which I have referred, one would almost expect, owing to the particular object of Mr. Stimson's

\* "The Gate Beautiful," being Principles and Methods in Vital Art Education. By Prof. John Ward Stimson. Profusely illustrated. 420 pp. Two editions. Cloth. Price, \$7.50 net. By mail, \$7.90 net. Paper. Price, \$3.50 net. By mail, \$3.76 net. Trenton, New Jersey, Albert Brandt, Publisher.

book, to find lacking. But it is not. Though not emphasized, it is everywhere implied. It is the result of the conception so difficult to get into the heads of many Americans, especially of the transcendental school—though Mr. Stimson himself, in a sense, belongs to that school—that in order to become artistic, forms of representation, after having been once determined by the requirements of significance, must be developed and elaborated according to methods having to do with form alone. A single architectural arch, for instance, represents a constructive thought, a single musical phrase an emotional inclination. But one cannot obtain a completed architectural or musical product without developing the representative arch or phrase in a way conditioned upon merely formal considerations. The same fact is more subtly true of products of painting, sculpture, and poetry. The latter, for instance, notwithstanding the erroneous conception of many of our critics, must be more than merely expressive. Prose can be that. Poetry must be artistically expressive. This general fact with reference to art Mr. Stimson never overlooks, and it is all the more noteworthy inasmuch as he emphasizes so strongly—but not too strongly—the expressional side.

These three characteristics of the book are those which have chiefly impressed me, and on account of them alone, to say nothing of other features, I think that all who are both lovers of art and thinkers (they must be both to appreciate this book) will desire to see it placed in all important public libraries, as well as in the private libraries of those with whom art is a specialty.

GEORGE LANSING RAYMOND, L.H.D.

*Princeton, N. J.*

## II.

Some books are manufactures, some are growths. These be lived before they are written.

The book before us is a life embodied. Like each of the greatest books of earth (*ta biblia*) the inspiration in it is the record of the inspiration of a life. Rightly to review this work is to reverently read the story of the life before opening the covers of the volume.

John Ward Stimson fitted himself assiduously for the career of an artist. After studying in New York, he spent several years in Paris, returning well prepared for the vocation awaiting him, in the expectation of spending his days before the easel, turning out pictures for the art dealer to sell and for the rich to buy.

Looking around him with those observant eyes of his, which scan alike the heavens and the earth, he saw the crowding hosts of painters striving to do this work for the few of earth. He saw also the greater host of young men and women without the gifts for such a career, and without the possibility of a training for it, who had within them the artist soul, the inherent love of the beautiful, vainly seeking an expression through their untrained fingers; men and women capable, if not of painting great pictures, of at least making charming vases and artistic decorations and lovely wood carvings; of becoming artist-artisans for the service of the mass of men. He saw the hunger of the souls of them for the chance to do the work of God for man to which they felt moved, if only some one could teach them. But, through the length and breadth of the land he saw scarce one attempting to do this service aright. Such few and scattered efforts as he found, he saw to be largely mechanical, imitative, artificial—lacking the discernment of principle, manifesting no vitality, without spirituality. And so the call came to him, which he unhesitatingly obeyed, as, turning from his chosen career of creative work, he gave himself to the drudgery, as some men would deem it, of creating creators for other creative work.

He saw in this lack of the land the secret of our industrial inferiority in all the manufactures wherein beauty is a use. He noted our manufacturers importing trained workmen for the handicrafts which seek to give charm to life. With the divining rod which he carried in his soul, he detected the presence of the veins of wealth to be found in men and women capable of such artistic work. He recognized that the true democracy must make of the beautiful, as of every other real wealth of life, a communal possession of the people—that art

as well as religion must be democratized. He perceived the truth that art can only flourish when it is not an exotic of the salon, but a native product in the homes of the people; when it is not the potted plant in the palace of the rich, but a sturdy, out-of-door growth in the yards of the poor, rooting in the common soil of earth; that we can only have an art of the people when we have a people capable of art, living neither in sordidness nor squalor, but in the modest, honest riches which leave the soul of man capable of discerning that there is a wisdom "more to be desired than gold, yea, than much fine gold," and toiling over a work which does not drain the springs of joy and mock the pride of workmanship, but which makes the daily task a delight and allows the workman the honor of sharing with the Most High the inspiration of creation.

He saw that a national art must follow upon the vision of the national ideals, clearly seen and loyally followed. The revival of a genuine art, it was given him to see, must come not from slavish imitation of Old-World methods and traditional formulas and copy-book rules for turning out pictures, but by opening the eye to see the beauty all about us on our own soil, and by nerving the hand to dare to draw the vision coming to the soul, when every land becomes a Palestine. Thus to see the beautiful in the nature around us is to discern the beautifulness of Nature itself, the omnipresence of loveliness in all things; the presence everywhere of the life which draws beautiful lines and constructs in graceful proportions, and grows forms instinct with grace; the presence of the Spirit dreaming dreams of unutterable beauty and throwing them upon the canvas of the sky and sea, the field and mountain, for him to see who can, who must, in seeing, bow the knee in worship.

With such thoughts in his mind and such lofty visions in his soul, he took charge of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and, developing its work along the lines of such principles, he built up a student membership of about four hundred in a few years. Pegasus does not readily work in double harness. Genius is not to be driven easily by a board of trustees, as idealistic as

are most men of business. Mr. Stimson left this work and founded the Institute for Artist-Artisans, with the same outward results in attendance. Some years later, after he had been laid aside by ill-health and compelled thus to abandon his work in New York, upon the first return of health he engaged in a similar work in Trenton, New Jersey. In each of these three schools his influence was something wonderful. He enthused and inspired young men and women, and created a body of artist-artisans, the vitality of whose work was immediately recognized in the world of industry. Manufacturers found original designers ready-made for them, because a great soul had been at work making men. Those who intelligently looked into this remarkable work recognized the presence of a born teacher, "a man sent from God" to do a special work, and doing it in utter self-forgetfulness, with a devotion which revealed the highest of all beauties—"the beauty of holiness."

What might not have come of this work if Mr. Stimson's health had held out! To save his life he had to abandon the work dearer to him than life itself and go into retreat in the Adirondacks for some years. Like others before him, he was thus led to the mountain of the vision of God. "Battling off death" heroically, under the bitterness of disappointment—the disappointment, not of ambitious schemes, but of the prophet's mission—he has learned the lessons which the saints of old thus learned always. In the leisure thrust upon him, and the wrestling with the Stranger in the night which he could not escape, the secret of his mission has grown clear, and the spirit has ripened to declare it.

The book that has thus grown out of a life expresses the rich and varied qualities of that life. The powers which made the work so striking render the book unique. To the writing of it he brought the artistic imagination, the philosophical mind, the soul of the poet, and the spiritual discernment of the mystic. The result is a work which stands apart from everything else in its line which our country has produced. *It is to American art what Ruskin's "Modern Painters" was to the art of England.*

The book is divided into two general divisions. The second consists of practical instructions in the technique of art. It embraces a system of methods which is the outgrowth of the principles laid down in the first part of the book. Concerning this latter section the present reviewer is incompetent to pass judgment.

The first division of the book is an interpretation of the principles underlying its methods. These principles are drawn from the beautiful order of the universe itself. They are apprehended as cosmic principles. They are discovered through the spiritual interpretation of nature. Nature is seen to be not a cunning mechanism, but a vital organism. Life itself is seen to be the work of the Great Artist, ever seeking to mould all things into forms of beauty. The soul of the universe is divined as an infinite Spirit of Beauty—which is one with the Infinite Spirit of Truth and Goodness. Art is the interpreter of the essential being of all creation. Its visions are revelations.

In this interpretation of the beautiful order of the universe the fecund mind of the writer fairly revels in the overflowing wealth of suggestion which opens to him on every hand, as the philosopher and poet blend in the study of science, and the artist beholds the visions which no man hath ever fully seen, or can see.

Thus it is that it is not merely the painter who may find inspiration in this noble work, but the clergyman, the teacher, the thoughtful man and woman in every line of life who would fain be led into the Interpreter's House and see the inner meaning of things. It is a book to be read and pondered in quiet hours of deepest thought, when the soul would worship.

In reading it one is reminded of those immortal words of Plato: "He who has been instructed thus far in the things of love, and who has learned to see the beautiful in due order and succession, when he comes toward the end will suddenly perceive a nature all wondrous beauty (and this, O Socrates, is the final cause of all our toils), the nature which is, in the first place, everlasting; not growing or decaying or waxing or

waning: in the next place not fair in one point of view and foul in another, or at one time and in one relation, or in one place fair, at another time and in another relation, or at another place foul, as if fair to some and foul to others, \* \* \* but beauty only, absolute, separate, simple, and everlasting, which, without diminution and without increase or any change, is imparted to the ever-growing and perishing beauties of all other things. He who under the influence of true love rising upward from these things begins to see that beauty, is not far from the end. And the true order of going or being led by the things of love is to use the beauties of earth as steps along which he mounts upward for the sake of that other beauty, \* \* \* going to all other fair forms, and from fair forms to fair practises, and from fair practises to fair notions, till from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and at last knows what the essence of beauty is. \* \* \* This is that life above all others which man should live, in the contemplation of beauty absolute; \* \* \* but if a man had eyes to see the true beauty—the divine beauty, I mean, pure and clear and unalloyed, not clogged with the pollutions of mortality and all the colors and varieties of human life—thither looking and holding converse with the true beauty divine and simple, do you not see that in that communion only, beholding beauty with the eye of the mind, he will be enabled to bring forth not images of beauty, but realities (for he has hold, not upon an image, but a reality), and bringing forth and nourishing true virtue, to become the friend of God and to be immortal, if mortal man may?"

R. HEBER NEWTON, D.D.

*East Hampton, N. Y.*

### III.

I offer a few observations, more personal than critical, upon the remarkable book, "The Gate Beautiful," and the spirit and motive of its gifted author.

The appearance of the book—the realization of an almost lost dream—brings to those who know the author's long and



painful struggle a satisfaction which is more than joy. It was my fortune and privilege to enjoy a somewhat familiar acquaintance with Professor Stimson in some of his most strenuous years, when he was trying to lead our people to look upon the expression of beauty not as "art for art's sake," but art for life's sake; to make our hearts the home of beauty, and so bring beauty into our homes; to encourage and inspire gifted spirits among our youth to get at the soul of things; to rouse the artistic spirit of our country to work out its worth, not by servile copying of the work of others, or even the outward forms of nature without entering into their motive and inward law, but first of all by studying God's thought in the familiar things to which our earthly sense is open, following up to the center and source and law of all—the purpose in the mind and heart of God. He hoped that in this way, by the intelligent recognition of the loving and gracious purposes of the divine revelation through the beautiful, and the high and reverential thought it would awaken, our people would gradually be released from this habitual sense of dependence on foreign peoples for artistic work or workmen, and develop an artistic culture and power of their own, based on intelligence.

Conscious of the full mastery of his subject through profound thought and diligent use of ample opportunities for study, deeply assured of the truth of his view and the value of his effort, he went into his work with the intensity of one under divine ordering and consecration. To him this revelation of truth was a religion. It was certainly to many a novel development of the principles of art. But he was not without recognition. Hundreds gathered about him—aggregating thousands in the few years of high service during which the sensitiveness of his body sustained the ardor of his spirit, and to-day thousands are blessing him for what he has given, what he has made life to be for them.

It seems unaccountable that such a work should meet discouragement—that this earnest labor to reveal those powers of the beautiful which should raise the useful into higher planes, to make the artisan's work artistic, and thus bring one of God's

best blessings to the cheer and uplifting of our common life, must needs be a drama of sorrow, almost a tragedy. Among the causes of this may be noted three which lie in different lines, but which combined to make against him; the revolutionary character of his attempt; the humility of his methods; the height of his demonstration. Habit and fashion were against him. Our leaders of society sought the works of foreign masters because these were famous and because they were able to command them. Our own artists were likely to be deemed inferior if not incapable, because they were our own. It was a violent presumption to claim that the artistic susceptibilities and powers of our people could be developed from within themselves and their own environment, by seeking them at their sources in the natures God had given them, and not by rounds of superficial copying and servile imitation.

Then, too, this new teacher started from the humblest points, and drew his lessons from most familiar things. Christ-like, he walked among the lowly, for whom especially his work was. He would waken the slumbering sense and potency of beauty in EVERY soul, and thus make common what was thought by some to be accounted separate and rare and high.

Then again—and a reason quite different—this demonstration of beauty in its final reaches led to rare atmospheres, to the real of abstruse laws, to transcendent ideas and ideals which seemed like mystic visions. Those who could not attain these heights, or long follow these paths excused themselves on the ground that he was “visionary.” But he spoke from the heights of life; and not from its dead levels. Every great prophet and seer and preacher has been accounted “mad” or mentally disordered, because he saw things not as sense-steeped men see them, but as they are in the eyes of God. The discouragement that at times overtook the master led him to seize upon companionship and sympathy as if they were disposers of life and death. In such society he gave himself peace and freedom. And what visions were these for the beholder! Ever cherished, ever active powers in the soul and character of a privileged few are those familiar talks of his at a humble so-

cial board, in long evenings drawn towards the day, taking up some simple object and resolving in deepening scale its ever finer essences, rising with it to a soaring flight, with steady wing towards the supreme source, till in that assumption both were lost in the light of heaven.

After such discourses the hearers would beseech the master to "write a book"—to set forth his whole demonstration in logical development, from principle to application, and to bring in this wealth of illustration to give color, richness, and charm. Long years passed, and he himself had almost passed from life, and this wish seemed to have ended in a dream.

But now comes the surprise of this magnificent book, itself a work of art, not only in the fulness and richness of illustration, but in all its details of "make-up"—paper, type, printing, page, and margin, even the arrangement of the type upon the page—all worthy of the subject and its treatment.

It is more than a splendid book, reflecting light from every point and phase. It is a broad book, with a reach and richness of suggestion which possibly obscures the continuity and closeness of its logical development. It is a profound book, holding to rigorous sequences of method, studying things in the order of their deepening revelations, and comprehending them from the standpoint of their central law. Every step of this wonderful way seems the fitting place for final rest; but the course is still onward, the vision opens still outward—which in truth is inward; the ever-widening harmonies concentric to some innermost law; the far symphonies, waves and weavings of the outflow of some central heart.

This book is the outcome, the flower and fruit, or rather the refined essence, the transfiguration, of all the experiences of the author's life—vision, aspiration, study, toil, mastery, out-giving, sorrow, struggle, self-renunciation, overpassing faith. Tones of all these run through the book—the last the triumphant one—steadfast loyalty to truth.

The range of this argument traverses the deep places of physical law such as were known to the author of the old Book of Wisdom, when he affirmed, "By measure and weight and num-

ber hast Thou ordered all things." This is a region of marvels. Look at the drawings in this book before us; the waking motions of the formless mist of matter in spirals and volutes and tangents; the magnificence of the star crystals; the spiritual grace of the voice flowers! And what marvelous relations must there be, when the far attractions which form the beauty and perfection of the orbits of the worlds are determined according to the relations and ratios of square and cubes of distance!

It is not strange that other seers of the order which makes the beauty of the universe have named it divine. "I read the thoughts of God after Him," was the cry of Kepler when he unrolled this secret of the orbs. He saw still more, and was called "visionary," too, because tracing in the vibrations of what we call matter the deep interrelations of form, color and sound, he sought to reveal a system of celestial harmonies depending on the varying velocities of the planets, of which there could be but one auditor—He at the center of all. How do we know this is not true? If our senses take in the dull hum of a flying cannon-ball, why may there not be other senses so attuned that they can hear "the song of the morning stars"—higher revelation of the same law?

It is with such things in their more delicate aspects that this book deals. To take in the scope of this great argument and demonstration is in the largest sense a liberal education. To look through the vista of this Gate Beautiful is to catch a glimpse of the new heavens and the new earth, and almost of the Beatific vision.

JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN.

*Brunswick, Maine.*

#### IV.

Never had the world waited so eagerly for a great book as it waited for "The Gate Beautiful," and its patience has been abundantly rewarded. John Ward Stimson has given us the greatest and best book, outside of the Bible and Shakespeare, that the world has ever seen; nearly five hundred broad, double-columned pages, and nearly five thousand marvelous illustra-

tions. The wonder is that one man, in his one lifetime, could do so much and do it so perfectly.

"The Gate Beautiful" is a profound book—profoundly scientific, profoundly yet broadly religious; a deep and wide book, yet so beautifully written that it is more entertaining and more easily read than any modern romance. The thousands of illustrations, some of them reproductions of master creations, others original or reproductions from Nature's gallery, are like fresh wells and springs by the way, where we are refreshed and informed at every point. "The Gate Beautiful" is truly the book of beauty. To know this book is to know the story and glory of art, from the morning time of civilization to the present hour. And more than this, it takes the reader into the studio of the divine Artist-Artisan and reveals God at work with crystal and seed, with leaf and blossom. It shows as does no other work the order, symmetry, and design, as well as the glory of color, in Nature's vast gallery.

The central idea of "The Gate Beautiful" is the Beautiful. Of course, there is nothing in Nature that is not beautiful, or trying to be beautiful; but this book is a string of jewels from the deepest seas of art from the very dawn to the present day.

The Bible says: "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden wherein he caused every tree to grow that is pleasant to the sight and good for food."

Observe now, the Lord God first considered the trees that are "pleasant to the sight." The trees that were "good for food" came last in the estimation of God. And this is Nature. The one continuous effort of Nature is to bring forth that which is "pleasant to the sight"; to give us the Gate Beautiful.

So long as we seek the Gate Beautiful, the way that God passed and planted in the beginning, just so long will we continue to go forward toward perfection. But the day we turn aside to picture goblins and monsters, as did the Chinese, we shall surely die.

This book, "The Gate Beautiful," is to my mind the wholesomest and most needed book that modern genius, research, and

persistent industry have produced. No cultured or refined family, certainly no library, in the land can afford to be without it.

JOAQUIN MILLER. .

*The Hights, Oakland, Cal.*

V.

Professor John Ward Stimson's "The Gate Beautiful" gives us glimpses of the religion of art and of the art of religion. It is a thing of joy to look at and to ponder over. It is a rich book, elaborately made, crowded with vital matter; a book for artists and all lovers of art. I fear that in this age, when tons of trashy books are whirling from the presses, that this fine volume may be overlooked by the many; but I am hoping that it will be sought after by the discerning few who are seeking for a unifying principle in life and its arts. "The Gate Beautiful" is the utterance of an earnest thinker. This work is more than a book—it is a man's Soul.

EDWIN MARKHAM.

*Westerleigh, Staten Island, N. Y.*

## FASHIONS IN FICTION.

**T**HERE are changing fashions in literature as in other things. Public taste in the modern world is almost as capricious as it was in ancient Athens, when the new and the strange were ever the idols of the hour.

During the first half of the nineteenth century romanticism was waging a successful struggle with classicism, the storm center being in France, where Victor Hugo and Theophile Gautier led the "Brigands of Thought," as their enemies termed them. Romanticism under the leadership of Hugo was intensely humanitarian, progressive, and republican in spirit and tendency. Its battle was for ethical as well as artistic progress. It sought to liberate the spirit from the grave-clothes of antiquated and obsolete rules, forms and ideals. It was a child of freedom and fostered genius. It demanded a wider measure of liberty in the literary world and indirectly furthered the political aspirations of democracy.

Classicism represented the spirit of the past. Its dicta were held to be settled. Its decrees knew no change. It was reactionary in spirit and around its standard gathered all the forces of reaction. Its leaders were eminently "respectable" and "proper." It denounced the apostles of liberalism in literature in the most unmeasured terms. "You are all savages," cried the angry classicists. "Better that than mummies," returned the romanticists.

"Romanticism," wrote a distinguished academician, "is not a matter of ridicule. It is a disease of the brain, as much as epilepsy. A romanticist is a man whose brain has gone wrong. He is to be pitied and is a subject for medical diagnosis."

Nevertheless, the apostles of classicism were unable to stay the romantic tidal wave. It exerted a powerful and beneficent influence on the mind of Europe. It broadened and liberalized literature, gave new wings to the imagination, and breathed new

life into poetry and romance. Its influence in England was more marked in poetry than in fiction. Byron and Shelley came strongly under its spell. Bulwer Lytton, idealistic, imaginative, and, to a certain degree, psychic in temperament, was perhaps more largely swayed by romanticism than any other of the group of eminent novelists of the period. Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, and later George Eliot, each responded to the splendid individualistic impulses rife in that age of new-born liberty, and voiced their messages according to their natural inclinations and peculiar intellectual and temperamental bents.

After romanticism had wrought its mission there arose the austere, prosaic school of veritism or realism, rigid and scientific in method, photographic in its reflection of life as it exists, and often gloomy in character and depressing in influence. If the romanticists fixed their eyes too continuously on the sun, the stars, and the snow-clad peaks high above them, the veritists went to the other extreme and riveted their eyes so persistently on the earth and on things earthy that the ideal too often escaped them. And yet the nobler works of this school, like those of the early romanticists, were intensely humanistic and reformative in spirit and impulse. In a certain sense the leaders of this revolt against the stagnation of classicism, with its artificiality and idolatry of form and letter, and against the exaggerations of the luxuriant imaginations of the romanticists, resembled the most austere and uncompromising of the ancient prophets of Israel. They were loyal to truth as they saw it. They beheld the eating cancer in the body politic; they beheld corruption, degradation, misery, and poverty rife on every hand, and a literature too much given to ignoring the crying evils of the age and becoming morally effeminate. They found everywhere a tendency to self-glorification among nations and to Phariseism in society. They realized that the cry of the multitude, "Prophesy to us smooth things," was everywhere being heeded in the temples of literature, art and religion; and against these disquieting and dangerous influences they raised the voice of protest, or rather sought to correct the evil tendencies by forcing the reading public to behold



conditions as they really were. They did not protest after the manner common to prophets or to didactic reformers, holding as they did that this was beyond the mission of art. The truth must be pictured in all its actuality, the ugly as well as the beautiful. If injustice reigned, if brutality and cruelty existed, if intolerance, superstition, bigotry, or economic thralldom served to fetter the mind or the soul or the body, the hideous facts must be exposed. The conscience and the intelligence of the world must be forced to see things as they actually are. Thus, according to the conviction of these leaders, great reformatory and beneficent changes might be wrought through art. This was the theory of Count Tolstoi, in Russia; of Henrik Ibsen, in Scandinavia; of Emile Zola, in France; of Hermann Sudermann, in Germany; of William Dean Howells, Hamlin Garland and Frank Norris, in America.

The veritists appeared at a time when the progressive and reformatory impulses of civilization were beginning to ebb. The splendid revolutionary era, inaugurated at Lexington in 1775 and carried forward in Europe, Great Britain and South America during the closing decades of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, apparently described its circle or closed for a time the distinctively progressive and reformatory political epoch with the emancipation of the black man on the soil of the nation that had electrified the world with the Declaration of Independence. Thenceforth the reactionary forces steadily made progress. The spell of gold seemed to fascinate the great republic. Small groups of men acting in association and led by the railway corporations began to subtly but effectively overmaster government in the compassing of selfish ends. The reform forces were unprepared for the stealthy and secret influences that began to invade the body politic; and this was true in a large degree in European politics. Progressive minds in some instances were satisfied with the achievements wrought and seemed disposed to rest on the laurels won; while in other instances, especially on the Continent of Europe, the democratic and social reformers were dissipated by their failures or the meager realization of their dreams of victory. It was a breath-

ing time for the children of light, and in government, in religion, in the social and economic world—everywhere, in fact—powerful and aggressive forces appeared, essentially though not ostensibly reactionary. Material interests were everywhere exalted over the ethical ideals that had largely governed the brain of western civilization for three-quarters of a century.

The change in the temper of the people was manifested in many ways, notably in the cultivation of the martial spirit in our republic. In the Sunday Schools, as well as in the public schools, boys were drilled in the manual of arms. The savage was fostered in the minds of the young.

The printing press was quick to respond to the new sentiment, and in turn to add to the reactionary tone of the hour by the publication of numerous lives of the great military leaders. From Alexander to Napoleon and Bismarck, the men of blood and iron were glorified and extolled. Respect for authority rather than reverence for truth, justice, and human rights, was everywhere emphasized. On all sides conformity and conventionalism belittled and sneered at the true prophets, the iconoclasts, and radical leaders who had appealed primarily to the moral and spiritual sensibilities. It was not strange, therefore, that a general cry went up against the veritists and realists, not so much on account of their faults and limitations as because of their bravery in unmasking wrongs and in insisting that civilization recognize the evils, corruption, and injustice that were flaunted by wealth, authority, and convention. Nor is it strange that with the rapid and aggressive march of materialistic commercialism there should arise a literature aimed to divert the mind of the people from life's pressing lessons, duties, and obligations—a literature primarily intended to amuse the reader and to anesthetize his conscience, and at the same time to cater to the new reactionary spirit by idealizing and glorifying the days when monarchy or despotism in some of their various forms brutalized the masses and held society as in an iron vise.

In opposition to the intensely progressive and humanistic romanticism of the first half of the nineteenth century and the earnest realism and veritism of the last fifty years, arose the

present-day dilettante school of romantic historical novelists. In the writings of the elder Dumas these new novelists found their model. The great Frenchman, however, with all his faults, was incomparably greater than any of his imitators. The first books of this class proved very popular with a public already largely under the spell of reaction, and their success inspired scores of ambitious writers to prospect in so promising a field. Incursions were made into history, covering almost every known period. Most of these novels, however, were hastily written and mediocre in character. Not a few were mere imitations of the elder Dumas, and it is doubtful whether more than five or six of the number will hold a permanent place in literature. The elder Dumas' works had the merit of being remarkably true to conventional history, as written by the friends of monarchy, but the present-day historical novels seldom contain much history, while many historical characters introduced are thoroughly false to the originals. Thus these works are often misleading and pernicious. Perhaps, however, the greatest objection to them is their strongly reactionary tendency. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule, as, for example, "The Crisis," by Mr. Winston Churchill, but the vast majority of them are distinctly anti-republican, unprogressive, and reactionary in temper and spirit. They have glorified and idealized royalty, the representatives of hereditary aristocracy, and the successful accidents and creatures of fortune and privilege, without any due reference to the inherent worthiness, virtue, or nobility of the individual in question. They have cast a false and baleful glamor over despotic, treacherous, dissolute, and corrupt kings and debauched courtiers. They have invested brutal and bloody ages, preëminent for licentiousness and guilty craft, with a charm of romantic heroism and poetic beauty unwarranted by historical facts; and they have given their readers a perspective as untrue and as out of all proportion to subsequent periods as it is subtly injurious to immature imaginations and the undisciplined reason of youth.

How frequently of late have Charles I., that monarch whose treachery and perfidy were only equalled by his despotic in-

instincts, and his dissolute and conscienceless son, Charles II., been glorified and idealized in such a way as to win the sympathy if not the admiration of the reader. What false and misleading pictures have been drawn of Louis XIV. of France and Mary Queen of Scots. Most of the present-day historical romances which hark back to periods prior to the revolutionary epoch of the seventeenth century, in so far as they have any quickening influence on the reader's mind, tend to enlist his sympathies on the side of monarchy, militarism, class interest, and privilege. In them there is little note taken of the struggling millions who so largely create a nation's wealth and power and who represent all but a fraction of its joy and misery. Rarely, indeed, do we find the cause of the disinherited ones sympathetically and humanely dwelt upon. In this respect how different is the reactionary fiction from "*Les Miserables*" and other of the greatest works of the early romanticists. How different also from the noble protests of Count Tolstoi and the powerful sermons in favor of social righteousness and economic justice that marked the later works of Emile Zola and the fine and nobly humane pictures drawn by Mr. Howells, or the forceful and compelling work of the greatest of our younger realists, Mr. Frank Norris, whose untimely death took from America one who promised to rank with the foremost masters of modern fiction.

Running parallel with the romantic historical novels that have catered to the powerful reactionary currents, have appeared the works of another school exhibiting the humanistic instincts of the early romanticists and the realists and seeking to further the cause of economic righteousness by idealistic visions of social justice. This school has been more utilitarian and practical than either the romanticists or the realists. It has been from first to last a teacher of social ethics. Its apostles have been propagandists, and for this reason their works have frequently suffered as literature, while the story, being subordinated to didactic teaching, has in many instances been wanting in dramatic intensity and compelling power. Nevertheless the success of many of these novels has been phenome-

nal, one of them reaching a sale of over a million copies in England and America, and another exceeding a quarter of a million copies in America alone.

From a literary point of view "News from Nowhere," by William Morris; "A Traveller from Altruria," by William Dean Howells; "The Building of the City Beautiful," by Joaquin Miller; "Labor," by Emile Zola, and "Equality," by Edward Bellamy, are unquestionably entitled to rank as the best works of this school of socialistic romancers, whose novels have during the past two decades paralleled the reactionary romantic historical fiction.

At present evidences are not wanting that indicate that the reading public is wearying of the reactionary historical romance. Perhaps this is because the more serious of our people, who were for a time led astray by the delusive slogan of pseudo-patriotism and appeals to vanity and cupidity, are coming to themselves so that their conscience and better judgment are again exerting their sway, and they are turning from sordid materialism to the nobler idealism that exalts a people and gives virility and permanency to a civilization.

On the other hand, there are many evidences which indicate that the social vision as a propaganda literature has fulfilled its mission by educating the public to a point where other forms of economic literature are demanded. This does not apply to books like Joaquin Miller's exquisite prose poem, "The Building of the City Beautiful," or Mr. Howells' "A Traveller from Altruria," for these volumes, quite apart from any merit as social visions, have excellencies which entitle them to a permanent place in literature. But for the majority of propaganda romances the day is waning, and some other novel, and, perhaps, some distinct school, will soon claim the attention of the more thoughtful of our people. Possibly two rival schools will hold the boards, one a dilettante, trivial, frivolous, and effeminate fiction not unlike the wretched society dramas of the past few seasons. This is probable, for there are many people who do not wish to think or even to be serious; but happily they do not represent the mass of the reading public, which at heart

is sound and true, however much it may at times be swayed by passing currents that run counter to the eternal ethical verities and the spirit of progress. And from the deep spiritual yearnings everywhere in evidence, both within and without the churches—the broad, tolerant yet profoundly religious, sane, and fearless spirit that is everywhere reaching out for something finer and more inspiring than present-day fiction offers, we are led to believe that an answer will come to this general demand in a school of worthy fiction which shall hold sway over the more conscience-guided and thoughtful of our people—a school of fiction whose works will be marked by humanism even more intense than that which was the glory of the distinctly progressive schools of the nineteenth century, and which shall be as rich in imagination, poetry, idealism, and freedom of spirit as was romanticism at its best; as searching, scientific, and loyal to truth and the spirit of justice and fraternity as were the noblest of the veritists' works; and which shall, furthermore, recognize the law of solidarity and its august obligations and implications as keenly as have the social dreamers—in a word, a school which shall be the outflowering of the best of all the progressive schools of the revolutionary epoch, and in which the heart and the soul and the brain shall each be appealed to and nourished; in which the imagination and reason shall be quickened; a fiction that shall be the willing servant of light and love and progress, and which shall necessarily become one of the most effective forces for justice and human emancipation in the impending conflict between the rule of gold and the Golden Rule.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## CAUCUS OR KING.

WE must return to one or the other; both have long since been abandoned. Local governments are in the air and torn by hawks. Neglect of electoral duty is already ingrained in our people; it has become a chronic disease, or quite as treasonable as the secession of 1861. The caucus, *per se*, has even a stigma. Where is seen in it the substantial elements of citizenship? This loss to the State of civic virtue and ability has practically subverted the design of our institutions. But while we are theoretically reawakening to the importance of primary politics it should be said even that is not the place to start in, for the primary seldom varies from the plan prearranged for it. The caucus in the city is like the village meeting in the country, which is distinctly an American institution. It cannot be too often repeated or impressed upon the understanding of the young, trite though it be, that it is the fountain head of all American character and power. One of the many curses of wealth, or what is called material prosperity, is our drifting away from this simple organic institution and duty. Our political condition now is no more like our early republican simplicity and purity, when De Töcqueville apotheosized us, than Loubet is like Louis XIV. Our bosses and their followers are well fixed. "After us the deluge."

Machine—or vocational—politics is breeding a citizenship and social conditions that are totally foreign to our original design. The only direct and practical purpose of "leaders" is to dictate the making of officials and laws to delegations and conventions, and that they do with the arrogance of perfect immunity and diamond-pointed conceit. No Roman satrap, feudal baron, German burgher, or English squire ever swaggered over vanquished foe, villein, serf, or peasant with more supercilious authority. At political barbecues, picnics, excursions, complimentary banquets there are more, per cent., of hollow adventurers, cold-blooded plotters, "coddors" and "jolliers"

than in any other kind of assemblage. There is polite diplomacy but no neighborhood citizenship or mutual trust; all is spot cash. This comes of general abstention of electors. So essential is it that all should serve the State at the beginning that it ought to be mandatory upon each citizen as any prescribed duty is upon an official. A thoroughly popular government by an intelligent democracy is approximately perfect, but a proxy democracy is the worst evil under the sun.

Immediately upon evacuation by the British our citizens applied themselves zealously to the new enfranchisement, and then the offices sought the men; but thrift coming apace they divided, one class going into business and the other into politics. The ship calkers of Boston and New Bedford being already organized, took up the initiative of politics, then the old fire departments became the aptest pupils, and soon the trick of special organization spread.

Although our metropolis and larger cities have an appearance of prosperity in clumsily applied wealth, riding upon which is always an army of cuckooing optimists, yet miles of palaces and asphalt, bridges and monuments, temples of Mammon and theology, of art and education, subways and speedways, do not prove the comfort, security, and contentment of the people; they do not stop the growing chasm between rich and poor. Every daily newspaper is a catalogue of crimes, follies, and catastrophies. This writer has before him one morning paper with forty-three of these in flaring headlines of horror. Fault-finding is general, as proved by reform and independent movements which, however, begin their efforts at the top instead of the bottom, where the astute politicians do. Masses of good citizens, who are bent upon improvement, assemble from time to time and thunder in the clouds, but no drop of civic rain reaches down to the earth caucus. Most reformers would rather make speeches than do political work; they shoot over the mark, and when the machines have quietly done the nominating they come in like eleventh-hour virgins. We cannot expect a stream to rise higher than its source. If our better people want clean politics they must purify them by



the only means natural to a republic—the caucus. At a recent epoch of a great financial institution in New York three hundred smug bankers and brokers heard prayer and sang the doxology, in sheer blasphemous hysteria over successful financing. An old observer who knew them well looked on with derision, and remarked, “Hm, they pray! I wouldn’t trust one of them under oath.” While they were the very commercial heart’s blood of this nation they all were only zeros in politics, not one of them knowing his own polling district. It is cheaper for them to *buy* their laws than to make them. When they tire of their surroundings they take to their yachts or mountain preserves; when political or social storms arise, they go to Europe. Native land is nothing to them. Money is their country, their heaven, their exponent of all things. Our highest offices, in State and nation, are tolerably administered because the politicians sometimes need character; but in our cities the governing faculty is wanting of resolute personal rule, the application of sumptuary laws and ordinances and the prevention of jobbery. Signing large bond issues, engineering great improvements on public credit, making assessment rolls and budgets are only sliding along in the perfunctory grooves of custom that bureau clerks could do just as well. When we can enjoy our streets without insolence, when we can apprehend rowdiness without the intervention of a sympathizing magistracy, when we can command peaceful nights and American Sabbaths, when we can place and retain competent men in office without the personal whim of a boss, when we can check immigration and disperse idlers upon the soil where they belong, we shall have approached the wisdom and virtue that are within the reach of a “government of the people, for the people, and by the people.” Every social evil and political problem can be solved by the full application of all our electoral resources, because as a whole we are superior. We are getting along, after a fashion, because of our broad domain and ancestral virility, but those saving graces will not always hold out. Our popular government is a misnomer; our oligarchy is complete, confident audacious. We are losing the governing

faculty, as will be tested in the coming bread riots after the capitalists, too, have struck. It is well here to quote that wonderful publicist—Macaulay:\*

“You may think your country enjoys an exemption. As long as you have a boundless extent of land you may. But the time will come when either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government or your Republic will be as fearfully plundered by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman empire was in the fifth; the Huns and Vandals who ravished Rome came from without; yours will come from within.”

Our political so-called leaders and machines, grown up by our neglect, are narrow and not fitted by capacity or education for crises; they do not pretend to grasp public interests. Vanity of personal power and patronage fills them up. They do not even know that their feet are upon the sands of mere electoral whim. These men, occupying their positions from their own natural vigor and ability, enforced by patronage, think they have an indefeasible proprietary right over every office that belongs to and is paid for by the people. It is a get-rich-quick field, and they guard it with jealousy. They, with the coolest self-satisfaction, threaten to “discipline” men who show the American spirit. They dispense offices to their families or personal favorites. They know that the assembling of the people is fatal to their pretensions so they have cunningly abolished ward organizations and made the polling district the political unit, the territory of which is so small that there is no place for public meeting, leaving the leaders free to concoct their schemes in back offices, bar-rooms, or residences, to be backed up by marshaling a few trembling office-holders and crazy office-seekers. Even if their administration of politics were correct in all respects, the submission of politics to a few is un-American. Abuses would arise even though politics were limited to a select class of men who were beyond personal criticism for ability and virtue.

There is one universal panacea for all political irregularities and that is for *all the people to be in at the initiative*. It is everywhere agreed that not over one-twentieth of the members

\*Harper's, Feb., 1887.

of a political party takes part in the caucuses, and usually only one-fifth in the primaries. This disproportion will soon break through the thick popular skull, and then, with a sudden stroke, the people will silently and swiftly annihilate the machines. This can be done any day without elaborate organization or calling in the aid of political adepts. *All that is needed is the spread of the simple idea that a few men in each polling district, not connected with the machine, may agree upon a primary ticket and distribute it. That is all. The circle will widen of itself.* Our politics and our institutions are as simple as that. That once done the revolution will be complete and wonders will be worked. And this would have a wholesome influence throughout every ramification of society. The cabalistic ways of politics have poisoned every social function. Even churches, clubs, secret and benevolent organizations are now given up to underhanded combinations and leaders. Wherever men get together there are furtiveness and cunning, domineering by the strong, and subjection by the weak. Our modern political leader gives the lie to 1776—reverses all its pretensions and stands as a tide mark of our political degeneracy. Only by *all* the people attending to the caucus do we get the might of majority rule. Against that the pretensions of races, creeds, brotherhoods, and sections stand in awe. The majority in America will fight for the respect due it. There is no danger to the State from individual conscience until it is herded; then it is controlled by sinister powers. The caucus is the only honest, free, and safe spot in America, and we should stand by it with constitutional veneration. It is the only thing that speaks true. It is the soil of national standing and progress and it should be husbanded. Only there have the American youth or merit a fair field. Reformers can accomplish nothing without it: it is an evolution. In the old village caucus we heard the most fervid oratory of our ripest scholars and broadest statesmen, and there the youth of America took in germs of high political education. We remember well when in New York and Massachusetts the cross-roads tavern, the engine house, the school house, even the drygoods box by the

village post-office, were not too small for the Conklings or Everetts, the Seymours or Boutwells, the Kiernans or Winthrops, the Hunts or the Shaws, and so on.

O ye Reformers and Independents and Prohibitionists and Philanthropists and Church Federationists, go to the dingy caucus and *do* something! Vote and distribute tickets. You talk too much. A half dozen "heelers" are worth a whole churchful of you for law making. And you, Carnegie and Depew and Parkhurst and Farley and Adler and Schurmann, go with your personal example, as your fathers did, and there prove that you are the Americans in reality that you asseverate in lip-service. It would be simple, like Lincoln's Gettysburg address. President Andrew D. White has suggested that Mr. Carnegie give \$14,000,000 towards educating young men for office. But how are they to get the offices? Catch your hare first. We have on hand, all the time, hundreds of thousands of college-bred men, but they are not in politics. So any small political leader can "knock out" any college professor. Whence shall come the ranks that, in every State, should be without ambition, but joyfully and contentedly perform the humble tasks allotted to them by nature and circumstances? Carnegie is frittering his wealth away on books that never will be read. We have already too many colleges and balloon-headed professors. In the same paper that published President White's call for \$14,000,000 for more colleges was the call of the Kansas farmers for 30,000 harvesters. We have enough of civic genius and virtue in the land for every purpose of government and law, but it doesn't assert itself in the political methods that have been sanctioned by a century of practise, and which cannot be improved upon. If Andrew Carnegie wants to return all his money to the people from whom he obtained it, as he seems to, not a dollar would be wasted in his building in every polling district in every large city a shrine for the American caucus, with auditorium and committee rooms, the key and custody to go to the Board of Elections, the parties to share it under allotment. Or like the temple of Janus it could be open continuously. This, though seemingly fantastic, would meet the theo-

ries of Initiative and Referendum so desired by the apostles thereof, and give the people always full opportunity for consultation. This, in a measure, would relieve the taxpayers of the great expense of registering and polling places, and keep the old-fashioned method we are used to. Such a place of assembly is quite as necessary as a room for king and privy council. No successful movement or achievement is made in society without pre-organization and plan; but in our government we seem to feel, for there is no thinking about it, that it will come magically, through the polls, without preliminary conference by the citizens.

In the rural districts the observance of political duty by the best citizens saves the nation and supplies us with stalwarts. In our whole history there has been only one political leader or statesman whose character has been cast in a great city, and he is a freak of conjoined opportunity and ability, perhaps inspiration. When our city men get to Congress or to national or even State conventions an unwonted modesty comes over them.

For our electoral duty every citizen should be enrolled as we were in the old general training when every man, big and little, was compelled to turn out, without substitute, the same as to jury duty. Those were the good old times of equality and fraternity, low taxes, security and rest. The town meeting and city caucus ruled; they fixed upon measures and men before the unworthy became fastened upon the public. President White and his disciples, with all their elevation, seem to ignore first principles, as though they could have banquets without scullery, palaces without hod-carriers, nations without ploughmen, or quarter-deck glory without grimy and submerged stokers.

So important is this simple caucus principle to a republic that it merits the attention of the wisest and best, and should be made a mandatory statute. Patriots could do no better than to organize a National Society for the Promotion of the American Caucus, regardless of party or personal benefit.

WILLIAM HEMSTREET.

*Brooklyn, N. Y.*

## THE PARABLE OF THE DRAGON.

**T**HERE was once a mighty Dragon which fattened upon and destroyed the purity and happiness of men.

When the children of the earth would labor and produce food he would seize it from them under cover of the Law and store it in great elevators; and when an elevator burned he would shriek gleefully, for that which remained was of greater worth, and more of the people would go hungry.

When men would produce clothing he would take it from them and store it in great warehouses which he brazenly labeled "over-production," while the people shivered naked in the blast.

And when men would wish to build a home, there would be the Dragon's paw! claiming the Earth.

And the people murmured, and said to one another, "What shall it profit us to work if the fruits of our labor be taken from us?"

But the Dragon said: "Fools! Do ye not see that with the things I am taking from ye I build mighty universities, and almshouses and asylums for those of ye whose strength fails? Am I not always doing for thee? Do I not generously send the sick children to the Country for a whole week? Do I not care for thy babes while thy sickly women wash at the tub? Beware thou of Ingratitude!

And many of the people became so weak and degraded that they believed the Dragon really to be a Benefactor and would cry out against whoever would revile him.

But there were a few who really saw the Truth; that the Dragon must be destroyed, or the people's happiness could not be hoped for.

And so they chose various instruments with which to attack him.

But the case seemed hopeless; his bulk was so gigantic; his hide was so thick.

Many noble fellows wasted their entire lives in raining blows upon him.

He was sometimes made uncomfortable by them, but his hide slowly grew thicker and more calloused where the blows were struck.

The Dragon finally hired Shrewd Men, without principle, craftily to design the very instruments with which he was to be attacked, and so he lived on very comfortably.

Generations came and went, and the lot of the people grew harder.

But one day a Little Man, who felt deeply the woes of his fellows, picked from the dust a long, thin Blade of Steel.

It had been trampled upon for centuries.

It had lain in plain sight upon the highway, neglected by everybody.

He waved it aloft to his fellows, and shouted: "See! With this shall we free the people. With this shall we reach his heart and slay him!"

And a great peal of laughter shook the world.

They jeered at him and called him Fool.

And the Wiseacres said: "Is this man of our Great Universities? No? Then he *must* be a Fool, for do *we* not stand for Intelligence?"

But one by one earnest men began to measure the dimensions of the Dragon and then look carefully at the Blade. And they became convinced the Little Man was right.

And they went and stood beside him; sharing with him the Ridicule and the Persecution.

And when a few had gathered about him they started toward the Dragon; but the Little Man, worn out with watching, died upon the road.

But such is the power of Truth, it came to pass that his Disciples seized the Blade, and even now are holding it aloft that all men may see.

And the Dragon has seen it.

And the Dragon is Sore Afraid.

The Dragon, oh, My People! is Monopoly.  
The long thin Blade of Steel is Direct Taxation.  
The Little Man who died upon the road is Henry George.

FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH.

*Chicago, Ill.*



# TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

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## THE RISE OF ANARCHY IN THE UNITED STATES.

The recent burning of a negro in Delaware, and the race riot in Evansville, Indiana, in which that city was given over to a lawless mob for two or three days, are a tragic but in no wise surprising culmination of the growing spirit of anarchy or lawlessness that for over a decade has steadily increased in certain sections of our country; while the moral contagion has continually spread over an ever-broadening area. This breaking down of civil government is, of course, anarchy in the popular meaning of that overworked term; but it is well to note that the exhibitions of lawlessness and contempt for order which have proved at once a national disgrace and a growing peril to free institutions, have not emanated in a single instance from a great industrial center where political anarchists reside, or even where great numbers of foreigners live. This harking back to the savagery of the dark ages has in every instance been the work of those who plume themselves on being free-born American citizens. Furthermore, these deeds were not occasioned by the miscarriage of justice in the treatment of similar offences, or because there was the slightest reason to apprehend that the accused would receive an iota less punishment than the maximum penalty prescribed by the law of the nation.

In despotic countries, or in cases where the demands of justice are systematically pushed aside at the behests of interest or expediency, outraged justice at times expresses itself in aggressive acts calculated to compel the governments to place themselves in alignment with its palpable demands; and in such cases there is no marked disintegration resulting from such acts as is always present when anarchy or mob law is the result of emotional insanity or the unrestrained and inflamed passions of men in the presence of a crime of which the law has taken cognizance and is ready to mete out the extreme penalty upon the offender if his guilt be established.

The rise of anarchy or the recrudescence of mediæval sav-

agery which is now assuming such giant-like proportions in our midst is not only a flagrant defiance of law and order, but it is a crime against free government which must inevitably lead to disintegration in the moral life of the nation and the individual.

It is, indeed, a startling evidence of moral degeneration when clergymen and editors of great daily papers become apologists for mob law in cases where there is no probability of justice miscarrying. He who under such circumstances justifies or upholds such crimes places himself in opposition to the rule of law and order upon which the uninterrupted progress of civilization depends; and whether he knows it or not, he is helping to the extent of his influence to break down civil government and to foster anarchy.

A great difficulty is encountered in the discussion of this question, arising from the seeming inability of most persons to rise above prejudice and view the question broadly. The moment one points out the essential danger to freedom and to popular institutions, and the evil influence on society of lawlessness, when law is being promptly executed and there is no danger of justice miscarrying, he is met with a number of objections as puerile as they are irrelevant—objections that have nothing whatever to do with the fundamental problem involved. A few instances of this kind will serve as examples. After the burning of the negro in Wilmington recently, a Chicago clergyman delivered a sermon which was widely quoted by the press. In this discourse the divine said that he "would rather see a community wrought up to the highest pitch over crimes that would seem impossible this side of hell than to remain apathetic." In reply we would challenge the minister to cite a single instance when an American community has been apathetic in the presence of the crime mentioned. This clergyman presupposes a condition that has never existed in his desperate effort to apologize for anarchists who have broken down civil government.

In almost every case of attempted justification of lawless outbreaks either the premise upon which the argument was made was entirely false or wholly wide of the mark. The Chicago clergyman to whom we have just alluded further said in his discourse: "I have seen so many sermons, editorials, and resolutions denouncing lynching and mob law that one gets the impression that the citizens who hang or burn the destroyer of life, home and all that is held sacred in womanhood are the real offenders rather than the monsters whom they destroy."

This fulmination would not be worthy of serious notice, because so false in its implications, were it not that it is typical of the treatment of this great question on the part of the emotional apologists for anarchy. We have seen that there is no danger of the courts failing to mete out the extreme penalty of the law as prescribed by the people, to these offenders; and there is not a shadow of evidence that those who denounce anarchy or the breaking down of civil government regard the heinous crimes which have been made the cause for most of the sickening exhibitions of human ferocity by modern American mobs, with any less abhorrence than do the shallow and superficial individuals who allow hysteria to blind them to the real issues involved and to the peril of invoking anarchy when the law has proved and is proving prompt and rigorous in its administration.

Another illustration of the same character is found in the editorials which appeared in a certain journal after the recent exhibition of lawlessness in Evansville, Indiana, in which the reader was seriously asked whether it would not have been better for the mob to have executed the negro murderer than that five or six persons, some innocent children, should have been killed; and then, as if to court an affirmative answer, the writer demanded whether the lives of the persons killed were not of more value than that of the negro. It will be observed that the basic issue is wholly ignored. In answer to the first question we should promptly reply, No, because it would have been another startling illustration of the complete breaking down of civil government in a city where there was no probability that the murderer would escape the extreme penalty of the law through the orderly operation of the criminal courts. The second question of the editorial apologist appealed only to a maudlin emotionalism too weak to reason clearly, and was an affront to the intelligence of thinking people, because it assumed that they had not intelligence enough to see that the question asked had nothing to do with the issues involved.

These instances have been cited to show the tactics of the justifiers of anarchy in America. Their arguments, being based on false premises, are worthless, and their attempts at justification ignore the real issues and seek to arouse prejudice and passion by assuming conditions that do not exist and by misleading questions that are irrelevant and immaterial. This subject is far too grave for such trifling and superficial treatment. It is a problem that must be viewed broadly and treated in the light of the highest ethical and intellectual discernment of

our age and time. We claim to be the most perfect flower on the stem of free government, and it has long been the proud boast of this republic that it was the home of justice, law, and order. And though our government, municipal, State, and national, doubtless shrinks in loathing from the shameful outbreaks of lawless savagery that are becoming almost an epidemic, it is nevertheless true that in almost every instance prompt action or reasonable precautionary measures on the part of the municipalities or the State government would have prevented these degrading and brutalizing spectacles. Therefore, if not directly culpable, the State and municipalities are in most cases, through their indifference and their failure to render lawless outbreaks futile, indirectly responsible and must bear in part the frightful odium of these hideous and demoralizing exhibitions of savagery. No more pitiful excuse was ever made by an apologist for a State's criminal indifference in the presence of probable lawlessness than the plea that the State of Delaware and the city of Wilmington were powerless to prevent the recent burning of the negro. Granted that the militia of Delaware is a small force. Is there any one reckless enough to claim that if even one-sixth of the State troops had been quartered around the jail, with instructions to warn any mob that the moment an attempt was made to break into the jail they would be fired upon, there would have been the least danger of the recent exhibition of mob law? Or, on the other hand, who will claim that there would have been any danger of lawlessness if the sheriff of Wilmington had sworn in one or two hundred deputies to guard the jail until the prisoner could be tried or removed to some place of safety, like the State prison for example? No. The State of Delaware and the city of Wilmington must share the ignominy of one of the most revolting exhibitions of savagery that has darkened the history of our nation.

But it is argued in extenuation for wanton lawlessness, that the people become so wrought up over the crimes of the negroes that they cannot control themselves; they are irresponsible. It would be difficult to frame a greater libel against a nation than this. No greater indictment could be made against two thousand years of Christian civilization than that it has brought one of the foremost nations of the earth to a point where her people are not able to abide by their own laws, or rather have reached that stage of irresponsible emotionalism where they cannot control themselves and are liable to make appalling exhibitions of emotional insanity. If this is true of our people,

it argues a degree of moral and mental disintegration that it is safe to say no other civilized people would be willing to plead guilty to. But it is not true. In every community there are certain elements that are swayed by passion rather than reason. They cannot take a broad view of any question that deeply moves them, or see the peril that is involved in deeds that are in defiance of law and order. They are by temperament liable to emotional insanity. There is also always a percentage of the people whose moral natures are unawakened. They are potentially criminal and ready for any lawless outbreak that offers morbid excitement and little or no danger. Now once satisfy this class that there is little danger of punishment for acts of lawlessness, and excite and arouse them as a certain minister in Wilmington aroused the people of his congregation, and a revolting exhibition of anarchy is almost certain to result. But to say that the people cannot control themselves after two thousand years of Christian civilization is inferentially to justify the negro—so recently a child of savagery—for his most brutal exhibitions of lack of control. No. The charge that the people cannot control themselves is a libel on our nation. If every time there was a burning of an alleged criminal, the ring-leaders should be promptly apprehended and sent to the penitentiary for life, we would quickly see a cessation of these exhibitions of lawlessness, and, we firmly believe, there would be a rapid diminution in the number of crimes that provoke most of these outbreaks; for barbarous lawlessness and the spirit of savagery that gloats over horrible tortures generate more surely than aught else hate, lust, and insane sensuality in brutal natures. The rapid increase in the revolting crimes against women and girls since the reign of savage lawlessness is an eloquent if melancholy testimony to this fact.

Several years ago we were conversing with the late Professor Joseph Rodes Buchanan, author of "The New Education" and other important educational and scientific works, and a profound student of human nature and advanced psychology. The subject under consideration was criminal lust and lawless crimes, and the venerable savant observed that the supremacy of civilization or of savagery depended on the predominance in stimulation or development of the coronal or the basilar regions of the brain. When the superior region is developed, the moral faculties dominate. Reason and sentiments of justice obtain mastery of man. Stimulate the brain centers of the superior region, and you awaken idealism, candor, love, hope, faith, a passion for truth, and devotion to justice, making

man broad, tolerant, sane, and just. But stimulation of the basilar region results in exactly the reverse, for here is the home or head center of the animal and brutal instincts and passions. Here the savage is waiting to assert himself if only encouraged. Here we have the fountain-heads or centers of hate, revenge, brutality, and sensuality, and a knowledge of this fact, he said, throws a flood of light on the close connection, so often noted in the dark annals of cruelty and torture, between lust and blood crimes. Often, he observed, men under the insanity of religious fanaticism and whose early lives had been apparently exemplary, after they began torturing human beings because of heresy, soon were overmastered by lust and sensuality of the grossest kind, committing crimes that before they were blood-guilty they would have shrunk from in horror. The psychological explanation of this phenomenon is found in the fact that when they tampered with the sanctity of life and gave rein to the propensity to kill and maim, the dominating influence of life was transferred from the superior region of the brain to the basilar or animal centers of activity. When indulging the latent ferocity in life they stimulated the grosser or brutal impulses. Now, he continued, with this negro question. The negro is a child in regard to civilization. It has required hundreds and thousands of years of intellectual development to give poise, control, or mastery to the mind and the emotional nature or to insure the supremacy of the coronal region of the brain to the Caucasian peoples; and it is idle to expect the same mastery of the emotions from a powerfully vital and animal race that is only from one hundred and fifty to two hundred years removed from barbarism. Now every time there is the burning of a negro, or every time one is tortured and mutilated, not only is the nation immeasurably degraded, but the negroes have the animal or basilar brain powerfully stimulated. Their hate is aroused and with it all the other strong passions. All thought of prudence or fear, as well as all the higher sentiments dwarf and become impotent in the presence of the whirlwind of passional excitement that affects the brutal centers. Hence the common phenomenon of a number of horrible outrages perpetrated by negroes which almost invariably follow these frightful exhibitions of lawlessness savagery on the part of the whites, though perplexing to most persons, is easily explained in the light of the revelations of advanced psychology.

We believe that Professor Buchanan uttered a profound philosophical truth. He was a broad-minded philosopher and

by birth a Kentuckian. He was a strong sympathizer with the South, and it was because he beheld the peril to the South in particular, as well as to the nation at large, that he was so concerned that the cause of lawlessness should be stopped. If not promptly stayed, he said, the mania will spread over the whole nation, and the moral disintegration incident to its influence will be incalculable. We are already witnessing the fulfilment of this prophecy, uttered more than ten years ago.

We repeat, if there were the slightest danger of the criminal escaping the full penalty of the law in the event of his guilt being established, there would be some extenuation for these lawless outbreaks. But such is not the case, and the only results are the brutalization of the nation, the fostering of race hatred, the quickening or stimulating of the brutal regions in the brain of the recently emancipated slaves, and the making of the republic a by-word in the mouth of civilization.

We are in no way justifying the negro who commits a crime, any more than we would justify a white man. We believe that even-handed justice should be meted out alike to black and white offenders; but we desire that in every case the accused one shall have the right of trial, that justice may obtain and that law and not anarchy be upheld, to the end that civilization may move forward with uninterrupted tread, and that the honor and integrity of the great republic may be maintained.

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## THE GERMAN ELECTION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO DEMOCRACY.

### I. A VICTORY OF FAR-REACHING IMPORTANCE.

It would, we think, be difficult to over-estimate the real significance of the June election in Germany, which proved to be one of the greatest surprises to the upholders of thrones and class rule of the last fifty years. The wonderful victory of the Social Democrats, which created such dismay in the ranks of the reactionaries, should be the source of the greatest satisfaction to the friends of republican institutions everywhere; for, as we recently pointed out, no party in the Kaiser's empire so fully and so consistently embodies and exemplifies the democratic ideal as the Social-Democratic party of Germany. In its organization the most perfect democratic methods prevail. The immediate demands of this great party are for the realiza-

tion of those fundamental political democratic principles and measures which differentiate a republic from a monarchical or other form of reactionary government; while it goes one step farther than the last great revolutionary epoch, which secured to some people political emancipation and popular government through the ballot, and demands economic emancipation or the triumph of the democratic ideal on the social and economic as well as on the political plane.

## II. THE OPPOSING FORCES IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

In Germany, against the claims and demands of the Social-Democrats were arrayed the throne, the old nobility, the bourgeois or exploiting class, and the Lutheran and Catholic churches. The Kaiser claimed to rule by divine right; the old nobility by the right of birth; the capitalistic aristocracy by the right of acquired wealth; while the fact that the cardinal plank in the platform of the Social-Democrats demanded the dis-establishment of the church struck at the dearest theories and most effective source of strength and power of the Lutheran and Catholic churches. North Germany is Lutheran; South Germany is Catholic. Neither church is ready to relinquish this most cherished prerogative where it can obtain government support.

Seeing the steady onward march of the Social-Democratic sentiment, the German government has for years exerted itself in every way it dared to weaken and defeat its most dreaded enemies. The most unjust example of gerrymandering on record was carried out some years ago so as to minify the representation of the Socialists in the German Reichstag. This unjust apportionment gives the agricultural districts more and the cities and industrial centers far less than their proportional representation; and as a result of this political crime the reactionaries, especially the clericals or Center party, have far more seats than they are equitably entitled to; while the Socialists have far less. If the apportionment were fair, the Socialists instead of having eighty-one seats to-day would have in the neighborhood of one hundred and twenty-five, and the Clericals instead of having one hundred and five would have less than eighty seats.

During the last two years the alarm of the government and the capitalistic class has increased, and the most unjust and reactionary legislation has been enacted in the hope of checking the rising tide of democracy. So marked has this been that,



as we recently pointed out, the great German liberal statesman and historian, Mommsen, sounded the alarm, expressing the gravest fear that an autocratic and reactionary *coup d'état* would follow unless the Liberals of Germany should form a working alliance with the Social-Democrats. Last winter the Reichstag cut off debates on questions in which the Socialists had vital interest, so that the leading Socialist representatives' arguments could not be heard and later sown broadcast throughout the realm. The Kaiser and his son also engaged in an aggressive campaign of vilification, denunciation, and wholesale abuse of the Socialists, and wherever the latter were very strong every possible effort was made to center all the opposition on some one reactionary candidate.

These were some of the obstacles against which the Social Democrats of Germany contended. Furthermore, they were poor, and the opposition had unlimited funds at its disposal, and the great daily press was a unit in aggressive opposition. Seldom did a political party contend against such overwhelming odds. And yet the triumph of this party that most perfectly embodied the democratic ideal of any organization in the empire, was as signal as—considering the opposition—it was astonishing.

### III. THE VICTORY.

Happily for the cause of republican institutions, for political freedom and for economic justice, the warning of Professor Mommsen seems in a measure to have checked the reactionary tendency of the Liberals; although largely through their indifference or their active aid to the reactionaries, eight seats formerly held by Socialists were lost. The enormous gains elsewhere gave a net increase of twenty-three Social-Democratic seats, while eight seats were lost by only a few hundred votes, and eight other seats came within one thousand votes of being won; while the Socialist vote in Germany reached the enormous total of 3,112,000 votes. In the last election for the Reichstag the Socialists polled 2,125,000; so the recent election showed a gain of 987,000, or only thirteen thousand less than a million votes in five years.

### IV. THE RISE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY.

The story of the rise of the Social-Democratic party in the German empire is one of the most significant illustrations af-

forded by history of the gradual growth and mastery over millions of minds of a great political ideal. Its advance is due chiefly to intelligent conviction based on a clear, philosophical, and scientific theory of government. Its growth, moreover, has been steady and continuous, in spite of the most brutal and despotic opposition ever attempted in a constitutional monarchy. For nine years Bismarck attempted to crush out Socialism by the strong arm of arbitrary and despotic power, and at the end of the attempt it was so much stronger that the "man of blood and iron" gave up that method of warfare for more conciliatory tactics.

The following table gives the popular vote and the number of representatives at each election for the Reichstag since 1871, when the German Socialist party became a factor in the national politics:

Year.	Popular vote.	Members.
1871.....	124,655	2
1874.....	351,952	9
1877.....	493,288	12
1878.....	437,158	9
1881.....	311,961	12
1884.....	549,990	24
1887.....	763,128	11
1890.....	1,427,298	35
1893.....	1,876,738	44
1898.....	2,125,000	56
1903.....	3,112,000	81

## V. SOME FAVORABLE CONTRIBUTING CAUSES.

The Germans are a sturdy, liberty-loving people, who hate injustice, and it is highly probable that the high-handed course of the government and the foolish and false calumnies of the Kaiser and his son, as well as the timely warning of Professor Mommsen, aided the Social Democrats in a very positive way. When a fair degree of freedom is permitted and general intelligence obtains, the gravest peril to despotism or tyranny in any form lies in its tendency to overreach itself; and this overreaching, which was exhibited in reactionary laws, special privileges and other anti-democratic measures, doubtless proved a source of real weakness to the reactionary forces. But great as were the benefits derived from the injustice and short-sightedness of the opposition, they were of secondary importance compared with the element of practical statesmanship which marked the course of the Social-Democratic leaders. Without

for one moment surrendering the fundamental demands of scientific Socialism, the German Socialists adopted a practical program for the hour, pending the educational agitation which they all recognized as being essential in order to convert the majority to a belief in their theories. They therefore adopted a bold, progressive, and definite platform that could be carried out to-day and under present conditions. Reform on the instalment plan, pending the great economic changes demanded, was the program adopted and vigorously pushed forward.

The Socialists are above all else democrats. They desire victory, but only after they have convinced the reason of the majority that their theories are wiser and more just and equitable than the demands of the opposition. Hence their course, which was at once practical and consistent, embraced the unequivocal affirmation of their allegiance to the Socialist theory and the adoption of a present-day working platform embodying demands for (1) equal suffrage for men and women; (2) payment of the members of the imperial and state legislatures; (3) responsibility of the government to parliament; (4) local self-government; (5) church dis-establishment; (6) freedom of speech and of the press; (7) free schools; (8) free courts; (9) progressive income tax; (10) the substitution for the present military system of the militia system; (11) the abolition of the hunger tariff.

Under the able leadership of Herr August Bebel the Germany Parliamentary party is united in its efforts to secure instalments of reform, while carrying on a persistent educational agitation.

## VI. MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE AMERICAN PRESS.

The capitalistic and reactionary press of America was as thoroughly nonplussed over the victory of the Socialists in Germany as they were at the enormous increase of the Socialist vote in this country last year. For a few days the editors for the most part were silent. They could scarcely conceive how, with the Kaiser, the aristocracy, capitalism, and the two State reactionary churches united against the Socialists, the latter could have made such gains. Suddenly, however, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the editors of the capitalistic press found voice, and strange to say, the republican and reactionary democratic journalists throughout the length and breadth of the land simultaneously received the same revelation. With one accord they declared that the German Socialists were not Socialists at

all, as we understand the term Socialists; that they had long since abandoned the wild, visionary dream of the coöperative State as outlined by Lasalle, Marx, and Engel.

No statements were ever given general currency that were more brazenly mendacious, and the turpitude of the great daily press has seldom been more in evidence than in the simultaneous voicing of this falsehood. Whether the fabrication emanated from a bureau or league in New York or in Washington, we know not; but the simultaneous appearance as leading editorials in the capitalistic press of both parties of the same falsehoods reminds us of some financial editorials favorable to the Wall Street and banking interests which were sent out from New York and simultaneously published in the machine-governed political papers throughout the country a few years ago.

As a matter of fact the Socialist manifesto, which set forth the present demands of the party and on which the editorials were supposed to be based, clearly states the fundamental position of the party in these unequivocal words:

"Our aim is the establishment of the Socialist state and social order based upon collective ownership of the means of production and the duty of all to labor—the establishment of a political and social condition in which truth, justice, equality, and the common welfare shall be the sure rule of conduct for all. Voters, you who agree with us in these ideas, vote on June 16 only for the candidates of the Social Democratic Party."

It is probable that a large number of voters who have supported the Socialist party in recent years may not be converted to Socialism in its entirety; but they see in the Socialist-Democratic party the most essentially democratic political power in the empire; and they know that the Socialists are honest and sincere, while the present working platform of the party is so just and desirable that they support that party rather than vote for legislators liable to become reactionary if power might be increased or prospects brightened through such action. The recruits of this character, however, are probably far less numerous than the number of so-called Liberals and *bourgeoisie* who have gone over to the reactionaries. The steady, gradual, and constantly augmented vote of the Social-Democratic party in the face of every kind of opposition clearly indicates that its present strength in the main represents those who through studious and conscientious investigation and reasoning have become convinced that it, more than any other party in the empire, represents the democratic phase of the evolutionary move-

ment in the economic and political life of to-day. The victory in Germany will without question give a great impetus to the Social-Democratic movement throughout western civilization.

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## MATERIALISM AND NATIONAL DECAY.

A real danger threatens us. It invades the church, it permeates the State, and it fastens itself upon the individual. Wherever its influence extends it deadens or dries up the motor centers of noble and unselfish endeavor. It comes like the creeping paralysis, and whether it affects the individual, the church, the State, or a civilization, its issue is fatal unless arrested and overcome by a powerful reactionary influence which awakens the higher centers of being, reinstates the ideal, and revivifies the moral or spiritual side of life. We refer to that deadly materialism that turns the index finger downward and sneers at the higher aspirations of the soul and those finer elements in human nature by the leverage of which the world is elevated—that real materialism which in State thrusts aside the fundamental principles of justice and right for expediency and sordid or personal gain; which in business follows the dictates of greed instead of noble principles, and insists on the employment of women and children in order to more quickly acquire a fortune; which in the church destroys the spirit while magnifying the letter; which enlarges on rites, forms, and dogmas while widows and orphans starve and freeze, and which loudly professes faith and love while giving no evidence of their presence in the life of the professor.

Emerson on one occasion declared that the church had periods when it had wooden chalices and golden priests, and other times when it had golden chalices and wooden priests; and, broadly speaking, this is also true of the world. There are periods when the idealists sway the imagination of nations and civilizations. The State, the church, and the individual answer to the call to come up higher. Then the spiritual energies are in the ascendent, and humanity responds to the marching orders from above. After this, however, come periods of egoistic reaction, of materialistic ascendancy, when the wooden chalices are exchanged for those that are of gold, and the prophets and apostles give place to the priests and the Levites. Simplicity, faith, sincerity, love for justice, reverence for the rights of others.

and a passion for the truth give place to the worship of externals. Cynicism and egoism displace a living faith and a noble idealism. Men turn from the pursuit of the spiritual verities to the enjoyment of materialistic delights. The eye of the people wanders from the star to the clod. High things are at a discount. The worship of God gives place to the worship of gold. The altars of moral force are deserted for those of physical force. Greed, ambition, and gratification of the physical become dominant factors in life. Then does the eclipse begin.

Victor Hugo beheld the rising tide of materialism that has in so large a way marked the past fifty years, and he knew its peril. Hence, we find him declaring that :

The life of nations, like the life of individuals, has its moments of depression ; these moments pass, certainly, but no trace of them ought to remain. Excessive devotion to the material is the evil of our epoch. Man at this day tends to fall into the stomach : man must be replaced in the heart, man must be replaced in the brain. A moral lift is necessary. There is something beyond satisfying one's appetite. The goal of man is not the goal of the animal. The social question requires to-day, more than ever, to be examined on the side of human dignity.

In periods when positivism has degenerated into a sordid and egoistic materialism, the very life of a nation is imperilled. Its existence depends upon the timely arrival of the idealistic reaction, for if that arrival is too long delayed, it finds that the soul of the nation has fled. This is the supreme lesson taught by the histories of the great nations which have dazzled the world for a time and then have disappeared.

The duty of all duties devolving upon the teacher, the parent and the thoughtful citizen in general, is that of stimulating the spiritual side of man's nature ; of insisting on the reality, the permanency and the life-giving power of the ideal ; of calling to the soul to come from the husk-strewn fields in the far country, and take its rightful seat as master in the empire of the mind, a servant of Life, Light, and Truth.

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### CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES.

According to the recent report of Commissioner William S. Waudby, of the United States Labor Department, there are to-day almost two million children at work in the mines and factories throughout the republic. It is difficult to conceive a

greater crime against childhood, against the State, and against the civilization of to-morrow, than is found in this child slavery, which is the result of general indifference and individual cupidity and avarice.

We use the term slavery advisedly, for the denial to the child of the right of normal growth, the freedom and happiness that must be accorded during immaturity if the best developed manhood and womanhood is to result, and that education which is at once the safeguard of free institutions and the sacred right of every child, is slavery in a very real and terrible sense. We can hope for no splendid civilization of to-morrow so long as an army of almost two million little boys and girls are denied their sacred rights and the requisites for normal growth and unfoldment, in order that a few scores of men may amass millions upon millions of dollars, which in turn become a menace to the State and in many instances a curse to the individual.

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#### ALFALFA AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

The spirit of utility, which has for many years been termed the presiding genius of our age, is constantly revealing to scientific and restless investigators unlooked-for wealth in by-products that have been hitherto discarded as worthless, or suggesting how animal or plant life may be utilized where hitherto no valuable returns have been accounted possible. The introduction and profitable raising of the Angora goat is a case in point; but the most striking illustration of a utilitarian discovery due to the searching and practical spirit that is becoming so marked a characteristic of the American farmer, is found in the recent extensive introduction of alfalfa, a forage plant, into various semi-arid regions throughout the West and Southwest.

Alfalfa was long ago introduced into California, but little cultivated or esteemed until a few years since, when it was found that this unsurpassed forage plant would thrive luxuriantly on land which, on account of lack of water, was too sterile to render profitable cultivation possible. The alfalfa sends its roots down from eight to fifteen feet in search of moisture, and grows so vigorously that the yields are as enormous as they are valuable. It is said that cattle, swine, and poultry thrive upon it as upon few if any other forage plants.

It is particularly valuable in fattening cattle and as a food for poultry. The discovery of the great value of the plant as a food for stock, and that it flourishes in semi-arid land worthless for other crops, has already led to its cultivation on tens of thousands of acres. From present prospects in a few years hundreds of thousands if not millions of acres, which have been considered worthless or of little value, will be verdant with this crop, and through it will be adding millions upon millions of dollars to the nation's wealth by furnishing food for live stock and poultry.

The men who on farm, in field, or laboratory are thus demonstrating how Golcondas of wealth can be added to the nation by increasing her resources without wronging any human soul, are true benefactors, worthy a people's love, honor, and gratitude.

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#### GROWTH OF STREET AND ELECTRIC RAILWAY LINES IN THE UNITED STATES.

The government census reports on electric and street railways in the United States for the year ending June 30, 1902, indicate something of the magnitude of this business and the enormous profits accruing to the companies enjoying franchises and operating the various lines. There were at the time of taking the census 22,589 miles of single track laid, an increase of 178.09 per cent. in the past twelve years. The net earnings for twelve months ending June 30, 1902, were \$30,955,233.

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#### A PRACTICAL INVENTION FOR RECORDING AND PRESERVING TELEPHONIC COMMU- NICATIONS.

Valdemar Poulsen, a Danish electrician, has recently perfected an invention which has been named the telegraphone, by which a telephonic conversation can be permanently recorded and reproduced when desired. A small two-pole electric magnet is employed, and a flat steel ribbon on a cylinder drum receives the record. The articulation is said to be almost perfect, and in this respect is free from the defects of the phonograph.



## THE MORAL AWAKENING OF THE PEOPLE.

There are numerous signs of a general awakening among the conscience element of American society and of the inauguration of one of those great educational campaigns that have preceded every political and economic advance step taken by modern nations. The fact that since the foundation of the so-called National Economic League, which, as we recently pointed out, is so loudly and unqualifiedly praised and liberally supported by the beneficiaries of special privilege, there has been witnessed a corresponding increase in the activity of social reformers and patriotic citizens throughout the country indicates that the higher patriotism and the saving leaven of altruism are present in all sections of the republic.

Progressive and reform educational organizations, prompted and sustained only by altruistic motives, cannot hope to raise funds such as Secretary Gage wishes the rich to raise for the distribution of a million and a half copies of the reactionary books issued by the so-called National Economic League, but they can and will doubtless do what has ever been accomplished by men and women of moral conviction who place the good of others above self-interest. They will arouse and educate the American conscience and intellect until they will cast off the hypnotic and reactionary spell produced by persistent appeals to short-sighted and sordid motives.

In 1838 the entire daily press of England, both Liberal and Conservative, was so controlled by classes enriched through special privilege that the Anti-Corn-Law League could obtain no hearing through its columns. Confronted by this discouraging fact, the single-hearted and patriotic leaders of the League established a weekly paper and made it the one sole and powerful periodical organ for the propaganda campaign in its earlier stages, while they issued millions of tracts, held numbers of public meetings, and in other ways inaugurated a systematic educational agitation. In this way the League, at first so small and insignificant, succeeded in revolutionizing English thought and in winning a complete victory in the course of eight years.

Garrison and his followers were indeed a forlorn hope. They were very few in numbers, very poor, and comparatively obscure when in 1831 they inaugurated their organized agitation against chattel slavery. Opposing them was the combined influence of the nation's wealth, dominated by materialistic and

sordid motives, and the political machinery of the republic from the Supreme Court down. Yet history shows that the following immortal words of Garrison sounded one of the first peals in the knell of slavery: "Many object to the severity of my language, but is there not cause for such severity? I will be harsh as truth and uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest. I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retract a single word, and I will be heard."

We repeat that the signs present to-day in connection with the agitation being inaugurated by the conscience element of our republic have characterized every great agitation of modern times that has preceded an upward step in social, economic, and political life. It is the education of the pamphlet and tract, of the editorial, periodical and other cheap weekly and monthly journals, and of the clubs and societies, powerfully reinforced by self-sacrificing apostles of altruistic progress overmastered by that moral enthusiasm that is invincible, which marks the new crusade, and it will prevail in spite of the great dailies owned or controlled by the trusts and corporations; in spite of the rapidity with which the leading monthly and weekly press is passing into the hands of Wall Street magnates; in spite of such reactionary bodies as the so-called National Economic League, whose avowed purpose is to fight Socialism, but whose literature is thoroughly reactionary and in every way satisfactory to the chief representatives of predatory bands which through the enjoyment of special privileges and the protection of recreant public officials are preying upon the American laborer and consumer, and in spite of the rapid centralization of the nation's wealth in the hands of the few and the power exerted by the trusts and corporations throughout all the ramifications of government—a power as great as was the allied opposition against which Garrison raised his voice. Yes, it will succeed, because the schoolmaster has been too long abroad in the land to permit reaction to extend beyond certain bounds; because the trend, sweep, and logic of events render either combination of the few for the exploitation and oppression of the many, or coöperation of all for the mutual enrichment and benefit of all, inevitable. And in the presence of such alternatives in a democracy, who can doubt the ultimate result? Finally and chiefly, the cause of social progress will triumph because it is dominated by spiritual or moral enthusiasm, which possesses a divine potency that time and again has overborne reactionary conventionalism, injustice, privilege, and sordid wealth.

## MUSIC AS MEDICINE.

The marvelous progress of the past century in the domain of physical science and invention, which has revolutionized the face of the world and added more to the store of man's knowledge in assured facts and practical discoveries than all efforts in the same realms during the preceding thousand years, has been largely if not chiefly due to two things: the employment of the modern critical and comparative scientific method, and the new continents of knowledge revealed through the discovery and utilization of the finer forces of nature. From the ponderable to the imponderable, from the crude to the less crude, such has been the order of advance, and perhaps nowhere has this progress been so manifest as in the realm of the healing art, where blood-letting, mercurial poisoning, and other heroic methods have given way to more rational treatment and the employment of subtler remedies.

The rapidity of the advance has been largely due to the freedom accorded investigation in the past, through which various new schools and independent and iconoclastic practitioners have either greatly modified the conservative methods or have introduced new and beneficent discoveries. Homeopathy has greatly reduced the size of the doses administered. Hydropathy wrought incalculable benefit in proving the ancient antipathy to water to be as fallacious as it was destructive to life. Massage, movement cures, and other innovations, after encountering the bitterest opposition, greatly modified the regular practise. The new psychological discoveries and the recognition and employment of hypnotism have revealed the power of thought over the physical organism and have materially influenced the treatment of various diseases in recent years; while progressive physicians have turned with ever increasing confidence to the finer forces and less crude treatment for the mastery of disease.

One of the newest and most promising innovations in medical science is the discovery and utilization of music in the healing art, the therapeutic value of which is only as yet beginning to be recognized. Yet from the meager experiments already made it is highly probable that the day is not distant when music will be a leading factor in the cure of many forms of disease, especially those due to inharmonious conditions of the mental and nervous organism.

For many years investigators have pointed out the apparent

influence of music on the sick and highly sensitive organism, but until recently comparatively little has been done to ascertain in a scientific way the effect of different kinds of music on animal life with a view to determining accurately, (1) whether or not it promised to be a remedy of positive value in the treatment of disease, and (2) the probable effect of different kinds of music on different forms of animal life and on different temperaments in the human family.

The late observations of two scientists, one a Frenchman and the other an American, are rich in suggestive value and go very far to indicate that the effect of music on life, even in the lower animals, is such that we are warranted in the belief that it can be made a therapeutic agent of the first importance. The French savant, who has made extensive experiments and carefully noted the result of music upon the lower animals, declares that with the exception of spiders and a few kinds of serpents, all animal life with which he has experimented has responded in a marked way to music. He further relates a curious and surprising fact, that music not only has charms to soothe the savage breast, but that venomous creatures among the lower orders of life are especially amenable to its power. He declares that he found scorpions and lizards peculiarly susceptible; they would even at times beat the measure with their tongues. At other times the body kept the rhythm; while the dreaded cobra raised itself upon its tail and balanced its body in time to the music. There was not, he asserts, a change of tone that did not produce a change of attitude.

Curator Frank C. Baker, of the Academy of Science in Chicago, has recently made extensive experiments with birds and animals in Lincoln Park. Taking his violin he played different kinds of music before the cages, carefully noting the pronounced effect, which in general was as follows: Discords seemed to grate upon the organism to such an extent that birds and animals became highly nervous. Spirited, lively airs, played with abandon, exhilarated and increased the nervous stimulation in a very decided manner; while sweet, soft music invariably soothed and quieted. Professor Baker found that classical music was particularly offensive to the jaguar, who whenever it was played became furious, growling, lashing his tail, and springing from side to side of the cage in a paroxysm of anger. Yet as soon as the music was changed to suit his taste, he quieted down until he became the picture of peace and contentment, and when the performer slowly withdrew the animal would arise, advance to the edge of the cage, and put his

paw out in an appealing manner, plainly asking the player to return. Lions seemed very responsive, the quiet and sleepy tunes producing rest and contentment, while lively airs and dance music exhilarated them. Monkeys were always ready for music and seemed to especially enjoy the livelier strains.

In commenting on the power of music as exhibited over the lower animals, the *Medical Times* in a thoughtful editorial, written evidently by a physician thoroughly abreast of the times, observes :

With the constant increasing illustration of the wonderful effects of music not only upon the lower grades of animal life, but upon the human organization, it is a wonder that its subtle and far-reaching power has not been utilized to a greater extent and its action studied more minutely from a psychological standpoint in the treatment of disease. The increased study of psychology and its wonderful revelations is bringing us into closer contact and clearer understanding of those subtle forces which control the currents of life. The crude materialism of the past in every department of science, but especially in therapeutics, is rapidly giving way to a clearer understanding of the laws of nature as they are daily unfolded to a more advanced intelligence. We are just beginning to realize that in music we have a great curative agent, but that to produce its best effect it must be studied from a scientific standpoint.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.\*

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SOME ETHICAL PHASES OF THE LABOR QUESTION. By  
Carroll D. Wright. Cloth. Pp. 207. Price \$1 net. Boston,  
American Unitarian Association.

Interest in this volume will depend largely upon the social and economic opinions held by the reader. There are at the present time three distinct groups of people interested in labor problems. Of these one division is primarily actuated by selfish or egoistic considerations. To those composing it, ethical ideals and the fundamental demands of justice are quite subordinate to personal considerations. The other two divisions are dominated by ethical ideals, but their view-points are entirely different. One shrinks from anything like a radical or revolutionary change in the present social system, even though the new program be carried forward along peaceable and educational lines. The representatives of this class would not seriously antagonize predatory wealth, knowing full well that the latter is strongly entrenched behind the daily press, educational institutions and the church, while its power in government is as apparently impregnable as was the slave power prior to 1863; and they feel that even though the friends of social and economic progress rely entirely upon peaceable and legitimate democratic methods to bring about the desired changes, the opposition would quickly resort to force rather than be interfered with, as did the crown of England in the days of the Stuarts. Hence they seek to ameliorate present conditions and reform the worst of present-day abuses without demanding radical changes that would place the social and economic order on the eternal granite of justice and thereby guarantee to all God's children the inherent right to the supreme and necessary gifts of the Creator on which life depends—free land, air and water, equality of opportunities and equality of rights.

Here is the radical parting of the ways of the reform forces, and those who believe in the fundamental or revolutionary social and economic changes necessary to secure a wider measure of justice for all the people will find it impossible to become enthusiastic over even the noblest ethical economic volume that aims merely at reforming the present abuses, which in effect would perpetuate rather than undermine the present unjust, chaotic, and essentially demoralizing social order, in which the great fortunes are acquired through gambling or by special privilege, and where a surplus of this unearned wealth is being steadily

\*Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

employed to debauch legislators, to silence the protests of the church, to muzzle the college, and to control the press, in order that the present order may be maintained.

Carroll D. Wright's volume belongs to the palliative and conciliatory rather than to the revolutionary literature of reform, and for this reason, while it will be enthusiastically received by the nobler minds who uphold the present order, it will be anything but convincing to the radical reformer, whether he be a simple republican who is battling for justice through majority rule; a land reformer, seeking to secure for all the people the benefit of the great gifts of the common Father, and equality of opportunities and rights for the humblest as well as the most powerful citizen; or the scientific Socialist, who is struggling to place every child of the State in a position of comparative affluence by securing to every wealth-creator the result of his toil and preventing the gambler, speculator, and parasite from living off of the labor of the millions.

Mr. Wright is one of the ablest reasoners and one of the most spiritually minded of the ethical leaders who seek to reform and better present social conditions without interfering with the foundations of the existing social order. Indeed, he is so clear-visioned on many things, and so high and fine are his ethical impulses, that it is a constant source of surprise to find him turning away from the fundamental demands of a just social order. We have often felt that had he been free from the subtle influences which environed him as an official in the service of the national government at Washington during the period when the dominant political parties have been under the mastery of Wall Street gamblers, railroad corporations and the great monopolies, the cause of social progress would in all probability have received more definite and positive aid from his great moral and intellectual influence; for we all know how, in spite of our wishes and desires, our views and general concepts are affected by the thought-world in which we live and move; and the thought-world of Washington under Grover Cleveland, William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt cannot be said to be as sympathetic with the millions of wealth-creators as with J. Pierpont Morgan and the growing oligarchy fostered and strengthened by government protection and other privileges.

If, however, the reader accepts Mr. Wright's premises as sound; if he believes in democracy as a theory and in the aristocratic idea in practise; if he believes that there should be or must be in fact, though not in name, a class of masters or exploiters and a class of slaves or exploited ones; if he holds that the ideal of *noblesse oblige* of the old-time monarchical *regimes* is applicable to our day and generation, then he will find this volume most admirable and satisfying. For if we accept these views we will find Mr. Wright thoroughly convincing. He appeals to the moral sentiment in a free, manly, and earnest manner. He reasons ably and logically. He clearly proves that from all view-points, if the present order is best and is to be maintained, it is not only right but necessary that the wealth-creators have better treat-

ment than they have received and that higher ideals and nobler standards of action should prevail throughout the business world than are found under the present egoistic order of capitalism.

The volume is divided into four parts. The first is concerned with "Religion in Relation to Sociology." The second discusses "The Relation of Political Economy to the Labor Question." The third deals with "Factories as an Element of Civilization"; and the fourth with "The Ethics of Prison Labor."

The author shows conclusively that in the higher and truer sense religion should permeate sociology; that moral and spiritual ideals should dominate economic and social philosophy.

To us the last half of the volume, in which Mr. Wright considers the factory and the prison, is much the most interesting and suggestive. Our author, instead of regarding the factory as demoralizing, holds that its influence has been positively elevating and beneficent. He believes that the factories have been great educators and that they have strengthened the moral fiber and exalted the ideals of the workers to a surprising degree. This position is sustained by citations from history, descriptions of the conditions preceding the advent of the factories, and the changes made by it. He also discusses at length the changes resulting in the United States under his own personal observation. The New England factory, he claims, has transformed and wonderfully developed and educated the ignorant Irish and French-Canadian girls, and the factory is now exerting a similar influence upon the poor whites of the South. He holds that statistics as well as personal investigations prove that the factories do not weaken the morals of the girls, but, indeed, that they exert an influence entirely the reverse. He strongly opposes, however, the employment of married women in the factories. Child labor is weakly opposed, but the influence of the commercial opportunism which dominates the government has apparently blinded Mr. Wright to the essential criminality of the child labor curse, and one cannot help regretting that he ignores this splendid occasion for raising his voice in no uncertain tones against one of the greatest curses of our day and generation.

Our prison management gives Mr. Wright great satisfaction. He seems to regard our progress in this direction during the past century as marked, though to us it seems one of the crying shames of the past hundred years, when life among all material lines went forward by leaps and bounds, and when increased education and the presence of multitudinous influences clearly demonstrated to what a great degree the State is responsible for crime and how many and complex are the influences for which the individual is in no way responsible, that tend to make him a criminal, that civilization, especially in our republic, should display such amazing indifference to his case as is exhibited in our prison management. The salutary changes that have been made have come, as Mr. Wright admits, largely from trades union agitation, prompted by no ethical aim; and other changes have been largely due to utilitarian motives.



To us it seems that Mr. Wright's optimism is a source of weakness rather than of strength. Optimism is an excellent thing when well founded, but when the premises are unsound, when incidental and utilitarian objects instead of a noble optimism are responsible for the chief advance in prison management, such optimism as our author exhibits tends to make one question his conclusions in other things. The advent of the twentieth century should have witnessed a prison system throughout the republic in which society should be protected from the criminal, but where at the same time the offender should be treated as an unfortunate, to be morally, industrially, and mentally trained; a system in which a portion of the time should be given to moral culture, a part to thorough manual training in some useful trade, and still another part of the time devoted to work for the good of the State, such as building great national and state highways, making permanent levees, draining swamp lands, and manufacturing articles for the use of the State. This three-fold discipline would benefit the State more than it is now benefited, while it would have a wonderfully helpful influence on the criminal, and would eventually greatly reduce the expense of the criminal machinery of the State.

HOW PARIS AMUSES ITSELF. By F. Berkeley Smith. 135 illustrations. Cloth. 334 pp. Price \$1.50 net. New York, Funk & Wagnalls Company.

This book is a companion volume to "The Real Latin Quarter" and possesses the same fascinating quality which made the first volume so popular. A thorough familiarity with life in Paris, habits of keen observation and a quick sense of humor, together with a bright and pleasing literary style, all combine to make the volume one which the reader is loth to lay down until the final page is reached. Before him pass in quick succession the actors, singers, and dancers who afford entertainment for Parisians of all classes. He is hurried from the *Theatre Francais* to the *Alcazar D'Ete*, where *grande dames* and gorgeously gowned *demimondaines* jostle elbows in the foyer; from the *Opera Comique* to the *cabarets* of Montmartre, where thieves and assassins—the very dregs of society—congregate nightly to drink and carouse. He may dine in style in the best restaurants in Paris, or he may go for a quiet day's fishing on the Seine. But always the people are real people; living, virile personalities, beneath whose laughter and merry-making lie the same passions, emotions, the same hopes and fears and sorrows which he himself experiences. It is this quality of human interest which gives Mr. Smith's book its great charm. The work is beautifully illustrated with one hundred and thirty-five cuts, many of them in colors.

IN OLD ROSEAU. By William S. Birge, M.D. Illustrated. Cloth. 106 pp. Price \$1. New York, Isaac H. Blanchard Company.

"In Old Roseau" is the title of a thoroughly charming little volume by Dr. William S. Birge, dealing with life on Dominica, one of

the little Windward Isles in the Carribean Sea. Though containing graphic and pleasing descriptions of this quaint and, to the author, thoroughly delightful spot, it is free from the dry details which mark guidebooks and the descriptions of travelers who derive their information largely from this lazy man's easy source of knowledge. Dr. Birge spent some time in old Roseau, the principal town of Dominica, and also paid a rather prolonged visit to the interesting settlement of the Carib Indians on the island. The work abounds in interesting stories connected with the annals of the island; but perhaps the most interesting pages are devoted to the author's personal experiences, including as they do a trip to the great sulphur lake, which is in the form of a mighty cauldron ever seething on the summit of one of the principal mountains of Dominica; an exciting wild boar hunt in which the author plays anything but the part of a story-book hero; and a sojourn in the house of a family among the Carib Indians who were half French and half Indian. The two frank and unsophisticated maidens, Marcella and Louise, may have served to prolong our author's visit, as they certainly were unconventional children near to Nature's heart. The affection which the elder entertained for the visitor, though giving a romantic tinge to his long stay, saddened the closing days of his visit. "In Old Roseau" is a delightfully restful, though instructive and entertaining little volume.

CENTENARY EMERSON SOUVENIR. Hand-painted, Price 25 cents. Published at 9 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

Last May the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ralph Waldo Emerson was fittingly celebrated in Boston and Concord, Mass., and during July the memory of the great philosopher, poet, essayist and radical thinker was commemorated in a unique manner by the holding of a memorial summer school in Boston and Concord, at whose thirty sessions addresses were made by many of the most eminent men and women in America, on different phases in the life, thought and work of Emerson. It is natural that with the more intellectual men and women of the community so deeply interested in the life of the Concord sage, works and souvenirs that appropriately deal with the thought of Mr. Emerson should appear. One of the most unique and suggestive of these is a beautiful hand-painted card designed by Dr. Charles Kirkland Wheeler, a Harvard graduate and a deep student of the great philosopher. In the upper right-hand corner of this card is a large star in the center of which appears a portrait of Emerson in his prime, while in the rays are the legends, "I am God in Nature" and "I am a weed by the wall." Below the star is an excellent reproduction of the Emerson home at Concord, showing the pines the poet loved so well; while in the center of the card is a prism which has caught the light from the star—that "light that never was on sea or land"—and reflects it in prismatic colors. The seven colors of the spectrum, which are painted by hand in water colors, each bear quotations from the philosopher's writings.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

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SOME PERSONAL WORDS TO THE READERS OF THE ARENA:—Four months ago, on the retirement of Mr. McLean, we outlined anew our aims and purposes for the ARENA. During this period, among the prominent and thoughtful authoritative writers in special fields of active research who have contributed to the pages of the ARENA are the following: Prof. Frank Parsons, Ph.D.; Judge Samuel C. Parks, A.M.; Judge Samuel Seabury; E. P. Powell; Dean George McA. Miller; Prof. Edward W. Bemis; Edwin Markham; Prof. John Ward Stimson; Rev. R. E. Bisbee, A.M.; Ex-governor Joshua L. Chamberlain, LL.D.; Prof. George L. Raymond; R. Heber Newton, D.D.; Prof. Muhammad Barakatullah; William Ordway Partridge; Joaquin Miller; Gov. L. F. C. Garvin; John Brooks Leavitt, LL.D., and Ernest Crosby.

These four issues have called forth numerous enthusiastic letters from a host of friends, of which the following extract from a letter from the distinguished jurist and author, Judge Samuel C. Parks, is typical:

"The opening issue of Volume XXX. well sustains your resolve to make the ARENA in the future more attractive, virile and indispensable. All of the articles in it are good, and most of them very good. The first three, by Baker, Stimson and Parsons are all excellent, and yours on 'The Corruption of Government by the Corporations' is, in the opinion of several of the readers of the ARENA in this city, one of the most timely and valuable that has recently appeared in any American magazine. If you ever wrote a more necessary or better one, I have not met with it. Rev. R. E. Bisbee's article is a bold one for a preacher. A large proportion of that profession seem to be afraid to tell the truth, lest by so doing they may lose their positions."

Some of these letters have been from the old ARENA guard—subscribers who were with us in the early nineties and whose enthusiasm for sound democratic principles has never flagged. We most deeply appreciate these kind words and also the reception given the magazine during the heated term. And now we are entering the autumn season—the season for work and the time when people select their year's reading matter. We wish to make a personal appeal to every friend of the ARENA. To us the family of the ARENA has ever been especially dear, for into the work of building up this great review we have thrown the hardest and most tireless efforts of our life. We have worked because we felt that the influence of this review would tell helpfully on the larger life of the coming days. With us its success has been a matter of far larger concern than any personal considera-

tions. The cause of freedom, of the truer life of the people; the cause of justice and righteous government based on democracy and the cause of individual development; a full-orbed education, and the amelioration of conditions and the upliftment of society's exiles and those who have fallen under the wheel, have ever been uppermost in our thoughts. And among the tens of thousands of friends who have come into the ARENA family, a large proportion have been overmastered and impelled by the same feelings and convictions as have led us in this work. They have felt the power of the ideal, and with splendid unselfishness have untiringly labored to further the circulation of the magazine, exhibiting that enthusiasm which fills the conscience-guided disciples of a holy cause. Many of these friends, believing that the ARENA would arouse the conscience and stir the nobler impulses of the people in one of the most crucial periods in the history of the republic, have wrought at a great personal sacrifice. We remember on one occasion, in answer to a personal appeal addressed to our subscribers, we received many letters of the most extraordinary and, to us, precious character. Three or four of these will never be forgotten. The digests of their contents are as follows:

"We have," said one farmer in the west, "sold one of our cows and have put all the money, excepting three dollars which we spent for things very much needed, into subscriptions under your special offer to send the ARENA on trial to thoughtful clergymen and other persons in positions to influence public opinion."

Another subscriber, a woman in Iowa wrote: "I cannot tell you what the ARENA has been to me, but you may understand something of how I value it when I tell you that we are very poor, and I did not see how we could afford to take it this year; but a neighbor was taken sick. He had a field of potatoes, and offered to pay me to dig them. 'There,' said I, 'comes the answer to my prayer;' and I at once set at work and earned the money for the ARENA."

From Florida a subscriber wrote: "I have determined to eat but two meals a day in order to save enough for the ARENA, for it is feeding my mind and warming a heart that was becoming chilled because of the indifference of the rich, the powerful and the educated."

Another person sent, if we remember correctly, thirty dollars for ten subscriptions, saying that it had required much sacrifice to contribute this much to the cause of social emancipation and justice, but that he felt it a sacred duty and gave it in the same spirit as his neighbors gave to the church missionary societies. Another gentleman, living at Summerside, Prince Edward's Island, sent, if we remember rightly, ninety dollars in subscriptions, refusing to receive any commission or premiums, stating that he simply worked for the magazine because he felt so deep an interest in sustaining such a review in the New World. These letters and words, though extreme, were typical of the words and deeds of hundreds of our subscribers.

To-day, dear friends, the battle is on and the forces of progress and reaction, of democracy and plutocracy, of altruism and egoism, are

waging a life and death struggle. No enlightened or conscience-guided man or woman can afford to remain indifferent; and we believe that at the present time nothing is more needed by the cause than a great out-spoken and unpurchasable review like the *ARENA*, which can be depended upon at all times to voice the cause of social, economic, ethical, and educational progress. The *ARENA* is a dignified review that appeals to the conscience, to the intelligence, and to the heart of thought-moulders. It is a powerful engine for political, social, and economic progress whose influence has been recognized and dreaded by the forces of reaction, and whose value has been appreciated by leaders of pure democracy or republicanism. The management of the *ARENA* to-day, as in the early years of the magazine, stands ready to make the greatest sacrifices to increase the power and effectiveness of the review, and they ask *every* reader interested in the cause of free government, human emancipation, and individual development to aid in doubling its circulation within the next thirty days. Some can send in from one to five subscriptions, by devoting a few hours of work in earnest appeals to the patriotism, the humanity, and the manhood of their neighbors. Others can subscribe for one, two, or three *ARENAS* for friends, and in so doing they will be giving delight to those they love during the ensuing year. They will in a real and positive way be arousing the conscience and moral enthusiasm of their friends, thus augmenting the work of social righteousness, and they will be aiding in making the *ARENA* again the great and powerful moral force it was in the early nineties. We believe that this appeal to *you*, dear friends, will not be unheeded, and we ask *each reader* of these pages to ask himself if the great cause for which we are working is not worth the sacrifice of a few hours of earnest solicitation or the expenditure of a few additional dollars. With a subscription list doubled, the influence of the *ARENA* will be immeasurably increased; new thought centers will be established in various localities, and the great work of leavening the American conscience and arousing our people to the importance of rescuing government from sordid materialism, despotic reaction, and debased commercial ideals will be inestimably advanced.

MR. PARTRIDGE'S PLEA FOR ART:—The *ARENA* seeks to broaden the culture of all its readers and to bring them into intimate touch with vital art, music, and those things which especially minister to the esthetic and deeply emotional centers of life. This month the eminent sculptor, poet, and essayist, William Ordway Partridge, discusses "The Demands of Art in This New Republic." Mr. Partridge is a man of genius and of fine culture. He stands in the foremost rank of the younger American sculptors. He is also a poet of fine imaginative powers; and an essayist whose positive ethical and constructive thought is always clothed in pleasing language. He stands for the moral verities. Like Professor Stimson and Mr. Elwell, he is an earnest advocate of a great original art for America. His thoughtful paper this month cannot fail to prove as helpful as it will be interesting to our readers.

**A TRUMPET CALL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF CHRISTENDOM:**—Dean George McA. Miller's paper on "The Bible versus Plutocracy" is the most important Biblical discussion of economic questions that has appeared in recent years. Though very compact, it is luminous and convincing. It shows in an almost startling manner how clearly the Mosaic law contained the working principles which the foremost among the profoundest and most conscience-guided statesmen the world over recognize as being vital to a free and just government. Only that government which is great enough to be just and just enough to steadfastly battle to bring about a practical realization of the demand for equality of opportunities for all and special privileges for none, can hope to escape the doom of every nation that has failed to place the interests of the cosmic man, or of humanity, above the selfish desires of the few. This paper will come as an inspiration to thousands of Christian ministers, while it will be unheeded or resented by those who, though serving in the temples of Deity, are the slaves of Mammon. To-day as in the older days, the ministry is divided into the prophets and apostles—men of conscience who place the message of the Infinite above all thought of self, and the priests and Levites, who voice conventional platitudes and seek the favor of powerful interests by prophesying smooth things and ignoring justice at a hint from their real masters. To the apostles and prophets of God this paper will be a trumpet call to renewed battle for the cause of the lowly and oppressed—the cause of Him who said, in speaking of the pillars of conventional theology of his time: "They bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers." It will come as marching orders, and we believe will in no small degree further the new spiritual and social renaissance to whose advent multitudinous signs clearly point. We urge every reader of the ARENA to make it his duty to see that this paper is placed in the hands of one or more clergymen, with the earnest request that it be carefully read.

**THE EVIL FRUITS OF THE PHILIPPINE WAR:**—In this issue the venerable jurist, Judge Samuel C. Parks, supplements his immensely valuable defense of the Declaration of Independence of last month with a further discussion of other evil consequences of the Spanish and Philippine wars, in which he shows quite clearly, not only that these wars have been characterized by a riot of hypocrisy and the lowering of the ethical ideals of the nation, but also that financially they have been a frightful drain upon the nation's resources, and that had the billion dollars spent in the prosecution of them been used to reclaim our own arid land that is susceptible of productiveness through irrigation, there would have been placed at the service of the nation a sufficient territory to properly support seventy millions of human beings. Judge Parks, it will be remembered, is the author of "The Great Trial of the Nineteenth Century," one of the ablest books that has been written against imperialism.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ISLAMIC COMMONWEALTH:—It is our purpose to present each month a suggestive historical paper of real interest and helpfulness. The graphic description of Finland's heroic struggle in the July *ARENA* and the able papers on Kishineff in our last month's issue, are supplemented in this number by the story of the rise and fall of the Islamic Commonwealth, given by one of the most competent living thinkers to discuss this subject. Professor Muhammad Barakatullah, whom Professor Gottheil of Columbia University characterizes as "the first highly cultured Indian-born Muslim that ever came to this country," was born in Bhopal, in central India, which state, curious to say, has been governed, about sixty years, successively by four Mohammedan women, called the Begums, and whose present ruler also is a Muslim woman, the Sultan Jahān Begum. He comes of an ancient and distinguished family of Northern India, and was brought up in Motee-Mahal (the pearl palace) in Bhopal City, where he completed his education in Oriental literature, different branches of philosophy, theology, and law, in which he holds a diploma of honor. He acquired his English education in Bombay. During the last decade he has been the Principal of the Oriental Academy, Chancery Lane, London, England, where he trained students from Oxford and Cambridge Universities, going in for the Indian Civil Service examinations, in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu languages and literatures. Professor Barakatullah has contributed extensively to leading English publications. Perhaps the paper which has attracted the most attention was his essay on "Islam and Sufeeism" which appeared in the *Westminster Review*. It is seldom that the reading public of America has been treated to a discussion of Islamic history by so authoritative a thinker as this author.

DIRECT LEGISLATION IN NEW ZEALAND:—Special attention is invited to the paper on "Direct Legislation in New Zealand," by the Hon. H. G. Ells, member of the New Zealand Parliament from Christchurch. This paper is one of a series of contributions which we propose to publish from month to month dealing with progressive political movements throughout the entire world. It will be followed by a paper which will appear shortly from Mr. Robert Tyson, editor of the *Proportional Representation Review*, and which will deal with the practical workings of Proportional Representation in Belgium. Other papers of a similar character will serve to acquaint our readers with the actual progress of truly republican or democratic measures throughout the world.

CAUCUS OR KING:—Mr. Hemstreet's earnest plea for a practical political reform which would prove as effective as it is simple, should receive the thoughtful attention of all readers. It will be remembered that Thomas Jefferson attributed the final breaking down of the Embargo to the New England town-meeting. In his "Life of Thomas Jefferson" James Parton thus refers to this fact: "He attributed it [the failure of the Embargo] to the township system, which he valued most highly and strove to introduce into Virginia." "How

powerfully," wrote Jefferson, "did we feel the energy of this system in the case of this Embargo. I felt the foundation of the government shaken under my feet by the New England township." Mr. Jefferson always believed that the Embargo, if it had been faithfully observed, would have saved us the War of 1812, and he believed that outside of New England the country was in favor of it; but owing to the absence of New England township methods prevailing throughout the south and west, the sentiment of those portions of the country failed to be felt. And in 1816, in discussing the importance of dividing the counties into wards for caucus purposes, he said: "As Cato concluded every speech with the words, *Carthago delendum est*, so do I every opinion with the injunction, divide the counties into districts." The machine politicians and servants of the corrupt corporations to-day have captured the caucus, and through this capture they are able to effectively debauch government, oppress the people, and defeat well-nigh all the noble aims of democracy.

**SOME IMPORTANT PAPERS:**—We have a number of extremely timely and valuable papers for our next issue as well as for early succeeding issues, among which we would mention as of special interest the Hon. Wharton Barker's exposé of the government's subserviency to the banking oligarchy, in a paper entitled "National Currency or Bank Currency?" Senator Aldrich, father-in-law of young Rockefeller, as well as the master political power in machine-ridden and bribe-corrupted Rhode Island, is at the head of the Finance Committee of the Senate. The iniquitous measure which he proposes is said to be thoroughly satisfactory to the Rockefeller New York City bank. Certain it is that it would immensely favor the great banking oligarchy which, with the trusts, is the supreme bulwark of present-day plutocracy. It would seem incredible that President Roosevelt could bring himself to the point of consenting to the practical turning over of the American people to the power of the banks, as the contemplated financial legislation proposed in the special session will certainly do. Mr. Barker's paper will be a strong feature of the October number and one of the most timely contributions of the month as it is also one of the most lucid and able papers on finance which we have read in years.

Other papers of special interest are Professor John Ward Stimson's discussion of "Art and Socialism;" "Public Ownership versus Private Ownership, with Special Reference to Municipal Lighting," by Frederick F. Ingram, Commissioner of Public Lighting in Detroit; "The Supreme Economic Evil," by E. S. Wicklin; "Education for the Home," by Professor Oscar Chrisman; "The Rights of Property and the Rights of Man," by the Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy; "The Failure of Representative Government," by Eltweed Pomeroy, A.M., president of the National Direct Legislation League; "Has the Fifteenth Amendment been Justified?" by James E. Boyle, A.M. In an early issue we shall also publish the opening contribution of a series of exceptionally valuable papers to students of social problems, by Professor Frank Parsons, on "Judicial Peace or the Judicial Decision of Labor Disputes."

B. O. F.



*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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## OLD FOES WITH NEW FACES.

HOOKEER eloquently said "Of Law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care and the greatest as not exempted from her power." He was however speaking of law in its broadest sense. Municipal law is usually defined as a "rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in the State, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." But since what the supreme power commands is necessarily right from the standpoint of legality and what it prohibits is wrong, it would be more correct to say simply that law is the will of the supreme power in the State. What is that Supreme Power? That is the question always debated and never more acutely than now. A free country is one where public opinion is the supreme power and where the will of the majority faithfully formulated by the public servants freely chosen is duly executed. As Edmund Burke once said, "The people may be deceived in their choice of an object, but I can scarcely conceive of any choice they can make to be so mischievous as the existence of any human force capable of resisting it."

The history of man has been one continuous struggle to

obtain control of the law making power; for whatever person or party could obtain the mastery could impose, and they have imposed, their will upon the weaker, making the labors and toil of the latter contribute to the ease and comfort of those who made the law. Reduced to its last analysis, the history of mankind has been the story of an economic struggle among men for a wider feeding ground, a greater share of the comforts and the luxuries of life. The law at any given time is the record of what the stronger have decreed in their own interest. The greatest good to the greatest number is the foundation principle of a republic.

In the dawn of history, brute force, backed by an army paid out of the plunder of the unfortunate, kept the many under subjection and the army was aided in this work by the ministers of superstition, paid in like manner. These in later times alternately frightened the ignorant by the terrors of hell or soothed them with promises of compensation in another world for the hardships experienced in this.

As the next evolution the higher class forced the despot to admit them to participation in the sharing of the wealth produced by the masses and became hereditary nobles. From time to time the great mass of toilers have groaned and moved uneasily beneath their burdens, like Enceladus beneath Etna. Hence, there have been insurrections, changes of dynasties, conquests, which last were usually a change of masters.

Then there came our own movement, a little more than a century ago, to abolish the whole unnecessary load—King, nobles, state church, special privileges, all, and men thought they were free. But the burden was not merely in names, but in the thing itself, and when under the name of trusts, monopolies, and corporations the same control is exercised in giving to the few the earnings of the many, humanity has found in the opening of the Twentieth Century that we have again before us the same fight, old as history, of the few attempting to appropriate to their own pleasure and gratification the wealth created by the toil and the agony of the many.

We have the same

OLD FOES WITH NEW FACES.

Let us contrast that which has been with that which is. On the banks of the Nile stands the Pyramids. To build one of those Pyramids cost the unrequited labor of 360,000 men for twenty years. We know that it took 2,000 men three years to carry a single stone from Elephantine to Sais. Records which have come to light in the last few years corroborate these statements of the old historian (Diodorus Siculus) and show that these men toiled under the lash with no return save barely enough leeks, onions, and bread to keep them alive. When all was done, the completed work was appropriately a tomb, useless for all time, save to gratify the desire for fame of some now nameless king. Thus was squandered away the lives and labor of the people. The palace of Versailles cost the lives of another 100,000 men to minister to the vanity of a later king, and earth and its history have been marred by many another memorial of like nature.

On the same river Nile, further up at Assouan, in this present year, another great work has been completed. It is a great dam a mile and a quarter long, which bars the rushing river and preserves the waters to be led by irrigating ditches to fructify the soil and add many millions of acres to be tilled by the husbandman. It is not an idle tomb to gratify a tyrant's insensate vanity, no lash swung over the backs of unwilling laborers, and they received their modest wages in due season. Modern machinery lightened the expense and millions were spent in a work that will furnish subsistence to an increased population.

But is there much change? British soldiers took and hold Egypt that British millionaires may receive dividends on Egyptian bonds bought at a discount, and the laborer is left the barest necessities of life. The Assouan dam increases the available territory and the number of laborers who may toil for the bondholders. The tribute is collected with more humanity and more decency, and modern intelligence has supplied the means by which the laborer may create greater wealth.

The net profit of the labor goes not to Pharaoh, but to the British bondholder. He has his vanities to gratify, his own method of squandering the product of a nation's labor, which the British army and the British government collect and bring to him. His pet vanity does not happen to be a pile of rock in the desert as a tomb.

But, as regards the fellaheen by the Nile, wherein is their condition substantially different in this year of grace from that of their nameless ancestors who bowed their backs and toiled in poverty and pain that a privileged few should live in luxury in the thirtieth or thirty-second century before Christ? What alleviation of toil, how much nearer the enjoyment of a fair share of the product of his own labor has the passage of fifty centuries brought to him in Egypt who creates by his toil the good things of life?

To-day countless thousands in our Republic are asking themselves a similar question. When they look upon a million-dollars-a-year salary to a Steel Trust President, and hundred-thousand-dollar salaries to many others, when they see the palaces, the steel yachts, the appliances and luxuries of countless wealth which are daily flaunted before those who created but do not enjoy that wealth, and then turn to their own squalid surroundings, they are debating the justice of the present distribution of wealth, for all wealth is produced, and can be produced, by labor only. Whatever is unjust must perish. These men are not Egyptian fellaheen, and when they demand they will not be denied. There is no higher power in this land than the will of the people when they make up their mind. It is wisdom, the highest wisdom, to discuss, not put out of sight, these social problems and aid if we can towards a just solution; for solved they will be, in some way. The present arrangement can not, and will not abide. Henry George well said: "To educate men who must be condemned to poverty, is but to make them restive; to base on a state of most glaring social inequality political institutions under which men are theoretically equal is to stand a pyramid on its apex." A million bayonets cannot support such a pyramid upon their points.

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

But it has never been the accumulation of wealth that has brought ills to any people, nor caused men to decay. The increase of wealth should bring progress and development, a better fed, a better housed, a better educated, a more leisured, and a nobler race. But the unequal distribution of that wealth, its accumulation in a few hands, leaving the mass of wealth producers in poverty and neglect—it is this that has always brought down great empires and destroyed great nations.

The Persians, a noble mountain race, increased in wealth and developed their great conquered territories. When by the law-making power that wealth was permitted to accumulate in the hands of a few noblemen, 30,000 Greeks under Alexander doubled up the vast empire like a paper bag.

When the *Roman Peace* brooded over the countries around the Mediterranean, population and wealth multiplied, being no longer destroyed in tribal wars. But property passing afterwards into a few hands, the number of the people decreased till the barbarians of the frozen North burst through the depleted Roman legions and sweeping over vast tracts where the people had ceased to breed, laid the civilization of a thousand years in the dust. The historian tersely tells us "*Latifundia perdidere Italiam*"—"Great estates destroyed Italy."

Out of the wreck rose new kingdoms, dukedoms, countships. The leaders took the lands as hereditary nobles, placed their followers thereon as tenants, the conquered inhabitants as serfs and called in the aid of religion to strengthen by its influence over the minds of men the terror which carnal weapons had for their bodies. Again and again the subject masses moved uneasily beneath their burden of king, knight and priest. In one blinding flash of light there came the French Revolution. It was the retribution for a thousand years of oppression and wrongs uncounted. As Carlyle said, it was "Truth clad in hell-fire." It was a revolution led and controlled by the upper-middle class. The working class had slight hand in it, except to a small extent in the year 1793. A few thousand

heads fell beneath the guillotine. Of this crime, aristocratic writers have made the most, writing for aristocratic readers, but the sober truth is that all the executions by the guillotine in the Revolution added together did not equal half the number put to death unjustly, or starved to death, by oppression in any one year of the two preceding centuries. The permanent reforms brought about by that great upheaval have affected the whole world. Mankind would still be on a far lower level if the French Revolution had not occurred.

The greatest soldier of the modern world climbed to power on the shoulders of the armies the republic had created. As long as he was democratic France acquiesced. But when forgetting the source of his power he took a daughter of the Hapsburgs to wife thus announcing his adhesion to the past, the French people withdrew their support and when banded kings again pressed him, he fell. The army restored him in 1815, but the people were no longer with him and he fell again, never to rise. In 1830, in 1848, and in 1870 the French people again and again returned to their Republican faith, till now neither army nor banded sovereigns dispute the popular will.

In England in 1215 the nobles won from the sovereign the right to share in the product of the toiling masses. Near the close of the reign of Elizabeth, the middle classes, restive under the exactions of monopolies granted by the crown, demanded their abolition. The wise old queen knew when to yield. She yielded and died with her crown on her head. A struggle between the upper middle classes on one side and the crown and nobility on the other broke out half a century later, and Charles I, not knowing how to yield lost his head. Twelve years later his son making the concessions his father should have made was restored, but his brother, James II, not keeping faith, again lost the kingdom which was henceforth ruled by the upper class, jointly with the nobility and the king. That was the purport of the "glorious Revolution of 1688." In 1776 we resolved to abolish all special privileges and all government in the interest of the few, to do away with king, nobles, privileged classes, and put the government in the hands of

the whole people. Our example moved the French leaders of thought and accelerated the French Revolution. The excesses and atrocities of that Revolution, aided by centuries of national hostility to the French, kept back the popular feeling which had been created in England by our success. In 1832, the form of the English Monarchy was saved by the monarchy, the nobility, and the gentry abdicating their rule in favor of a government by the people. Since then England has been, in all but name a Republic. Its government is by a committee of the majority party in the lower House of Parliament. The King is a name only, with a big salary, and the House of Lords is a mere survival from other times, without practical power. Throughout the civilized world all kings now hold their positions only by sufferance, save in Russia, where the government is a machine, a bureaucracy, held in place by the Army, with a powerless Czar and a restless people.

This brief recital shows that history has been a long economic struggle by the wealth producers, and that civilization has been exactly measured by the successive rise of the different strata of society to power. First the king was absolute, then the nobility forced him to admit them to a share in the enjoyment of the wealth created by the toilers, then the upper middle class, and then the lower middle class forced admission, and then nominally the whole people were admitted to a partnership in government. I say nominally, for nowhere have the real wealth producers, the toilers, actually asserted their full weight, for had they done so they would have been the government, being more numerous than all other classes. The labor Unions, the boycotts, the strikes, in this country, the casting by the Socialists in Germany at the June election this year of more than 3,000,000 votes, being more than a third of the whole vote cast, demonstrate that the creators of wealth are determined now to have a larger share of the wealth created by their labor.

Simultaneously with this movement, we see the reactionary movement to aggregate all wealth in the hands of a few multimillionaires. These as of old give themselves aliases. For-

merly their aliases were Duke of so and so, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, Baron, Count, Prince. That old world mummerly is out of date. Now one takes the alias of "Standard Oil Company," another "The American Steel and Iron Company," the "Pacific Railway," "The American Tobacco Company," and so on.

Which force will win? These "old foes with new faces," these new claimants to appropriate the wealth of the nation to their own uses; these successors of those who have been repudiated by every nation in turn—or the new forces of organized labor? The conflict is on and is irrepressible. The vast mass of the nation outside of the two opposing lines look with doubt and distrust upon the labor organizations, for they do not know yet how far they will go. This intermediate mass of the nation is opposed to the Trusts, and to all rule by Corporations. If convinced that organized labor meditates no attack upon the rights of private property and no control of government in their own special interests but that each man shall be free to own and enjoy that which he has honestly earned, then labor and the great bulk of the people, the farmers, the merchants, the professions (outside of those employed by the Trusts) may unite and terminate the predominance which is given in practise, though not in our form of government, to aggregated, consolidated wealth. Napoleon said that an "army went on its belly," meaning that the first problem in war was the feeding of the fighters. So whatever power controls the distribution of wealth, and decides the comfort, the sustenance, the material welfare to be allotted to the masses is the real government. That power is not at Washington, nor at the State capitals. All legislation against the power of Trusts has proved nugatory. The real government of this country today in this respect is in the hands of these last who have shown themselves stronger than the law. So in Rome, the standards and the coins bore the superscription "The Senate and the Roman People" and there were Consuls and a Senate and other republican forms, unimpaired, long centuries after all government had been centred in the Pretorian Cohort and its chief.



By reason of the vast improvements in machinery, a laborer can now often produce twenty times as much as formerly, sometimes fifty times as much, in some cases two hundred times as much or even one thousand times. The skilled laborer is entitled to a fair share of this increased product. As a rule, he is not getting it. The consumer, too, is entitled to a fair share in the reduction of the cost of production. He is not getting it. The vast bulk of profit caused by the introduction of machinery and of modern improvements is confiscated to the benefit of a bare handful of men, by the combination of capital into trusts and great corporations. The chief beneficiaries, the multimillionaires, number less than 10,000. Their dependents, their families, their hirelings, may possibly foot up to a total of half a million. There are eighty millions on the other side. How long will this state of things last? It only exists now till the public can be satisfied as to the best way to destroy the system without injury to the established rights of property and to our other constitutional guarantees.

The earnings of the United States Steel Company, the Standard Oil Company, and two or three other trusts last year as reported by themselves were eleven-twentieths of the total increase of wealth in the whole country, and there are two hundred smaller trusts to satisfy before the consumers and producers, the great body of the people, can share in the annual increase of wealth. Every man is entitled to the advantages given him by his superior diligence and ability, but every one knows that Carnegie's \$200,000,000, Rockefeller's \$400,000,000, Morgan's \$100,000,000 have not been obtained in that way, but by methods which have stripped countless thousands of their fair share in the vast annual increase of wealth.

Owing to machinery, we far surpass all preceding ages in the *creation* of wealth. In the just *distribution* of this increase our methods are defective to the last degree, and nowhere more so than in this country. We are suffering from *Economic Indigestion* in its most aggravated form. In all history, whenever the body politic has suffered from such ills, if relief did not come, political convulsions and revolution have followed.

By the statutes of the United States (1890, ch. 647) and of nearly every State in the Union, Trusts are illegal and their officers indictable. In not a single instance has a trust been broken up by the enforcement of a statute. This shows that while the popular will has forced its expression by Congress and the State legislatures, there is a power greater than the law. Plain as is the Federal statute this section of the country has known of but one attempt to enforce it. Then the District Attorney, a brave, honest, and able man, was on the point of convicting the American Tobacco Company, when he suddenly received a telegram from the Attorney General to come to Washington. There he found the Attorney General closeted with the general counsel of the Trust and a United States Senator from that State. On the demand of these two, the Attorney General ordered a *nol pros* to be entered, which the District Attorney refused to obey till the order was put in writing. The Senator had made himself solid with the people by voting publicly for the statute to make trusts indictable. Then through the back door of the temple of justice he protected the trust from punishment under it. Similar scenes have doubtless occurred elsewhere. There must have been strong pressure to prevent prosecution all these years. The lawlessness of great wealth is felt daily, yet its owners are the first to denounce any lawlessness when directed against themselves, by appeal to the Injunctive process of the courts, and by calls on the executive for troops. The Trusts and great corporations alone are privileged to disregard the law!

Can we do better than to discuss this anomaly, this *imperium in imperio*, which uses the law for its own protection, but does not obey the law. We may consider first, What methods this lawless wealth uses; second, Upon what does it rely, to maintain its supremacy over the law; third, By what means can it be subjected to the control of the laws.

The mere formation of great corporations is no ground of complaint. Indeed, large corporations are often beneficial when they effect economies enabling them to place the manufactured article in reach of the consumer at a reduced price

without reducing the price paid for the raw article in the hands of the producers. Great aggregations are due to the natural tendency of the age. They do not necessarily mean greater individual fortunes. When, however, great aggregations of capital seek to secure still larger returns by forcing out competition thus enabling them to reduce prices to the producer of the raw material and to raise prices to the consumer, they place their hands upon the very throat of the people, and by illegal and forbidden methods gather larger revenues than government. It is these last, *the monopolies fixing prices*, which crush the life out of the people.

One of the great agencies and, perhaps, exclusive of the tariff, of which I need not speak, the greatest agency by which trusts attain this power is by railroad favoritism. We know that it was shown in a legal trial that a great railroad system charged the Standard Oil Company ten cents for service for which they charged all others thirty-five cents, and not only that, but the extra twenty-five cents collected out of the latter were paid over to the Standard Oil Company, as a bonus! When those thus discriminated against built a Pipe line, the railroad put down rates so low that its general manager testified that the receipts from oil transportation would not pay for axle grease on its cars. Then when the Pipe line was forced out, prices went back.

This and similar instances, familiar to all, tell how the Standard Oil and similar Trusts have confiscated the property of thousands. The American Tobacco Company has systematically pursued the same course. Wherever it found a man or a company occupied in selling or manufacturing tobacco, it would sell its goods at a lower price, or even give them away, till the competitor was destroyed, and then immediately prices to the tobacco raiser would go down and prices to the consumer would go higher. This is simply robbery of both classes. It destroys, besides, competition and with it opportunity for livelihood to thousands.

This is probably the most common method of oppression used by those irresponsible aggregations of capital who use

the corporate powers given them by the public to the detriment of their creator. Last year the American Tobacco Company failing to crush out the Imperial Tobacco Company in this mode prices went up. Then they combined and prices are now put down below the cost of production that the farmers shall pay back what they got by last year's competition and more.

Another most prolific source of illegal accumulation has been the evasion by trusts and great corporations of the payment of a fair share of taxation to the support of government. Their great influence has enabled them to do this nearly everywhere and thus to throw upon all others an undue share of the increasing burdens of government. The Federal income tax, which was held constitutional for a century would have realized about \$100,000,000 a year, but it was suddenly set aside by the change of view of one judge (who had previously held it constitutional) and thus that sum was transferred from those best able to bear taxation and placed upon those least able to bear it. In the ten years since that decision the people at large have lost and aggregated wealth has gained one thousand million dollars by this change of vote by one judge—a high price to pay for the exercise of irresponsible power by a public servant in whose selection the people had no voice! A dissenting opinion in that case stated forcibly that the decision was a long step towards “a sordid despotism of wealth.” Then in not half a dozen States probably are the great corporations assessed at the fair value of their franchises and other property. Several years ago public opinion forced the creation of Railroad Commissions to make just assessments of railroads, franchises and property and regulation of their charges. But the expectation has been futile. In nearly half a dozen States, not more, there has been an approximation to just taxation and a regulation of rates, but in no case has it been due to a railroad Commission. The Supreme Court of the United States (R. R. tax cases 92 U. S. 601), speaking through Judge Miller, laid down the simple rule for the valuation of corporation property “the market value of the bonds plus the market value of the stock,” but how many corporations are thus assessed? The

producing masses are made to pay for them the tax on the unlisted difference just as they make good out of their scanty earnings the taxes great wealth should pay on its income. In *Wellman v. R. R.*, 143 U. S., the highest court in the Republic has said that if the railroad charges were reduced to rates that would earn four per cent. on the net value of their property the courts could not interfere. But what Railroad Commission has seen fit to give the people the relief authorized by these two decisions? To cite but two instances:

First, there is the mandamus brought by the brave little school teacher in Chicago, Catharine Goggin, to compel a just valuation of the property of 13 corporations alleged to be worth \$235,000,000 and which had been assessed for less than half a million. The court (191 Ill. 528) held that the just rule was that laid down by Judge Miller (92 U. S. 601) already cited *i.e.*, "the market value of the bonds plus the market value of the stocks." After appeal by the corporations, one company through its counsel appeared before the court and offered to dismiss its appeal if its assessment was put at \$39,000,000. This is a fair sample of what injustice the masses suffer and what may be done by one determined person.

In my own State in 1890 the railroads gave in the cost of their property to the Census Bureau at \$151,000,000 and the same year listed its value for taxation at \$12,000,000! The public at large, of course, had to make up the tax the railroads should have paid on the unlisted difference. When, after many years delay and after the railways had added several hundred miles to their length and otherwise increased in value, the Railroad Commission modestly raised the valuation to \$40,000,000 a federal judge was found to enjoin it, but the farce was so broad the injunction was finally dropped.

It would be highly amusing if the public were not paying hundreds of thousands of dollars for the play, to see the low valuation corporations place upon their property for taxation and the higher valuation put by them on the same property to prevent regulation of rates. There is a railroad which runs through Virginia and North Carolina. When Virginia was

seeking to compel that company to charge lower rates, their high officials filed affidavits that the road was worth \$40,000 to \$50,000 per mile, and entitled to earn interest on that sum. In North Carolina when the same road was assessed a little over \$12,000 per mile for taxation, its officers got an injunction from a federal judge (as above stated) on the ground that this was more than its value. Reference is made to the railroads in this connection because they are the greatest of all Trusts, the Transportation Trust, the control of which has now been reduced to a half a dozen men practically. But space is lacking to go through the long catalogue of injustices which the masses suffer at the hands of great aggregations of wealth.

The methods by which they maintain their supremacy over the law is as long. I can only refer to those most prominent and best known.

Some years ago the Trusts thought of strengthening their hold by educating young men into their views. This was advocated in a memorable speech before the American Bankers' Association. Vast donations were soon thereafter given to found sundry universities and colleges and to obtain control of others. The experiment has not been a startling success for the graduates in most instances have been soon educated out of their artificial ideas by contact with the public and their native good sense.

The next attempt has been, recognizing the supreme power of public opinion, to pervert it by control of the press. The trusts and great corporations have acquired most of the great dailies and latterly the country newspapers and the religious press have not been entirely passed over. But this shrewd American people have been quick to discern which editors are "led captains," and but recently the anti-trust candidate was elected mayor in one of our greatest cities with every newspaper but one against him, and in two other great cities the anti-trust candidate was chosen with every paper without exception retained against him. The vast body of the Press have stood by the cause of the people—to their eternal honor be it said—notwithstanding the bitter competition of their subsi-

dized opponents. The effect has been not to mislead the people but the Trusts, who, deceived by the tootings of their own horns, are ignorant of popular determination and purposes.

Another well-known method of lawless wealth is to procure wherever they can the nomination to office by each political party of those subservient to the views of the money power. This is cheaper and safer than backing either party, and then whichever side triumphs the Trusts have friends in office. Their greatest stronghold of course is in these men in office who owe their positions to the powerful influence of organized wealth, or whose servility has been secured, and in the powerful lobby which they maintain at Washington and every State Capital.

Their control of a large part of the press, with which they maintain touch through a Press Bureau, has not amounted to much, for abuse from that source has become a certificate of integrity to a public man with the masses. But their influence through their lobby and the selection of those in office—especially powerful where the office is appointive—has been very great.

One trust, and one only, I believe—the Bagging Trust—has been destroyed and that was done by the farmers themselves who resorted to a boycott, the same weapon our ancestor used against British tea and the stamp act. Our North Carolina people are resorting just now to the same resource, a boycott, against the American Tobacco Company, which has brought greater financial losses upon them than war, famine, and pestilence. It is too soon to predict what their success will be, but much can be expected from so patriotic and determined a people.

Then, too, when the binding twine trust oppressed the people of Kansas, they obtained protection by the Governor changing the Penitentiary temporarily into a binding twine factory. And the State of Texas, having also a Governor in sympathy with the masses, once put in force her statutes which ran some of the Trusts, among them the Standard Oil Trust, out of that State. But in view of the public opposition to Trusts and the

numerous and fierce statutes against them, marvellously little has been done to shake their control.

Since secret influences have prevented, so far, the execution of any criminal statutes against the Trusts, we may well ask what remedies can be resorted to in this country where the people should be the government and can be everything if they will it. Even constitutions are their handiwork and can be abrogated or changed at their sovereign pleasure.

From Aristotle down it has been conceded that great inequalities of wealth are dangerous, especially in Republics. Justice Brown of the United States Supreme Court in his address to the American Bar Association (Am. Bar Asso., 1893, p. 241) struck at the motive underlying these vast accumulations by advocating a modification of the Statute of Wills, so that no one could devise to one of his children or any other person more than a fixed sum provided by law—he suggested one million of dollars. He pointed out that on the continent of Europe, certainly wherever the principles of the Code Napoleon obtain, no one can dispose by will of more than a small part of his estate. While everyone has a natural right to his own earnings, he has, as Mr. Blackstone says, no right to direct the disposition of the property he shall leave on this planet after he goes hence, and each country settles the devolution of property by its own statute of Wills, of Descent, and Distributions. These statutes can be modified or repealed at will in each State. Indeed, it is only comparatively recently (27 and 32 Henry VIII) that Englishmen have been empowered by statute to dispose of land by will at all. If by such statutes, only a fixed sum, as suggested by Justice Brown, shall be made disposable by will, or permitted to go to the heirs at law and next of kin, with provisions against the evading of the statute by large gifts during life, and directing that all the surplus shall go into the State Treasury in reduction of taxation, the evil of vast accumulations would cease. In England, the evil is already largely met by a heavy and progressive income and inheritance tax from which that country derives one-third of its



annual revenue. In some cases these combined taxes in England, Australia, and some other countries amount to 20 per cent. of very large estates while sparing small ones altogether. No tax could be more greatly to the public benefit or be more easily borne, or collected with less expense. It is competent for any state to shape its statutes on this subject at will. There would be smaller inducement to oppress the public, if the bulk of the accumulations derived therefrom beyond a fixed sum must go to that public at the death of the accumulator to lighten taxation.

As to the Trusts themselves, different remedies are applicable. The gigantic Steel Trust could doubtless be suppressed, or made harmless through competition, by repeal of the tariff on the articles it uses and sells, and by taking away the transportation favors by which it has thriven. The destruction of transportation discriminations and just taxation of its property with a progressive income tax would abate the vast Oil Trust. Indeed the modification of the tariff in the particulars by which any specified Trust thrives, added to a fair property taxation, a progressive income tax and an effective prohibition of railroad favors to one shipper over another would destroy probably nine-tenths of the Trusts.

*By a federal tax of ten per cent. upon State Banks of Issue—a perfectly legitimate business—they were totally destroyed. Certainly the same means can be used to destroy the Trusts, which are illegal.* A small franchise tax could be levied on smaller corporations, increasing in per cent. according to increase in the size of the corporations—in short, a progressive or graduated franchise tax. This can be made so heavy as to make watering stock unprofitable, and by the same means destroy or prevent those large aggregations which are detrimental to the public welfare. There will be peculiar justice in applying to their destruction the taxing power which (in the shape of tariffs) has contributed so greatly to their growth. Where the Trusts, like the Standard Oil, the Tobacco Trust, and some others have also grown by reducing prices to destroy competition, a pawl and ratchet” statute forbidding them to put

back the selling price whenever a jury shall find that the reduction was made to destroy competition would be effective to prevent such oppression.

As to the Whiskey Trust, it may be well doubted if any better remedy, or indeed, any better regulation of the sale of liquor, can be found than the Dispensary. It originated in Sweden, which was then the most drunken country in Europe. It was a success there, reducing drunkenness and crimes resulting therefrom to a minimum, besides bringing in a large revenue to reduce taxation. It was adopted then, with like results, in Norway, in Switzerland, and elsewhere, and finally in South Carolina. It has been adopted, to public satisfaction, in many parts of North Carolina.

If the pending boycott of the Tobacco Trust fails and the progressive income tax, heavier on large than on small receipts, also fails, we can remember that the Tobacco Trust could not enter France, Austria or Italy because in those countries all tobacco is sold by the Government. Our former system of free manufacture and sale by everyone is preferable, of course, but if the Tobacco Trust will reduce all manufacture and sale to be possible only by one party it is better that this one party should be the government rather than the Tobacco Trust. The government would restore fair prices to the farmer, based upon the size of the crop, reserving to the government, as in France and other countries, only a fair profit for revenue, and even that profit will go to reduce the weight of taxation and not to swell the estates of a few multi-millionaires, as now. Tobacco and whiskey are already differentiated from other products by both being already under government supervision and subject to the Internal Revenue system. This would be but a modification of the method of collecting revenue from them.

But there are some Trusts which from the very nature of the business they pursue are necessarily monopolies. These should be taken over and operated by the government only, and in the interest of all. Such are lighting, water and street transportation which an increasing number of municipalities

own and operate as Trustees of the public. Of the same nature are railroads, which were originally built, owned, and operated by the State in North Carolina and many other States. The consolidation of railroads till now the entire system throughout the Union is practically controlled by half a dozen men demonstrates both that the government can operate them and that it can not safely trust such vast power to a few hands.

This country has been slow to desire government ownership even to the extent of taking over the Trunk lines, though government ownership of railroads prevails in all other great countries save England. Our people preferred government control of railroads and decreed it by enacting an Inter-State Commerce Commission and in many States, Railroad Commissions. After many years trial, government control of railroads has been a failure. Every attempt to tax them fairly, to regulate their rates, and to require safeguards for employees or the public, or to assert any legal control whatever by the law has been resisted, and often successfully. The railroads have gone into politics and have their representatives in each of the great departments of government. We are much nearer railroad control of government than government control of railroads. By their discriminations and favors they are, together with the tariff, the two foundations upon which other trusts repose.

The telegraph, too, originally belonged to our Post Office department, as both telegraph and telephone do in all other great countries, England included. In them you can send a telegram from any point to any other for ten or twelve cents, and in some countries the government charges six or nine dollars per annum for the use of the telephone. In this country the telegraph rates are such that though, as Congressional investigation showed, the stockholders of the Western Union have never paid in but \$545,000 in cash that company is capitalized at \$120,000,000, besides having paid dividends all these years. There is no reason why our people should have paid the enormous sums accumulated by the telegraph and telephone companies when the government could have saved the public these sums by operating them as a part of the Post Office,

as all other civilized countries have done. Then, in all other countries but ours, the Post Office operates a parcels post, delivering packages up to eleven pounds in weight, even by rural mail delivery, for six cents up. The express company monopoly has defeated all propositions of the kind here. We know from official reports that the railroads charge the government for annual rental of postal cars more than the total cost of building the cars, and that they charge for freight on mail in addition eight times what they charge the express companies for hauling the same weights. Four Presidents and several postmaster generals have recommended the return of the telegraph to the Post Office and the adoption of European Parcels Post and Postal Savings Banks, but in vain. In short, we have the most antiquated postal system among civilized States. Even the Free Rural Delivery, now so popular, was only adopted many years after it had been in successful operation in European countries and only then after the Express companies had been conciliated by striking out the Parcels Post feature. The *Review of Reviews* for August said that our postal system, which ought to be the best in the world, is falling behind that of almost all civilized countries \* \* \* because private interests which absorb half the postal revenues are much more influential at Washington than is the public demand for a better service on a better basis." The sole remedy is government operation through the Post Office of telegraph, telephone, and parcels post, and ownership of its own postal cars.

The postal scandal, which of late has attracted so much public attention, did not take from the public altogether as much as the public loses in *any one hour* by the excess in trust charges in operating these functions over and above what the charges would be if operated by our Post Office, as in other countries.

The newspaper trust levies annually two and a half million dollars on the press by excessive prices for blank paper. Were that amount levied by the government to lighten other taxation indignation would know no bounds. It is paid to trust magnates and not a whimper is heard. Are we the same people

who resisted a stamp tax on paper because not levied by our consent?

We are told that the people are opposed to government ownership. They would be if the former state of things could be restored, but the Trusts and great corporations have demonstrated that this cannot be done. The only resource is in matters of monopoly to replace the Trust which is exploiting the public to make millionaires by a bigger trust, the government, of which the people will be the beneficiaries and not the victims and in which every citizen will be a stockholder. When the Coal Trust shut down Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan said he had no power to intervene, but when schools began to close for want of coal an ominous growl went up. A democratic State Convention met and a democratic candidate for President introduced a resolution for government ownership of coal mines. It passed like a clap of thunder. The Trust magnate promptly found he had power with the coal barons. He hastened to Washington. The President found he had power, without any statute, to appoint a Board of Arbitration, and the chief demands of labor were granted. Government ownership of those things which are essentially monopolies is probably closer at hand than we think.

The people are yet all powerful. When aroused, relief from trusts will be demanded, and what the American people demand there is no power beneath the skies to refuse them. Bayonets and injunctions can move only by their permission and in enforcement of their will.

Justice Brown, in *Scott v. Donald*, 165 U. S., at p. 106, spoke of the "dangerous inflexibility of the United States Constitution." It is one hundred and twenty-five years old, and ill suited in some respects to the needs of to-day. The people have long since changed its President, elected at third hand by electors chosen by State legislatures, into a President elected by themselves. They will also beyond question change a plutocratic Senate and a life tenure Judiciary into officials chosen by themselves and representing their will. The people are not the creatures of the Constitution but the Constitution is the

creature of their hands. They have changed it and will change it again at their sovereign will.

It was not by accident that the generation of 1776 gave to the world George Washington and Thomas Jefferson—two of the world's greatest men. A great man is but the highest expression of the will and intelligence of the people among whom he lives. If our ancestors had not thought and felt as Washington and Jefferson thought and felt they would not have been put forward and ready at the critical moment to lead the greatest movement of the ages.

Jesus Christ came from a people by whom, and at a time when, he was not understood or appreciated. This is one of the strongest proofs of his divinity, for in all history no other great prophet or leader has, like him, come forth out of any Nazareth, but has always been the condensed and highest expression of his day and generation.

This people and this time are seeking true men and great leaders to express their views. The breed of noble men is not yet exhausted in our country. We yet look with hope to the salvation of our Israel.

Would that some power could roll back the stone from the mouth of the sepulchre and call forth the spirit of the mighty dead whose mortal remains sleep on Vernon's slope. Would that the angel of the resurrection could summon from Monticello's side the people's friend who led our nation's untried feet along the paths of popular government. Among the valleys and mountains, in the land they loved so well and served so faithfully, surely something of the spirit that once was theirs loves still to dwell.

WALTER CLARK.

*Raleigh, N. C.*

## EMERSON, THE MAN.

**I**T is well that our nation should pause amid its tasks of speculation and politics to ponder the significance of the life opening on our world a hundred years ago.

Ralph Waldo Emerson had no predecessor in American literature. Nor, alas! did he leave any lineal heir in the spirit. Nature is niggardly of such as he. One in a century will suffice for a nation, whose best business thereafter will be to garner his fruit and seed down from it a richer growth throughout its varied fields. He arose above our horizon as the light of a new day upon our shores.

So palpably an original, he has compelled the study of all generous seekers of truth among his successors. He dignified our shabby democracy by the entrance he forced into the court circles of literature.

Poet and philosopher—rather let me say poet-philosopher—his place is secure among the immortals. No companion of the average man of the street, whose principal reading is of the tape from the “ticker,” but “the friend of those who would walk in the spirit,” his influence is deep in proportion to the narrow channels through which it runs. He so steeped himself in our national springs of thought and life that, wherever our mental and spiritual forces flow fresh and full to-day, his presence may be felt like a fine flavor, a tonic quality as of the roots of his New England pines.

One cannot but feel an ennobling sense of pride in the thought of such a response to the impatient demand of the old world upon our new land—“Give us something thoroughly American in the sphere of mind, something fresh and free, something original and big! Show melons and prize cattle tell us what your soil can bring forth; but where is that virgin vigor transmuted into mind? Where are your California Sequoias, your Lake Superior, your Mississippi River, your Niagara Falls in the realm of intellect?”

Our dear and venerable mother-land seems to have grown a little daft of late in this feverish expectation of something astonishing from her big boy across the sea, and has gone into raptures over one at least whom few of us acknowledge as the long-awaited original genius of America. The true original American is—Emerson. A force breezy as the gales of New England, but clean and wholesome and full of ozone as the winds from her White Hills and Green Mountains. A mind as large as our big trees and giant rivers, but stately as our Hudson, calm and chaste as our Lake George.

The native qualities of the soil, the crispness of its apples and the juiciness of its peaches, are in him whose apology is:

"One harvest from thy field  
Homeward brought thine oxen strong;  
A second crop thine acres yield,  
Which I gather in a song."

Emerson types America's second crop. Its golden wheat fields and daisy meadows, where the rhodora blooms and the "burly, dozing bumble bee" drones, fruiting into rich, ripe thought; the vigor of a new world fructifying the culture of the old world into a racy type of mind, and a virile form of manhood—such is the American genius as signed to us in Emerson. As I sat in his study shortly before his death, I thought I read the riddle of the writer in the man. There before me was the New England farmer idealized; the strong, straight form, the rugged lines of face which generations of hard and thrifty life had carved in the flesh, lighted up from the imagination which always lay within the prosaic Puritan, sunned in the serenity of the spirit enshrined within that doming brow, the soul of a God-conscious race.

## I.

Emerson was more than a famous writer—he was a teacher of the loftiest life. He was, as needs must be every really great life-inspirer, an incarnation of his message to the spirit. As Carlyle was only imperfectly, Emerson was, with scarce a



flaw, a man worthy of the author. His was a life as finely beautiful, as loftily noble as his writings. The innermost force of his spirit lay in a character. If I am not too far grown out of youth to read aright its secrets, he is the best mentor of young men whom our country has produced—typing in word and deed the manhood for a new world's aspiration.

Genius is apt to impoverish conscience. When the blood flows to the head, the feet do not always walk straight. It is needful to throw the mantle of charity over the private lives of many whose public services we gratefully own. We are thus tempted to think that genius dispenses with conscience, that superior minds are given the freedom of the earth, and thus to dissever in our ideals the professional from the personal life. The genius which feeds the mind of youth too often poisons its heart. Not so was it with our poet-philosopher. His life bears the closest scrutiny. It was a better sermon than any he ever preached. Mr. Higginson might well say, "Beyond almost all literary men on record his life has been worthy of his words." There is no ugly chasm between the Ralph Waldo Emerson of literature and the Mr. Emerson of Lexington Road, Concord.

His face was the revelation of a lofty and gentle soul. He was sincere, like the strained honey of his hives, transparently genuine, as sensitive to the Polar currents of ethical forces as the magnet to the positives of electricity, scrupulously just, unflinchingly brave, strong as one of the old demi-gods; and, withal, gentle as a true woman, and as pure, full of all kindness and courtesy, mellow in sweetness and light as an August peach with the sunshine turned to nectar; the gracious smile upon his face betokening the rippling laughter of the spirit, as of "the eternal child" within him. His was that most exigent of ideals embodied—"A life unspotted from the world."

No higher tribute could be paid to him than the silence of calumny, when it must have longed to bark at his heels. A rare goodness, surely, which through the thick of the heated theological controversies that he kept stirring up continually, laid its spell on those whose fences and hedges he left broken

and ruinous behind him, while he strode serenely on after the stars. Whatever sectarian bitterness has had to say against the teacher, it has, so far as I know, dared lift no snarl against the man. He must be worthy of canonization who, being an arch heresiarch, is owned a saint by orthodoxy. Quaint old Father Taylor said of him, "I have laid my ear close to his heart, and never detected any jar in the machinery. He is more like Jesus than anybody I have ever known."

Though he sat not on your benches or on mine, he had none the less been at school under the "highest, holiest manhood."

This excellence of character is the supreme glory of Emerson, as of every truly great man. Theodore Parker dedicated his famous Ten Sermons on Religion to him, "with admiration for his genius and with kindly affection for what in him is far nobler than genius."

Yes, goodness *is* greater than genius, virtue has more solar force than talent, a soul weighs heavier than brains, the carving of a noble manhood is a finer art than any which the poet or the painter pursues. Conduct is verily "three-fourths of life."

Felix Adler once said to me, as we stood disappointed in a common work of social service: "Let us not forget that a life is better than any work." The truth, which Plato was perhaps the first in the western world to declare, that life is an education, remains still our Ariadne's thread amid the cavernous bewilderments through which we stumble. The graduation of a spirit learned in the lore of conscience, trained and exercised in the moral thews, concludes the epoch of an earth. The building of a man, and not the making of a doctor or a lawyer, a merchant or a priest, is success in life. As Emerson himself wrote: "A cultivated man, wise to know and bold to perform, is the end to which nature works. The education of the will is the flowering and result of all this geology and astronomy."

## II.

If Emerson shows us this, he shows us also how such manhood is to be won. We can study him in the making, the statue

in the workshop growing into heroic form, as well as admire the great man upon his pedestal in humanity's Pantheon.

All plants with which I am acquainted, saving orchids and their kind, have rootings below the surface before they shoot up in gracefulness of leaf and flower and fruit. Emerson was an elect soul. Nature had foreordained him to his high honor of manhood. His spiritual growth began before his birth. He struck the roots of his character through eight generations of cultivated, devout ministers. He was the flower of those earnest generations. Is it not so always, even though we fail to trace the growth behind the hero and the saint? Generations travail, that spiritual men may rejoice in the free motions of a higher nature. The blood must be charged with virtuousness and its living organisms be endowed with the promise and potency of spirituality, before a man shall lead the sacred form of duty into the royal hall of the soul and the will shall crown it king.

Emerson had a real mother, such an one as St. Augustine praised: "Who brought me forth, both in the flesh, that I might be born to this temporal light, and in heart, that I might be born to light eternal." He declared her influence upon his education to have been as great as that of Greece and Rome. An old story this, as old as faithful men and pure women upon the earth. In the homes where a son of God is grown, a holy mother walks.

A happy home proved itself in Emerson, as it has done in the race at large, the church of childhood; on whose altars love is lighted and cherished into pure, bright flame.

How he loved the "brother of the brief but blazing star" we discern from his poem on "E. E." The heart passes from the concrete to the abstract, from individuals to classes and races, to humanity. The Family is the State in miniature; and there are practised the sentiments which make the citizens, the patriot, the philanthropist. Well for him who enters life fortified by memories of a home whose Lares and Penates were love and peace, by whose hearthstone all affections clustered. Its walls may thus loom large and sacred, as in after years rose the walls

of the carpenter's cottage in Nazareth; turning on the far horizon into the mystic lines of the "Father's house" where there are "many mansions."

If Providence did thus much, and more of which I cannot speak, the coöperant will of Emerson did its full share. He rose upon a strong foundation, but he builded strongly. From early childhood his thoughtful mind was bent upon the higher goods of life. "The spiritual looking boy in blue nankeens" was in dead earnest from the start to fashion himself into noble form. He enjoyed the advantages of a real education, and he wasted none of them wherein he divined that there was aught for him. As early as eleven he was trying his hand at verses and translations from Latin and Greek. At fourteen he entered Harvard. He was then, as he always continued, a great reader, fond, even thus early, of the old English poets. The strong moral earnestness of his nature was indicated while in college, by his choice of a topic for a junior essay—"The character of Socrates;" and by the topic for his senior essay—"The present state of ethical philosophy."

Not his the sowing of wild oats which is popularly supposed to prepare the soil for the best grain. When he turned over the sod, he sowed what he wanted to reap. No wasted years, no energies wantoning in evil when they needed to be capitalizing mid-life and old age, no coquetting or dalliance with Folly while Wisdom cried in the streets; but an early seeking of the heavenly Wisdom who is thus surely to be found, and a loyal offering of his virgin nature to the bride divine.

Emerson's choice of the ministry was the carrying out of this unspoken consecration. The pulpit was then the one pre-eminent sphere to which a man of his fine enthusiasms would naturally turn. He sought it as the highest work he saw. He did not remain long in it, yet he never really left it. He gave not up the service of God in giving up the ministry. He carried his ordination into other tasks.

Emerson's early abandonment of the ministry was from the same high earnestness which had drawn him into it. The influence of the mystics, of whom he was always fond, led him

to spiritualize away the institution of the Lord's supper, until the outward observance became unnecessary to him. He could not officiate in a rite evacuated of significance, nor act the mummer's part. He must needs be thoroughly real in all things. On the intimation of his difficulty his congregation, rather than lose him, wished him to place his own construction on the ceremony, and leave them to their interpretations; but even the appearance of dissimulation was abhorrent to him. There were doubtless other and subtler difficulties working below his consciousness. In truth, he was not where he could do his best work. He was too individualistic for any organization. He could only strike his best gait in single harness. He gave up his pastorate, and gradually withdrew from all official ministerial work.

The step could have been no light one. Eight generations of ministerial blood in his veins must have made such an action seem to his sensitive conscience almost disloyalty to God. He was a young man of twenty-nine, with his career before him. In the ministry, that career was already sure of a brilliant success. He was popular, with a growing following. If he turned aside from this congenial sphere, what pathway opened before him? Wherever he turned, he must himself open that new career. Would he succeed? An easy answer for us now, but not, perhaps, so easy for him then, when he was not *Emerson*, the poet-philosopher of world-wide fame, but only the Rev. R. W. Emerson, a young clergyman of fine promise. Yet, rather than trifle with his conscience, this young man laid down his high career, with the sweets of popularity scarce tasted; leaving the cultivated society of Boston and retiring to the quiet country town and the old house at the end of the Lexington road, to open his books, take up his pen and carve a new career.

Whatever we think of the views which led him to this step, the step itself was one which only a brave, strong soul could take, a real heroism in our nineteenth century. It was an act of spiritual renunciation of the world, none the less because the world stood for him, where it stands to so many, in the church.

An action, this, quite equal to Carlyle's courageous abandonment of the London world to go into retreat at Craigenputtoch; but unaccompanied with any cackling over it at the time or in after years. Like that, it rebukes the feverish love of excitement, the morbid hunger for popularity, the itching eagerness to keep before the people which emasculates much public life, and in some way "doth make cowards of us all."

A character to Emerson was even then more than a career; a true life a more valuable asset in the taking of stock than a splendid reputation; "a conscience void of offense towards God and man," a something beyond the most brilliant success; the building of a man, and not the making of a clergyman, the aim of his life. He might have whispered to himself his own later word:

"For he that feeds men serveth few:  
He serves all who dares be true."

What a shaming light such a magnificent appreciation of manhood turns upon the careers wherein, to the blindest eyes, the man has been sacrificed to the successful preacher or merchant or lawyer or college president! What a beacon for youth to steer by, as it sails forth on life's voyage; wherein the course laid down on the chart may depart so widely from that revealed to him whose eyes are on the stars!

This strengthful courage he showed in every crisis of his life. He had more than once to face a mob in uttering his convictions, but he uttered them as calmly as though no peril confronted him. Neither interest nor fear could seduce him from duty. He was one of our first independents. To no sect or school or party would he swear away his freedom, save as it commanded his reason or his conscience. Most men are uncomfortable when not in a crowd, unhappy in a minority. Alike in Church and State, the crying need is for independents—men superior to sectarianism and partizanship.

This superb strengthfulness was the inner core of his high character. It looks out from every line of the head which, in French's truthful bust, faces me as I write, like that of one of the immortals. There can be no noble character without

strengthfulness—a calm, firm, resolute will. High ideals, generous aspirations, may allure the soul upwards towards the sun-crowned crests of being, but he must be strong-sinewed, with the thews and muscles of an iron will, who would climb those dizzy steeps of "Life's supremest heights." A lump of human putty will never shape itself into a hero or a saint. A true man is fashioned only by *force*, though not a force treated of in physics or in chemistries. "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." Goodness is virile. There is a deadly sin not down in the catalogue of the priests—weakness. This kills more men than the meanest vices or the rankest crimes. To one who fails through really turning away from the heavenly wisdom with "I would not," a thousand fail by letting "I dare not wait upon I would." St. Paul rightly sums all counsels of virtue into one word—"Be strong."

Emerson's strength, let me note in passing, denies the notion that commonly links sombreness with strengthfulness, grimness with goodness, so that men think of holiness as being harsh and hard. His strengthfulness mantled itself in the colors of a warm and sunny goodness. His will was that of the Puritan, his sympathies were those of the Greek. This austere saint and sage was the healthy, happy child of Nature. His fathers might have been like their own White Hills, strong as stone and as severe and sombre. He was like their Green Mountains, wherein New England softens toward a milder clime, and clothes her savage hills with tender grasses, lovely flowers, and the rich, dark hue of the pines, whose song was in his soul. Over his masterful face played the soft, sweet smile so characteristic of him; in which all gentlest, kindest, happiest feelings seemed ever caressing life. The secret of that smile was read by Spencer on the face of Hope, who "always smiled."

He inspired love even more than admiration. To stand in his presence was to receive an unspoken benediction.

He was as full of stored light and warmth as a chunk of cannel coal, and, like it, needed only a touch to irradiate those around him with his "vital forces of delight." That which he

wrote in the introductory article of the "Dial," in 1840, describes his own life: "We wish that it may resemble that instrument in its celebrated happiness, that of measuring no hours but those of sunshine." There were shadows in his life, deep and dark; but, to him who faced the light within so resolutely, no clouds could long shut out the sunshine. To read him is to feel the warm, rich light playing about life; is to have the sense of eternal Spring waken within the soul. He was "sober on a fund of joy."

Joyousness is the natural issue of strong vitality. There is a spiritual health as well as a physical health. In each case, its secret is obedience to the laws stamped on the nature, whether of body or of soul. He who habitually does the *right*, finds the *pleasant* all men crave. Wisdom's ways are "ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." Happiness waits in the train of duty. Nay, when august Duty, so stern to him who shrinks back, reluctant to tread her arduous path, turns her face upon the soul loyally following her, it is the face of Joy!

"Stern lawgiver! yet thou dost wear  
The Godhead's most benignant grace;  
Nor know we anything so fair  
As is the smile upon thy face.  
Flowers laugh before thee on their beds,  
And fragrance in thy footing treads."

### III.

This strengthful laying out of a life for the building up of a man showed itself in all the plans and methods of the new career into which he turned.

He chose his home in his ancestral village, not alone, I am sure, from natural sentiment, but from the instinct, of which there are not lacking signs, that there the best surroundings were to be had for his character and thus for his work. Through well nigh fifty years he lived amid the potent influences of the community in which successive generations of his ancestors had linked the name he bore with the traditions of the town. How should he dare to act unworthily of the noble



men and women who had walked those streets before him? How should he do an act which should cause his neighbors to turn their heads as he passed by, sighing to think that his venerable forbears, through the generations up to old Peter Bulkeley, "The Great Pray," as the Indians called him, who founded the town in 1635, were shamed in their descendant? Alas! for those of us who, torn from our ancestral rootings, in this restless age, are blown to strange scenes, live amid no hallowing associations, guarded by no restraining memories, the children of nobody in a city of everybody!

The suction of the great centers resistlessly draws young men and women who have their lives to make within these fateful maelstroms, where each one is only a drop jostling other drops. Whatever these drawings, may I, under the shadow of this strong example, counsel any young men and maidens who hear me to hold out against them while they can. Try your chances in a smaller place. Those chances, even for a career, are really better almost anywhere than in our great centers, if you have to go there as strangers. What force is in you will tell in the start better in a small town than in a huge city, and when it has told it will be time to go east.

For the building of a man, the city's promise is illusive. The *Spectator* rightly pointed out, some time since, as suggested by the story of Darwin and Emerson, that the best work in most lines of study is being done away from the leading cities. Stimulus is found therein to abundance, but not such as furthers solid growth of mental tissue; while its distractions dissipate the mind. A life in a metropolis dispels much of the glamour around its successful men. The century's best growth is going on outside these overgrown barracks, where life is no longer natural and healthy. Talent is democratic. It believes in decentralization.

Emerson's home life in Concord had another feature not seemingly of great importance, which yet counted in the building of his manhood—its simplicity. In this age of æsthetics, we are at a loss when we find culture unsurrounded with bric-a-brac, and goodness unfed by daily sight of dadoes. We hang

our walls with rich stuffs, pile up our tables with uglinesses which it is the fashion to call beautiful, turn our rooms into museums of curiosities, and fancy ourselves the happy owners of so much "culture." We think to refine ourselves by rich surroundings, and succeed in weighing down our souls with the cares of this life, which choke the good seed within us, if we do not sink into effeminacy and corruption.

Luxury has always eaten out the finer, stronger qualities of a people, while seeming to dignify and enrich life. This is the story of every great civilization of the past. When the home turns into a palace, there soon follows that which Taine describes in decadent Venice: "A palace is a museum, a family memorial, a resting place for the night—in truth there is no longer any family life."

This is one, at least, of the real meanings of the New Testament cautions against "worldliness." "Plain living and high thinking" is not an irrelevant conjunction. The square white house of Emerson, with its simply furnished rooms, rises like a symbol of that "plain living" which he instinctively felt to be linked with his "high thinking." He was content for fifty years with this simplicity, with the quiet pleasures which his family, his neighbors, his garden, and his roadside walks yielded; while we smaller creatures rush across the sea to find in Europe the zest which has evaporated from America.

He enshrined his oracle within the divine domesticities—"a pure religion breathing household laws." He met Ægeria in the orchard or the meadow or by the shore of Walden Pond. Carlyle, ambling along on the good cob which his own hands had groomed; Wordsworth, leaving London for a cottage among the Westmoreland lakes, by whose shores he rambled, looking like a kindly farmer; Darwin, hunting slugs along the Sussex lanes, nodding, as he strolled, in a neighborly way, to peasants and to children; Emerson walking in his fields singing:

"If I could put my words in song  
And tell what's there enjoyed.  
All men would to my gardens throng.  
And leave the cities void:"

Have these lives no voices to us concerning the secret of high and noble life which is forever sacred in the story of a Jewish carpenter's son?

Emerson's life in nature was one of the springs of his sunny strength. He was true to his best instincts in shunning the city. His praises of nature were no tricks of the trade of letters. He loved the fields and the woods. The description of "The Solitary" in "Wood Notes," while meant, perhaps, for Thoreau, is an unconscious portraiture of himself. He had by faithful friendship ingratiated himself with Mother Nature, until she opened her lips, mute to most of us, let him into her secrets, and he heard the whisperings of the pine trees and caught the musings of Monadnock. He fed his soul from the subtle influences of health which streamed in upon him from this mysterious life around us.

"Pure, vigorous nature," sighed the dying Froebel, as he had his arm chair drawn up to an open window, that the light of the setting sun might lie upon him and the warm, sweet air might fan his cheeks. Nature was to Emerson, as to Froebel, purity and vigor. He uses words advisedly when he speaks of "virtuous May;" when he writes—

"None can tell how sweet,  
How virtuous the morning air."

He had learned that—

"Whoso walketh in solitude  
And inhaleth the wood,  
Choosing light, wave, rock and bird  
Before the money-loving herd,  
Into that forester shall pass,  
From these companions, power and grace:  
Clean shall he be without, within,  
From the old adhering sin.  
Him Nature giveth for defense  
Her formidable innocence."

In "God's First Temple" he drew the inspirations which lifted him above the common temptations, and breathed him out large-statured, with ennobling aspirations. This was because to him, as he tells us, "Nature is the incarnation of a thought, and turns to a thought again, as ice becomes water

and gas. The world is mind precipitated, and the volatile essence is forever escaping again into the state of free thought. Hence, the virtue and pungency of the influence on the mind of natural objects." This was no mere idiosyncrasy of Emerson.

Wordsworth reads us the same lesson in his quiet home by Grassmere, where he found that nature—

"Can inform  
The mind that is within us, can impress  
With quietness and beauty, and so feed  
With lofty thoughts."

It was a leaf from his own lessons in the culture of character which he gives, in saying:

"One impulse from a vernal wood  
May teach you more of man,  
Of moral evil and of good  
Than all the sages can."

Nor is this experience the monopoly of genius. It is the privilege of every thoughtful man and woman, who is content to do without the garish glitter of the great world's pomps, until he has grown to love the milder joys of simple life, where the skies are hung with paintings from the oldest of masters, and in the grove at morn and eve the birds sing freely his daily opera. The normal habitat of man is the country, or the towns such as the immortal cities of Greece or Italy, where the vistas down the streets had a background of green hills or white-browed mountains.

In the profound myth of the Hebrews, the Lord God took the man and put him into the Garden of Eden, "To dress it and keep it." The devil would have planted a city of several million, and have put him there, where exhales the worst of miasmas, and where physical filth engenders moral corruption.

There is always a something abnormal in a life dis severed from the Eden surroundings. It misses more than it suspects. Is not this the meaning of the story of Jesus? God sent the beloved son not to Jerusalem, but to Nazareth. Would he have grown to be "the highest, holiest manhood" if his life had been always exposed to the feverish heat of those last months in

the capital? Thirty years amid the hills of Galilee went to the building of that Man Divine.

#### IV.

But from these outer surroundings let us turn for a moment to that which must always lie within circumstance, if high character is to be won. Environment can but help a man to make himself. Circumstance—the things standing round one—will crystallize into character only upon a core of conscience. What could his sweet simplicities, his divine domesticities, his home in nature have done for Emerson if he had been full of inward unrest, of vacillating ideals, of weak disloyalties to the power throned within?

The masterful purpose which shaped his plans in youth towards the building of a man, held firm through life, and moulded every circumstance on that insistent plan. His goodness was not as the morning dew—his enthusiasms evaporated not with youth. The fires of his soul were never banked. He was true at eve to the voice heard in youth. He could sing in age with Schiller: "Dreams of my youth; I love you still." As he began, he continued to the end, shaping his being after the pattern shown him on the Mount. From childhood up to his beautiful old age, his path was the even course of the ascendant sun. He did not realize his ideals, doubtless, or they would have ceased to be ideals; but he was ever loyal to them. He never overtook those mystic "forerunners" that had caught his eyes and beckoned him after them, but he followed them unhalting through his more than three score years and ten. The roots of his strong, serene life ran back and down into The Indwelling Life. The laws of life which he had learned at his mother's knee, which he had heard whispered by his good foster-mother Nature, he shrined within his soul, like the law of Moses lying in the sacred ark of the Hebrews; and daily he retired within the holy place to hearken to the oracle. To him belonged that great word of George Eliot—"The deepest hunger of the heart is faithfulness."

As I think of him, he seems to stand like Socrates, with his eye turned upwards to The Laws—the rulers of heaven above as of earth beneath; his ear turned forward to catch their lightest whisper. “Over all belief” to him was “faithfulness,” His crest bore the motto, not of the successful clergyman or statesman or other professional bit of a man, “policy,” but of the successful *man*—“principle.” Policy might have moved him along a little—principle floated him up into the empyrean. He linked himself with the eternal forces. He obeyed the counsel of that most characteristic of his sayings—“hitch your wagon to a star.” He never ran his wagon by any feeblener motor. Thus he swung into the orbits of the skies. In the voyage of life he trusted himself fearlessly to the gulf stream of tendency which sets forever towards the *right*; and, as he floated beyond our vision, his voice came chanting back to us the solemn song—“He that doeth the will of God abideth forever.”

For these eternal forces on which he threw himself were to him none other than forms of the one infinite and eternal energy, the will of God. And thus we touch the deepest spring of that lofty rectitude, that stainless honor, that innocence as of a child within the genius—the source of all noblest character.

True, his thought of God may not have been your thought or my thought. The consciousness of God is not limited by any thought about him. Our thoughts are but the shadows which the ineffable presence casts upon the mind, conditioned by the mirroring surface; always an imperfect transcript of the august reality. Let us not insist on thrusting our tin-type plates into the ivory-type camera.

True, his thought of God seems often vague; but I am not aware that the lenses have been fashioned which resolve satisfactorily the nebula which attests the reality of a central source of light while it mocks our straining vision. “Who can by searching find out God?” The reality of infinite power and wisdom and goodness, before which all right minded men bow in humblest awe, may seem to us at one time a power above nature, and at another a power within nature; now a power

personal, and again a power transcending our poor thought of personality. This is the necessary mystery of the infinite. The poet and the philosopher may have many things to say of God which fit not in our little schemes. Upon the whole, let the dwarfs give up measuring the giants with their Lilliputian tapes, and leave such tasks to the angel with the golden metewand.

The man Emerson fed his soul from the *reality known*, though known to be beyond all knowledge; felt, though not defined; the presence intuitively recognized by reason and immediately communed with, while the lame footed understanding is limping up in search of God. He was one of those whom he describes in *The Dial*: "Who live by a faith too earnest and profound to suffer them to doubt the eternity of its object, or to shake themselves free from its authority."

Mr. Alcott tells us of a visit which he paid Emerson in 1866, when he found him "remarkably given to the highest expression of the religious spirit. In the morning he read from the Bible, in the simplest and most impressive manner, making the words he read natural with life; and he made a prayer as if he were communing face to face with God, in a spirit as trustful as a child's. In like manner, his 'blessing' at the table was utterly void of all cant, was not in the least artificial, but the expression of a sincerely thankful heart, full of reverence and faith in the constant presence of the wondrous miracle of life." I confess that, as a student of this mystic teacher, I found myself strangely driven in upon the realities of the man's genuine piety, by the simple hymn of quaint old Dr. Watts, which, as a favorite with Emerson, was read over his still form in Concord church:

"Lord, when I quit this earthly stage,  
Where shall I fly but to thy breast?  
For I have sought no other home,  
For I have found no other rest.

I cannot live contented here  
Without some glimpses of Thy face,  
And Heaven without Thy presence there  
Would be a dark and lonesome place.

My God, and can an humble child  
That loves Thee with a flame so high,  
Be ever from Thy face exiled,  
Without the pity of Thine eye?

Impossible—for 'thine own hands  
Have tied my heart so fast to Thee;  
And in Thy Book the promise stands  
That where Thou art Thy friends must be."

What a legacy to our country is such a life, such a genius! How divinely beautiful a being thus poised in strengthful self-control, crystallizing the rich elements drawn from a noble ancestry and from wisely ordered surroundings on a beading purpose of highest moral aim.

As one of the unfallen sons of the morning this child who went not out from the Father's house almost discourages us, poor prodigals, who find it so hard to win back to the spiritual homestead and become once more at home in heaven. But even our common and ignoble existences, of mean and petty conflicts and purposeless driftings, are lifted by the story of such a life in the flesh to the heights where we hear echoing down the ages the great word about men having power given them "to become the sons of God." The same consecration to the power that wrought in him can make us, too, the children of light. You and I can achieve the building of a man—"the end to which all nature works."

"So nigh is grandeur to our dust  
So close is God to man,  
When duty whispers low, 'Thou must,'  
The youth replies—'I can.'"

R. HEBER NEWTON.

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## MOB RULE.

**A**TENDENCY upon the part of individuals to disregard the established institutions for the administration of justice and to constitute themselves complaining witness, judge, jury, and executioner has recently become painfully manifest in various quarters of the globe. Among the anti-Semites in Russia, the army in Servia, the strikers in Holland, France, and the United States as well as among the lynchers and feudists, we find unmistakable symptoms of the same dangerous malady—a lack of respect for law. As this is not by any means a mere skin disease but one which attacks the social organization in its most vital part, it is certainly worthy of careful study.

Whether we consider it from the standpoint of the individual or from that of the welfare of the social body, one of the most valuable achievements of civilization consists in the safeguards which it throws about human life. As a result of centuries of experience it has evolved an elaborate system of institutions, the purposes of which are the protection and enlargement of the lives of its members. Its development of the means of transportation tends to protect life against the pitiless ravages of famine; its discoveries in sanitary science decrease the suffering and fatalities due to pestilence and disease; its inventions and organizations offer some degree of protection against lightning and fire; its armies and navies interpose a barrier against the destructive march of the invader, and its police and courts of justice furnish to the individual a protection against attacks by his fellows.

Time was when all of these functions were performed, if performed at all, by the individual. But gradually it has come to be recognized that in all of them the State has some useful function to perform, so that they are now performed in whole or in part either under its direction or through its own agents. This delegation of power has not, as a rule, been made in ac-

cordance with any abstract theory as to the sphere of State activity, but rather because, as a result of experience, it became evident that they could be more advantageously performed by it than by the individual. While the duty to refrain from committing crime still rests upon the individual, its prevention and punishment has been almost entirely transferred to the State, and it is with a consideration of this matter that the present discussion is immediately concerned.

In the Kishineff massacre we find a most dangerous usurpation of power upon the part of the mob and we find also a most cowardly acquiescence, if not actual participation, upon the part of the State. The protection of the Russian Jew was unquestionably a duty of the Russian government. Recreancy to this duty was a most lamentable breach of trust. If said Jews were guilty of crime it was the duty of the State to have punished them. But if, as seems to be the case, their offense consisted, not in acts but in creed and race, it was the sacred duty of the State to have, in so far as possible, protected them and punished their murderers. The weakest and humblest of its citizens, if law-abiding, are the most worthy of having the protecting arm of the State thrown about them, for the strong have less need of protection. It is not astonishing that protests against such imbecility and encouragement of a reversion to savagery do not make pleasant reading for a strong government.

In the Servian tragedy the lawlessness manifested itself in a somewhat different form. Here the agents of the State converted themselves into a mob for the purpose of committing a savage and brutal act. Granted that their rulers had forfeited their right to rule, the law-abiding citizens of Servia and of the rest of the world had not forfeited their right to expect that civilized methods of procedure be followed in disposing of de facto rulers. While not denying to a people the right of revolution, I do insist that the methods of the Pretorian Guard are dangerous, inhuman, and inexpedient. Such methods are not well-calculated to enhance or preserve the liberties of a people.

But to come to the phase of the question with which we, as

a nation, are most intimately concerned, to wit: strike-riots and lynchings, for neither of which is there any reasonable justification. Both are alike in that they involve a defiance of the law, yet it may perchance tend toward clearness to discuss them separately, as they are organized for the attaining of different ends.

A strike has for its controlling purpose the betterment of the economic condition of the strikers. With this general purpose, public opinion is usually in sympathy, and so long as peaceful, rational means alone are resorted to or countenanced by the strikers this sympathy continues with them and is among their chief reliances for success. So that as a matter of self-interest strikers cannot afford to disregard public opinion. Not only does the success of the strike depend upon a wholesome respect for public opinion being shown by the strikers, but there is a larger consideration which should impel them to refrain from resorting or countenancing a resort to violence. As members of the community it is decidedly to their interest that life and property be safe within that community, but in proportion as they indulge in or encourage the use of violent methods as a substitute for law they endanger the safety of their own lives and the lives of their families.

I am not now arguing against labor unions. Undoubtedly a man has a right to sell his labor to the best advantage, and in order to better accomplish this end he has a right to unite with his fellows. But this confers upon him no right to commit or encourage the commission of acts which demoralize the community. Participation in a riot involves a greater or less sacrifice of manhood, and an increase of wages if secured at such a sacrifice is purchased at too high a price.

The transition from strike-riots to lynchings is an easy one, for there is in both the same contempt for the peace and welfare of the social body. But of the two the latter is far less justifiable; for while the former not infrequently results in the destruction of human life, that is not its main purpose as in the case of the latter. To speak plainly, lynching is homicide of a wilful, premeditated sort—it is murder. The fact that

several participate in it does not change the character of the act; nor does the specious plea that it is done for the purpose of furthering the cause of justice. The truth is that it is to gratify a desire for revenge—a remnant of savagery.

Were lynching necessary in order to protect the life of society it would then be justifiable, for the community as well as the individual has the right of self-defense. But experience has amply demonstrated that it is neither necessary nor effective as a means for protecting society, but, on the contrary, it causes an increase in crime. Nor could we reasonably expect it to be otherwise, for it has a brutalizing effect upon the members of the mob in particular and upon the community in general. It cheapens human life, and whatever lessens that feeling of sanctity for human life, which is characteristic of the civilized man, renders your life and mine less secure. This is a psychological fact which should not be overlooked.

The lynchers excuse themselves, and a great many well-meaning people are wont to excuse them upon the ground that "hanging was none too good for him," that "the brute deserved all the punishment he got," etc. Grant all this and the main consideration has not been touched. We have not merely the claims of the criminal to consider, but those of the community as well, and viewed from the standpoint of the community every consideration of morality and expediency demands that the criminal shall be disposed of in a way least brutalizing to its members and least subversive of its peace and good order. The view which considers simply the criminal is altogether too narrow. Yet even the criminal has a right to be treated in accordance with law.

It is useless to endeavor to justify lynching upon the ground that it prevents miscarriages of justice, for where it prevents one it causes a hundred. In our saner moments we must admit that the administration of justice is much safer in the hands of the courts than in the hands of a mob; for in the minds of the latter, judgment has been dethroned and passion holds sway.

But what of the remedy? This is to be sought in two di-

rections: a more healthy and vigorous disapproval by public opinion and a more thoroughgoing administration of justice through the regularly established channels. No form of lawlessness and anarchy should be winked at by the orderly members of a community, but should be condemned in no uncertain tone. Infractions of the law by a large number of persons should be branded with as much ignominy as if by a single individual—nay, even more, because they are more dangerous. If under existing laws they cannot be punished, there should be no unnecessary delay in revising the laws. To convict a few lynchers as murderers and punish them accordingly would exert a very wholesome influence upon those in whom the respect for law has become intermittent. The vast majority of us love order, security, and justice, and it would be weak and cowardly to let the lawless minority deprive us of these choicest fruits of the tree of civilization.

EDWIN MAXEY.

*Washington, D. C.*

## NATIONAL CURRENCY OR BANK CURRENCY?

NATIONAL currency or bank currency—the people of the United States must elect almost at once which, for they cannot have a gold currency or a gold and silver currency. The supply of gold is too limited; the supply of silver and gold is inadequate. President Roosevelt, the sub-committee of the Senate Finance Committee, and many others prominent in business and politics—republicans and democrats—admit that the question is of prime importance when they declare that we must immediately have an “elastic currency” to meet periodic stringent money markets, to prevent fall in prices of commodities and securities, to stay financial panics—in a word, to make possible the continuance of general prosperity; and all urge Congress to give power to the national banks to issue notes at pleasure. They call their proposed notes “emergency currency,” and they offer all kinds of suggestions to protect them. Some would secure them by a deposit of United States bonds with the comptroller of the currency—the notes to be issued to par of bonds or to an amount equal to market price of said bonds; some by a like deposit of State, municipal, or railroad bonds; some by deposits of bills receivable held by the banks; some by a general tax upon all banks, a kind of insurance tax; and some would have these notes issued upon the general credit of the bank after the fashion of the good old-fashioned wild-cat bank notes.

But all propose to put into the hands of bank officers power to increase and diminish the currency of the country; to put into the hands of the men who loan money and credit the power to put up and to put down prices, to make men rich and poor. All propose to fasten upon the country a bank oligarchy, and to make of the money-changers a privileged class. All set aside, almost with ridicule, the declarations of those economists who affirm that there can be “scientific money,” money that will maintain stability of prices and so be an honest money—so be

an honest measure of values. They call national money fiat money; but it is a fact that all who oppose national money are out of sympathy with the people. They belong to the "House-of-Have," not to the "House-of-Want." They prefer to grow fat by living upon others who produce wealth, rather than to work themselves for the production of wealth. They almost deny the fact that money is the instrument of association.

What is money? How is our money now issued? How should our money be issued? These three questions our people should study, understand and answer for themselves. They are simple, and they should not be left to the bankers, who grow rich from use by the people of a banker's currency.

Money is the instrument of association, and association brings civilization. The government now issues money to those who work for gold, dig it out of the bowels of the earth, wash it out of the river sands; or to those who hire others to dig and wash for them, they having become under law, by the accident of discovery, by purchase, or otherwise, possessors of gold-bearing rocks and sands. To those who thus get gold, or buy it or get it by trade and take it to the mint, the government issues money. It puts its stamp upon such gold, and that stamp makes it money. So does our government now issue money. It issues it to those who work for gold. Once it also issued money to those who worked for silver—issued it first in like manner, later by purchase of silver. But it does not so issue now. It issues money only to those who work for gold, and to those who organize banks under the national bank law, buy bonds of the United States, and deposit such bonds with the government. Under our monetary laws these are the privileged ones to whom the government issues money—to the possessors of gold and to national banks that are the possessors of United States bonds.

In Civil War time the government did something more than this. Money was then issued not alone to those who worked for gold and silver for their own profit; it was issued to those who worked for the government, gave their services to the

government. Thus the government issued the demand notes and the greenback currency.

And how would advocates of national paper currency issue it to-day? To those who work for gold for themselves? To those who own national banks? No! To those who work for the government for the creation of public works of value. And this money we would have irredeemable in gold, certainly, but not irredeemable. We would have it redeemable in taxes imposed by the national government, and in the net earnings of the public works for the creation of which it was issued. This redemption would prevent its becoming redundant. Out of such earnings of public works we would have it retired, thus making place for the issue of more currency of the same kind for the creation of other public works. Thus we would have a perpetual cycle of issue and redemption, and have works of public utility—new railway and telegraph lines, for example, irrigation works, etc., paid for out of earnings that now go to pay interest on capital.

There is better foundation in government ethics for the issue of such a currency than there is for the issue of a gold currency. There can be no question but that the issue of money by the government to those who work for the government—give their labor to the government—would be more in accord with the rules of ethics than is the issue of money by the government to those who work for gold and for themselves.

A dollar bill is not a thing of value in itself, no more than is an entry made on the pass-book in which is kept the running account of a farmer with a crossroads store. The entry made in such a book is a record of value given and taken, and a record binding only on the parties to the transaction; and so, too, is the dollar bill a record of value given and taken, but a record binding on all persons in the community, as certified to by the government, and a record put in such form that it may readily be passed from hand to hand. And in essence gold coin is just the same thing. It is a record of value given and taken stamped upon a most expensive material; and the possessor of such coin values it not for itself, any more than does the possessor of the



dollar bill value it for the paper of which it is made, but because it is a check that will be honored by all men, redeemed by all tradesmen in their wares. The dollar, whether stamped on coin or paper, is in effect a check which certifies that the possessor has rendered some service, given something of value to the community, and is entitled to equal value from the community in return. Hired by a farmer, you labor at some task on the farm, help in making that which has value; and given dollar bills in settlement for your toil, what do you get? Bills that certify that you have rendered service of certain value, bills that not only the farmer will take for the product that you help him to make, but that all persons will take for their products, and that will, therefore, enable you to get such things from the community as you want, to a value equal to the value of the service you have rendered.

So it is that money by its nature is not a thing of value, but a representative of value; that coins and bills are mere counters, of no value in themselves, but that are of value because we can exchange them for things of value.

Now, as a dollar bill is a record of value given and taken, it is of inestimable importance that it should be an honest record; for if such record change, loss will be inflicted on someone. I have said that possession of a dollar bill will enable him who has earned it to command from the community, at such times and in such quantities as may suit his convenience, things of equal value to the value of services he has rendered. But if such bill change in value while he has it in his possession he may not be able to command as great value when he parts with it as he gave for it. Or, again, he may be able to command a greater value; and in either case there will of necessity be a disarrangement of equities that will cause unsettlement of business and work injury. An appreciation of the dollar will cause a shrinkage of general value such as cannot but paralyze trade and industry, for such shrinkage must rob the profits of all producers and tend to reduce debtors to insolvency, for with shrinkage in values there is no shrinkage in debts.

On the other hand, a cheapening of the dollar such as will

cause an inflation of general values, inevitably distracts men's attention from their legitimate pursuits by dazzling them with a show of the speculative gains, and leads on to an era of wild speculative inflation that must end in collapse such as cannot fail to give a paralytic shock to the whole industrial fabric.

For ever let it be borne in mind that there is only one way for a people to gain wealth, and that is to produce it by honest toil. They cannot gain wealth by despoiling one another or even by despoiling other peoples; and those things which conduce to honest toil are honest measures by which the fruits of toil are distributed. Therefore the importance of honest measures.

Now, we have seen how our money is now issued. I have stated my belief that it is issued upon a principle that has no warrant in political ethics; that instead of being issued to those who work for gold for their own profit, it ought to be issued to those who work for the government. For it is only right that the government should issue its money to those who give it value in return. To single out the producers of gold above all others, issue to them money for such of their product as they may deposit at the mint, and deny a like privilege to the producers of all other products, thus according to the holders of gold an exclusive privilege, seems wrong. And not only is it wrong in principle, but it is grievous in result; for our money issued in this way is not under the regulation of the government. The issue is wholly subject to the production of gold. Much gold produced, and much money will be issued; little gold, and little money. And while this is so it is too much to expect that we should have an honest measure of values, for the production of gold varies much. No one commodity is of unchangeable value or purchasing power, and gold is no exception to the rule.

The issue of money being dependent on the production of gold, and that production shrinking, as it often does, the issue of money must shrink. And if we cut down the supply of anything, its value will, the demand remaining the same, go up. As for the demand for money, it never does remain the same.

In a state of industrial growth—and we should so manage that such a state would be a constant one—it must constantly increase. If we do not meet such increasing demand with a constant increase in the supply of money, we must then have a rise in the value of money and a shrinkage in the value of things generally, and such a shrinkage will promptly put a brake on industrial growth.

Now do we want to have such a brake upon our industrial growth intermittingly? Surely we do not; and as we do not want to see such a brake applied we must see that the issue of money is so regulated that the supply will keep pace with the demand. While we only issue money to all those who deposit gold at the government mints this can never be, for such issue puts the regulation of the same beyond the reach of government and leaves it entirely dependent on the offerings of gold for coinage by the individuals and corporations—offerings largely dependent, in turn, upon the production of gold.

The issue of money to those who might bring silver as well as to those who bring gold would be an improvement in degree only. It would not bring the issue of money under the regulation of the government. It would leave that regulation primarily to accident, as now.

Nor is the issue of money to those national banks which deposit government bonds as security for the redemption of such notes going to materially change the status, so long as redemption of all such money is required in gold. And if such redemption were not required, or such requirement disobserved by the banks, we would have the regulation of money put further than ever beyond the reach of the government. We would have the banks, which would be interested to cause, now a fall in money, now a rise, in control of the issue; and in such a case it would be natural to have a dollar of most changeable value.

It is, indeed, supposable, but hardly probable, that the banks would not act under the dictation of the speculative cliques; that their managements would be superior to such influences; that consequently the banks would be managed solely with a view to the profit of their stockholders; that, therefore, they

would increase their issues of currency as interest rates rose, and decrease their issues as interest rates fell. This, we are told, would result in automatically regulating the issue of currency in response to the demands of trade. But we have seen interest rates rule their lowest when the country was suffering from a money famine and prices were shrinking disastrously. At such times we have seen the banks offering loans to the restricted class of borrowers to whom they cared to loan at all, at almost nominal rates of interest.

Again, we have seen interest rates rise just as the money famine has lifted and as the supply of money has increased. This cannot be put down to accident. In this we can see the working of a natural law; for as prices fall the profits of those engaged in industrial undertakings are sapped, and men grow more and more disposed to question their solvency. Hence, the banks grow suspicious of such borrowers, and hesitate more and more to respond to their requests for loans. Consequently such borrowers find it almost impossible to effect loans at any rate of interest. But at the same time and because of such very refusals to make loans to those engaged in industrial pursuits, money accumulates in the banks, especially in the financial centers, and we have congestion. Then, while shunning loans to producers of wealth, the banks seek to put out their funds on stock exchange securities. Competition in the placing of such loans results, and interest rates fall down, down, down. After a while there comes an inflow of money from some quarter, a turn upwards in the trend of commodity prices, a returning readiness of loaners of money to put their money at the risk of industrial undertakings, a drawing away of money from the financial centers, a rising of interest rates.

So it is that interest rates would make a false guide upon which to regulate the issue of money. The price level of commodities, showing the purchasing power, and, therefore, the real value of money, offers the one true guide.

The question, then comes to this: How are we to avail ourselves of this true guide? If the government, taking the issue of currency into its own hands, strove to regulate the issue as

interest rates rose or fell, it would encounter the interest law to which I have referred above. It would find in interest rates a false guide. Besides, I do not want to see the government playing the part of usurer in the issue of money. The whole idea of a government charging interest, usury, for its own promises to receive, for money it issues receivable for taxes and so redeemable, for money redeemable in postal services or in service rendered by other public works that the government may undertake, is repugnant.

And if money be redeemable in services of governmental works, and retired out of net earnings, why should it not be issued in payment for such works? What more natural than that it should? In what more natural way can it be issued? Let it be so issued and redeemed, and we would have a perpetual cycle of issue and redemption.

But how may we so issue it as to regard the true guide that we must follow to establish an honest measure of values? It has been said by some that we have but to hire on public works at a fixed rate all the men who may care to work. If we did, we would have a unit of values based on labor; we would have the rate of wages rather rigidly fixed. For if under such a system there came industrial depression, with the resulting throwing of men out of work, an increasing number of men would seek work on the public works, and as a result the issue of money would be increased. This would make an increased demand for products of all kinds, give an upward impetus to prices, and this a stimulation to industrial activity. Then would come more demand for labor. A slight advance in wages would serve to draw men away from the public works, decrease the issue of money, prevent a further rise in prices, and cause a retrogression until the general rate of wages had fallen back to that fixed by the government. Thus it is very evident that there would be no great margin within which wages could fall below or rise above the rate offered by government to all who might apply.

But, wages thus fixed, a day's labor made the unit of value, what would inevitably follow with the progress of industrial

evolution, the introduction of improved machinery, and the consequent increase in the product of the day's labor? Evidently the laborer could not share in such increased production through an advance in his nominal wages proportionate to the increase of his productiveness. From the possibility of such rise he would be cut off. He could only share in the increased productiveness of his labor through a fall in prices, and so an increased purchasing power of his wages. And though there came a fall in prices of equal proportion to the increase in the productiveness of labor, he would not get his full share of such increased productiveness. He would be cut off from this; for, with a fall in prices, the share of the product taken by the fund-holding classes, by those owning debts and drawing fixed sums of interest, must be increased. To a share in the increased productiveness of labor they would not be, of right, entitled, but under such a system as described above they would get a share; and getting a share, the share of the producers would of necessity fall below what it ought. Therefore, in justice, we must see that an increase in the productiveness of labor will be followed by an advance in the rate of wages, not by a general fall in prices; for if there came such a fall, the burdens resting on the backs of producers would not be lightened as they increased the productiveness of their labor.

Hence, what we have to do is to so increase the issue of money as to keep the general level of prices from falling. And how can this be done? By increasing the rate of wages offered on the public works whenever the general level of prices shows a falling tendency. Such increase in wages offered would, of course, tend to draw more men to the public works as well as to increase the weekly disbursements, and, consequently, the issue of new money, to those already employed. Such increased issue of currency would, of course, make broadened demands for many products, and serve to keep prices from falling. Thus a stability of prices could be maintained; thus an honest measure of values be given; thus honest industry be encouraged, and speculation discouraged.

As the foundation step to the accomplishment of this end, we

have but to learn this simple rule, so stamped with common sense, so evidently true that we may put it down as an axiom of good government: that money should be issued by the government, not to those who dig for gold, or to those who own national banks, but to those who dig for the government, to those who build public works of all kinds—railroads, canals, telegraph lines, etc.

When the question is understood, the verdict of the country must be for national currency against bank currency.

WHARTON BARKER.

*Philadelphia, Pa.*

## SHOULD THE PEOPLE OR THE CORPORATIONS LIGHT OUR CITIES?

### I.

**T**HE supplying of light from central stations by distributing conductors radiating over the territory supplied, is a public service that involves the use of public property and requires the exercise of public functions.

The community itself may perform this communal service or give to a private company the right to do so, clothing it with certain special and exclusive privileges and the necessary authority to exercise them. In other words, grant to a private corporation use of public property and the authority to exploit the public for private profit.

Electric lighting from central stations is now clearly recognized by the general public as a monopolistic industry not subject to the laws of competition. We hear no more about its abuses being righted in time by competition. Everywhere and always, pretended competition results in combination and increased charges for the service much greater than the naturally increased cost of same that results from duplication of plants and lines.

Neither do we now hear from intelligent opponents of municipal ownership the query once so common, Why not have municipal butcher shops, or municipal groceries? The butcher or grocer does not require special privileges, and has none. Monopolies would be equally as objectionable in those lines. Extortion, incivility, or incapacity in such competitive businesses meet swift and certain punishment, while good will and gain is dependent upon ability, industry, and fair dealing.

The burden of proof is upon those who insist that public property shall be used by a privileged few for private profit. Naturally, public property should be used for public purposes and be controlled by the people through officials accountable to them for their public acts.



## II.

The building up of a privileged class by alienating community rights, concentrating such rights into the hands of a few, is un-American. It is a revival of similar practises that for a time prevailed in the Colonial days, until condemned along with involuntary servitude, public lotteries, and other public evils imposed upon the struggling colonists by Charles II and his profligate favorites, in their effort to replace the growing democracy with an aristocratic system. It was "A sort of Renaissance of Feudalism," as the Rev. Edward Everett Hale expresses it.

The reactionary movement was stoutly resisted, franchises of every kind carefully guarded, communal interests sacredly treasured, and public utilities operated for public profit, the exceptions being few and usually taken back after a brief experience with a private corporation.

Thus over a century had elapsed, when New York City granted the then political boss, Aaron Burr, a franchise for supplying water. Finally in 1811 steam as a motive power came into use in transportation, and the beginning of the present era of private monopoly domination over public utilities, may be said to have begun with the twenty-five year exclusive franchise granted Robert Fulton and William Cutting for a steam ferry between New York and Brooklyn. Simultaneously corruption in New York City politics and complaints and petitions regarding such public services as had fallen into the hands of private corporations also began, and the end is not yet.

For many years and previous to the advent of private corporations as the grantees of franchises, no direct taxes were levied in New York City. The fees from ferries, rents from fishing rights, etc., were ample in lieu thereof. When in 1684 money was needed to defend New York City, £200 was raised by mortgaging the ferry for three years.

It appears the first franchise granted a private corporation in New England was for building a bridge between Boston and Charlestown, charters for other bridges, turnpikes, etc.,

followed until the conditions become unbearable to such a democracy as was then New England, a wave of reform swept the colonies, ordinances were passed abolishing such private control of public utilities, the law establishing a lottery for the benefit of Harvard College was repealed, followed by the extinction of the system of legal white slavery then in vogue, the victims being known as bond servants and probationers.

### III.

I have referred to these facts in our history to illuminate two points: (1) The adoption of municipal ownership for any public utility is not new or radical. It is simply following in the footsteps of our forefathers, whose wisdom has been verified during the intervening years by the injustice and corruption that has resulted from reversing their policy and granting to private corporations powers and privileges that belong to communities. As the late Governor Pingree once said: "The corporations are responsible for nearly all the thieving and boodling from which our cities suffer."

(2) Our history shows that so soon as a community is convinced that a certain policy is best, that policy will be adopted. Public ownership and control was resumed when private monopoly became unbearable, lotteries were suppressed when their evils were seen, slavery abolished when its degradation was felt.

Should municipalities return to first principles and retain in their own hands the administration of municipal functions and, more specifically, should public lighting be done by public officials or private corporations?

We were told in Detroit that the corporations controlled the sale of the material and the machinery, which could not be bought by a city plant, or, if at all, at such extortionate prices as to make the cost of lights from a public plant unbearable to the taxpayers.

Detroit's public plant has now lighted the city eight years. The first year the cost was less than the lowest price ever se-

cured from a private company or ever offered by a private company.

The lowest contract price was \$128.87; the lowest contract price offered was \$102.20 per 2,000-c.p. arc light per year on a ten years' contract.

The cost from the public plant the first year was \$100.50. It has steadily declined since to \$63.82 last year, adding depreciation, lost taxes, and interest at four per cent. on the investment to cash cost.

Depreciation is figured at three per cent. on the entire investment. Our experience demonstrates that this is ample. In the first place, real estate and conduits, on which there is no depreciation, amount to \$268,504.59, or one-third of the entire investment of \$802,438.93. In the second places, seven per cent. on incandescent plant, arcs and switches, amounts to \$90,078.30, or 11.2 per cent. of the total investment. Steam plant, amounting to \$129,515.34, or 16.1 per cent. of the investment, is figured at five per cent. These are over three-fifths the total investment, and other items are figured at their proper proportion. Besides this, the charges for maintenance include many items such as replacing poles and wires and similar equipment on which the depreciation would be higher than seven per cent. if they were to be charged to that account. These, however, are charged to operating account. Lost taxes are figured at actual combined rate (\$21.23 last year) for city, county and State taxes on an assessed valuation as placed by the city assessors and is an over-estimate when compared with the assessed values of other plants of like character similarly located in the city. For instance, tax rate same year per k.w. capacity Detroit Edison Illuminating Company, 2.37; Public Lighting Commission charge to cost of lights per k.w. capacity is 4.23.

This is my sixth year on the lighting commission and I can say, speaking from that experience, that the dangers and obstacles alleged to beset such a municipal undertaking and that are portrayed with such energy by those interested in concealing the real cost of electric lights are mere fancies. We have not felt them nor seen them.

The city will have gained in ten years operation more than the entire value of the plant (at least \$800,000) as a clear profit over what its lights would have cost on the lowest ten years' bid from a private company.

Under the ten years' contract the cost to the city would have been \$2,414,785.14 while from the city plant the total outlay for plant and operation, adding lost taxes will not exceed \$2,250,000 (actual figures are given to 1903, 1903 and 1904 are based on average increase of lamps and cost of preceding years). As regards interest; interest can be considered as applying only on the excess sum expended which is greater in municipal operation for the first five years, but much less for the second five years, the aggregate being less for the ten-year period. The difference in interest charge is not material, and is more than offset by the greater efficiency of service and its more equitable distribution, subject as it is under municipal operation to actual local needs, instead of "pull."

The benefits are not alone to the tax payer, for we give the union scale of wages and run on the eight-hour day. Also, once a year every employee of the Commission gets a ten days' vacation at full pay.

We were told that a public plant could not give decent service, because it would be run by city politicians.

The number of lamp hours reported out the last full year of contract lighting was 100,880, while last year under municipal lighting with 50 per cent. more burning it was but 6,825.

The average city politician, like the average man in any employment, holds his position by serving his master. If public utilities are in private hands, private interests are served. These private interests then run the politicians. The politicians can never run them.

The lessened cost and improved service alone, vindicate Detroit's experiment in municipal ownership, they are not, however, the most important results. Removing this public utility from private exploitation has shown our citizens that natural monopolies are harmless in the hands of their natural owners,

the community, but demoralizing and corrupting in civic affairs if surrendered to private corporations.

It has demonstrated that the service can be improved and the cost lessened by removing this public utility from private exploitation, eliminating machine politics, and applying to it the business principles that govern ordinary competitive enterprises. That machine politics plays no part is shown by the fact that the number of employes has been reduced from 112 in January, 1895, to 105 in January, 1903, notwithstanding the output for the same period has more than doubled. The permanency of employment, too, is shown by the fact that 38 per cent. of the present staff have been in the service since 1895, 59 per cent. since 1898 and 76 per cent. since 1900.

Machine politics and superfluous employees can find no permanent lodgment in a municipally-owned public utility of this character, because the cost and quality of the output are matters of public record, and economy or lack of it easily demonstrated by comparisons with other establishments. Therein there is a difference from the department of public works, the park board and such departments, where charges of prodigal expenditure are met by flat denial, and the real facts cannot be ascertained because there is no result of the labor which is susceptible of such definite measurements and comparison.

In contrast with this, compare Detroit's experience with public lighting prior to the establishment of the municipal plant. The constant trickery and blackmailing between rival corporations, and the fruitless efforts to enforce the conditions of the contract that absorbed the time of the common council, finally ended when an alderman, Protiva by name, in open council handed to the city clerk a roll of bills of \$200, alleging they were given him by the manager of the electric plant for his vote. This episode finally decided the issue in favor of the municipal plant.

That similar tactics still continue when private corporations perform public service is evidenced by the following verbatim report from the Detroit *Free Press*. It says:

"The Detroit City Gas Co. has sent to each member of the common council a request to nominate a few men for employment. With each letter was sent ten blank tickets, the filling out of which by an alderman insured a job to the holder, giving in one bunch 370 jobs to the officials who have the power to compel the corporation to live up to or to exempt them from the conditions of their franchise contract, to amend the contract and to grant them new privileges."

I might give many other proofs from the experience of Detroit of the advantage of municipal ownership over private ownership of natural monopolies, but I will conclude by quoting from one who is perhaps the greatest living expert on such matters, Mr. Chas. T. Yerkes. He says: "No monarch of the civilized world has such power as the ownership of such public utilities as railroads and telegraphs confers upon the owners, and if we add to this, ownership of street railways, gas, electric light, and telephone companies, we have a country of monarchs indeed!" (*News-Tribune*, May 6, 1900.) Mr. Yerkes does not advocate what I have shown to be the relief from subjection to these monarchs, namely, municipal and government ownership of public utilities.

At the "National Convention upon Municipal Ownership and Public Franchises" last February in New York City, I heard much about private operation and public control, from the representatives of the franchise holding corporations and others.

The old argument that cities can't operate a lighting plant or can't make it pay, is no longer listened to when hundreds of cities are doing it and are making it pay.

Commissioner of Labor Carroll D. Wright's report of four years ago, has data from 952 plants, 320 of which are municipally owned. It shows that the average cost is less from the municipal than from the private plants.

The quality and quantity of light is frequently a subject of dispute between a city and a contracting company. If the current is cut or a light is out the saving goes to the city from a public plant. In contract lighting it goes to the contractor

unless there is an accurate account made of the reduced output.

Many stations make a practice of lowering the amperage at or about midnight. This results in a saving in fuel and carbons and is generally considered good economy. Does the city under contract lighting always benefit by this economy?

It is difficult for the city to secure definite and indisputable evidence as to the facts in disputes between a city and contracting company, regarding the wattage of the lights furnished.

For example: recently two Michigan cities, Saginaw and Rochester, lighted under contract, made the claim that the lights were under the quality called for. The claim was disputed by the contracting companies. The contract called for a 2000 C.P. arc, 450 Watts at the lamp terminals. Careful tests by experts hired for the purpose by the city, who connected Watt-meters to the circuits without the companies' knowledge, found the average of 12 readings in one case to be 340 Watts, a little over 75 per cent. of what was contracted for, the average of 13 readings in the other showed 400 Watts 89 per cent. of what was contracted for, the contract price was rebated for the 25 per cent. shortage but not for the 11 per cent.

A city must have an accurate record of the light furnished at all times as a basis for enforcement of contract. This necessitates the employment of a competent city electrician not affiliated with the public utility company's. He should be provided with an office and one wire of each circuit connected with a recording Watt-meter therein, this will show the time of starting, shutting down, and current supplied.

One fact I wish to emphasize and that is that the farming out of public functions may have an excuse in Turkey and the more despotic Oriental countries, but it is contrary to the spirit of democratic institutions.

If our government is not to be democratic—a government by the people—placing public utilities in its hands does not establish public ownership. It might be machine ownership, class ownership. A coterie of machine politicians would be as undesirable if direct owners as are the private companies.

Small choice for the people in owners, if it must be between machine bosses and the private corporations that control the machine bosses. As Professor Parsons has said, "Public ownership of the government is essential to any real public ownership of anything else."

The public in order to control the government must themselves by direct methods nominate their officials, the people must also secure to themselves their natural right to veto measures and to propose measures—the initiative and referendum.

Not until then will officers reflect the aspirations and desires of the people.

FREDERICK F. INGRAM.

*Detroit, Mich.*



## EDUCATION FOR THE HOME.

**A**LTHOUGH believing in coeducation and preferring it, I am not particularly prejudiced against the separate education of the sexes, for there are advantages in each method. I believe, however, that we would obtain far better results if certain changes were made in higher educational institutions. There must be given more consideration to the differences of the sexes and especially to the needs of young women.

The difference between the sexes is well shown in the two great principles in life, which so influence the family, the self, and the race. Self-preservation thinks only of the individual, while race-preservation cares only for the means whereby the race may be perpetuated. In conflict these principles are destructive one to the other; in union they make the family and so preserve both the race and the individual. In man self-preservation is strongest; in woman, race-preservation is strongest. Thus the two beings are well fitted for each other and for the preserving and perpetuating of the family.

The development of self-preservation so strong in man has made of him a reasoning creature, and on this account he is the dominant force in the animal world. Woman in the development of race-preservation has evolved the greatest thing for the preserving of mankind—love. Man's reason and woman's love are the two forces strongest in humanity and through which are preserved the individual and the race. Woman's love is the strongest and highest in all animal life, and by it she has guided man's reason to make for the young of the human race the best environments of any young animal life, and has thus caused man to make the remarkable growth from cave-dweller to civilized being.

As has already been stated, education of the sexes must take into consideration the differences of the sexes, some of which it may be well to give here.

The skull in woman differs somewhat from man's, being shallower, not so rough nor thick, and the lower part a little more projecting. It is a question if woman's brain is not relatively larger than man's; at any rate it is pretty well agreed at present that as far as the brain is concerned neither sex can claim superiority over the other.

Man is taller and larger than woman: In build, woman is perhaps more like the child than like man, with longer trunk and shorter legs and arms. "The man is larger, with a certain tendency to rugged though not unbeautiful outline, which conveys an impression of energy; his bony prominences are usually more conspicuous, and his muscles are everywhere more clearly defined. The woman is smaller and more delicately made; the bony points are less clearly seen, and the muscles, even though they may be powerful, are softly encased in abundant connective tissue which makes them less obvious." \*

As is well known, woman reaches development at an earlier age, her pulse-rate is higher, yet she does not show so characteristically the signs of old age as does man, and, also, she lives the longer.

Although among some people women are nearly, if not quite, as strong as men, yet this is not the rule. Man's strength, though greatest, seems not to have the endurance of woman's. Man has the power to put forth great strength for a short time, but he has not the faculty of a long continued effort as has woman.

Man and woman speak a different language. She uses the home language, somewhat colloquial, and abbreviated; she uses common words and short sentences; while man's language is that of business and of the bar and of legislation. Woman's language is softer, more musical, plainer than man's; for woman's is the language of love, while man's is the language of reason, and is, therefore, more forcible and logical. Woman's language is also purer, freer from vulgarity than is man's.

One of the greatest distinctions between man and woman is

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Ellis, "Man and Woman," p. 32.

on the thought side. Woman, having in her more the idea of race-preservation, needs to be able to reach conclusions at once in order to have at hand immediately the things necessary to preserve the life of her offspring. Man, on the contrary, having self-preservation strong in him, has to be more deliberate and so he is a reasoning being. Man needs to outwit his enemies and must have time to reflect as to the best course, hence he reasons. Woman needs to satisfy the cravings of her offspring and must act quickly to appease hunger and thirst and the other calls of nature, hence she must be instinctive in acting; she does not have time for deliberation.

Woman on her entire emotional side differs from man. This is because of her physical nature being different from his.

Her strong emotional nature is strikingly evinced in her inclination toward religion, and education tends to bring this distinction out more sharply.

Woman has much more fear than man, yet when her young are in danger, as in animal life, the female becomes much less afraid of harm to self and will risk all for her young.

That man represents the self-preservative element in human life makes of him the most variable and hence the most progressive element in the unit. Woman represents the race-preservative element, and thereby she is the stable and conservative element. This is shown in many ways.

Women resemble one another more closely than do men. There is more variability in physical form among men than among women. There is a greater tendency among men to be abnormal than among women. Extra fingers and toes occur in men more than with women. Peculiar forms of the ear are more frequent among men. There are more male deafmutes. Idiocy is more common among males than among females. Criminality, insanity, and tendency to suicide are more prominent in men than in women. There are more geniuses among men. There are more big-headed men and more little-headed men than women.

This variability in man and conservatism in woman are not only natural, but also they have been aided by long years of

training. Man has had to go out into the world and fight to outwit his enemies and to meet the difficulties that nature has brought before him. Thus man has been compelled to keep changing. Woman, on the contrary, has been doing the same things all her life. She has always borne children, cared for them, stayed with them in a narrow place—the home—and performed over and over the same household duties. Thus she has been keeping herself conservative by these very things.

In the foregoing, there has been somewhat shown the differences between the two sexes, which must be recognized in education. If strong men and women are wanted in education, means must be taken to produce such. What may strengthen the one may not strengthen the other, so that there needs to be a very careful study made in order to see just wherein dangers lie for one sex or the other.

The work of the young man that will come to him as the father will be mostly external. He must go out into the world and gather together material for the mother and the child. It is his duty to provide the externalities. I do not mean by this to excuse him from home duties, but his great work is not in the home but out in the world providing means whereby the woman as the mother may properly carry on the home.

The college was organized to meet this need of the young man, to train him to go out into the world and meet it. Our great universities are striving in every way possible so to specialize their work as to give every young man who enters them the kind of training that he most needs to fit him for future life.

The university has also thrown open its doors to the young woman, so that she can receive identically the same training as the young man. I believe this is good. I believe in coeducation, that it is the most helpful for the young people; that it is best for young men and young women to be together in their college life as an aid to one another. I would not deny any young man or young woman entrance to any class in the university. Matter which is not fit to be taught to young men and young women together, is, except, perhaps, in very rare cases, not fit to be taught at all. I believe in higher education,

and that we owe it just as much to young women as to young men. I believe that it is perfectly right to allow any young woman to seek and to receive exactly the same training as is prepared for any young man. If a woman feels that she must go out into business or into law or into medicine or into whatever work, I say give her every opportunity to prepare herself for such pursuits as her tastes incline her to.

No one believes more in freedom for woman than myself. I would accord to her every privilege accorded to man. Let her have her clubs and associations. Let her vote and hold office. Let her have full and free charge of her own property and transact her own business. And in the marriage relation let her be the one to decide whether children shall be born or not.

Yet with all this, there still remains woman's natural profession of maternity, and woman must be educated for it. As the college has given the young man every opportunity to prepare for paternity, by allowing him to study to prepare to take up his work in the external cares, and thus provide means for the woman in the internal cares of home, so should the college give to woman special opportunities for preparing herself to properly carry on the internal affairs of the home.

I think it is safe to say that there are very few young women in college to-day who do not expect sooner or later to become the mistresses of homes of their own; and with all their planning for other callings, still they are also planning for homes of their own. My conclusions on this point are based on the evidence of others beside myself. A woman who made a study of this question in a large professional school, gave the following testimony in an article summing up the results of her investigations:

"The statements and conversations of more than twenty-five young women have now been given and as many more similar in substance to these have been gathered in preparing this paper, so that the closing remarks are based upon the frank statements of over fifty average young women, nearly all of whom are self-supported in some profession or occupation. . . . Of these fifty girls there is not one who has not said directly or indirectly that she pictures the happiest place on earth for her-

self in a home; neither is there one who does not hope some day to consummate her happiness by marriage. They are not seeking marriage. No modest woman does, and there has been a noticeable absence of economic motives in even thinking about it, though doubtless all would prefer comfort to poverty, but they are contemplating a home because they consider the state of marriage a proper and happy one for a woman; because they recognize the power of a good man's love and the fact that the home is the highest and grandest and mightiest institution on earth, and that in it are fostered the purest, noblest, and most unselfish aspirations and the ties that bind men to the good." \*

My own observations fully coincide with the above conclusions. I have never known of any woman so enamored of her profession that she would not give it up for a happy or an ideal home.

In education, then, we must recognize this home love in woman—must educate for it. I wonder if to-day in all this great country there is a single young woman that can truly say, "I entered college to prepare myself for a home and I expect when I graduate to be able to care for a home and I hope to be given one. This is my sole ambition." I know that we are approaching such and that some day we will have organized "A College for the Home," where young women will enter whose sole purpose will be to prepare themselves for the profession of home-making and maternity and will expect upon graduation to go into a home of their own. They will not be ashamed to say that they are preparing themselves for these duties and that they expect to marry upon graduation, just as they now state what they will do. Such a college will attract the finest and best young women in the country and the best young men will look to it for wives. If the young women graduates from such a college do not marry, it will not be because they will not be wanted, for women prepared for home-making will always be in demand. It will not be difficult for men to love such women.

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\*Hoffer, "Paidology," I., 346.

A college of this character will have to grow and differentiate its courses, yet one might suggest work for such an institution, as, for example, courses in General Culture, Domestic Culture, Medical Culture, Esthetic Culture, Physical Culture, and Child Culture, although other names might be used.

Under General Culture may be considered the studies that usually come in the work of the college of liberal arts. The studies here should be such as will give a liberal training, yet at the same time as may lead to a love of the home at all times. This would not necessarily lead the young woman away from heavy subjects, but would tend to show her that such subjects give splendid training and help to solve knotty problems that may come to her in domestic life. This course should be a good strong one, such as will supply the woman with a strong foundation for her other work.

In a school for the home, Physical Culture would in many ways be quite different from that at present. A course of development would be here introduced that would tend to make strong, normal mothers as well as beautiful women.

The work in Domestic Culture would include the work as given now under domestic economy in our colleges. The young women should be especially trained in the preparation of food and the making of clothes for children. In fact much of the work in domestic culture must be centered about children. Under this course another step might be taken, which is a business preparation of the young woman. She should be instructed in matters of banking and bookkeeping, in business principles and activities. The young woman should be trained to carry on household affairs as a business.

In Medical Culture a very strong course should be offered. Especially on the side of nursing should great training be given. During four years' residence in college, and especially should the college be situated where were opportunities for visiting and studying in hospitals, the young woman could get most valuable training in the care of the household in health and in disease. Not the smallest part of the medical culture should consist in her learning how to take care of herself.

In Esthetic Culture the work as done now for cultivating the higher sensibilities should be given, but it should be grouped around the home. The aim should be to prepare the young woman to make the home beautiful, both with hand and with voice. Especially should she be trained in the cradle songs and melodies, instrumental and vocal, that delight children; in rapid sketching, in games and plays, and all such as may make home beautiful and attractive to children. She should leave college with a great abundance of such material and well trained in its use. She should be helped to have a beautiful voice at all times and to be proud of it, and made to feel that scolding and nagging would ruin it.

Child Culture should be preeminently the study of young women in a College for the Home. Such work should be very broad and should appear in every week of every year that the young woman is in college. It should be the great aim in this course to cultivate in the soul of the young woman a love for and sympathy with children. Such studies may be carried on in the classroom, in the field, and in the laboratory. In the classroom the student can be made acquainted with the material gathered about children from the many sources, thus to gain a knowledge of child nature as such may here be given. In this study the young woman can go over the different periods of child life—prenatality, infancy, childhood, youth. She can study the child under his abnormal and exceptional phases, and such a study is very helpful, for all children have exceptional phases at times. She can study the child among uncivilized peoples and among historical peoples, and thus may find clinging to the child with us to-day traits which come to him from the race of many years ago, and customs about the child which come to us from the doings of nations many years removed from us. In the field work, the young woman goes out and sees children as they really are. In the laboratory she will have the chance to study the child as he comes before her, learning of his growth, fatigue, memory, etc. Thus from the field work and the laboratory the young woman learns directly from the child himself and gains information and habits most valuable



to her. This is not fancy, for it is just such work as I have been having young people do in my department of paidology and so know of its value.

This paper is by no means meant to be a plea for the establishment of a college where poor girls may be educated for home work. For while such girls would be welcomed there would be no class distinctions, but it would be just as any other college, for the education of young women from wherever they might come; and such a college should be a part of every university devoted to coeducation.

When woman is trained for the profession of homemaking and maternity, then will she have reached out into the greatest profession in all human nature. Such education as a young woman should receive in four years in a college for the home would go further in her case to settle the matter of divorce than all the laws upon it at present in our statute books. Then would a woman go into a home prepared as a specialist, and as a specialist she would take great pride in it. One can hardly conceive of the pleasures and profits to mankind that will come when women become specialists in home-making.

The College for the Home is not altogether a fancy picture, a dream, for it is gradually being realized by our universities, and the day is not far distant when young women will study to become specialists in home-making, with the end in view of marrying and going into homes of their own upon graduation from college.

OSCAR CHRISMAN.

*Ohio University, Athens, Ohio.*

## NECESSITY FOR THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

**T**HE People's Party was organized in 1890 by those who had become thoroughly convinced that there was no reasonable hope of securing a reform of political and economic grievances then and now existing in the United States through either the Republican or Democratic party.

That there is a necessity for the party I will endeavor to show by briefly epitomizing some of the many existing evils which both the Republican and Democratic party seem incompetent to remove.

A monetary system which has been abandoned to banks, bankers, and money brokers to be used by them for their own benefit and not in the interest of the people; a reckless expenditure of the public money to promote the interests of private corporations and political favorites; the continuance of a criminal tariff under the false plea of protecting American industries, whereby labor is robbed of wages and legitimate industry of its profits; the issuance of government bonds in a time of profound peace without a semblance of legal authority that dealers in money may have an opportunity to invest their surplus funds; the unrestrained right of railroad and telegraph companies to fix their own charges; the pooling of railroads and ocean transportation; the contempt in which those who labor in field and factory are held, and the bitter opposition shown legitimate labor organizations; the abuse of the writ of injunction and a brazen declaration by a member of the Supreme Court that the abuse is to continue; the use of the regular army to shoot down American citizens rather than a resort to the established constabulary of the country for the enforcement of the law; admitting non-resident aliens to own our soil, control our press, and infuse European ideas of government into the minds of our people; the evil foreign influences felt in the administration of our government; the con-

stant toadying of those in authority to European powers; a monopolized and censorial press by which the people are deprived of valuable current news; a monopolistic control of the essentials of life, food, clothing and shelter, by which the former is increased beyond its normal price, and clothing and shelter taxed outrageously in the interest of manufacturer and dealer are some of the vices from which there is no escape through either the Republican or Democratic party, and which call loudly for a party of the common people having the capacity and patriotism to correct them.

Our monetary system is without a parallel for absurdity in history. Without attempting to discuss the money question it may be observed that the country is on a gold basis, that is, its values are measured by the gold standard, and yet eighty per cent. of the circulating medium consists of discredited silver and paper, while the sovereign power to issue money and regulate its value, committed to Congress by the Constitution, has passed into the hands of favorites to be used to the detriment of the people. Under such circumstances those having the control of the money of the country can produce financial panics and bankruptcy at will and thus impoverish the people. As the volume of money has everything to do with the value of labor and property and is, therefore, productive of prosperity or bankruptcy, it is apparent that in placing the authority to issue and control its volume in the hands of private corporations and favorite individuals who, by contraction, can produce a sudden fall in prices by which much of the property of the masses passes into the hands of the few, and by rapid expansion can inflate prices beyond their normal station, to be again followed by contraction and depression, is a dangerous if not an absolutely ruinous policy.

As the value of money is purely one of function, that is, as it is solely a value in use and not in the substance on which it is impressed, the theory of intrinsic value held by both the Republican and Democratic parties is vitally erroneous and has done incalculable mischief.

The office of money is that of a medium of exchange among

the people for all things, and it should be a universal medium, and to that end it should be made a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and creditors should be required to receive it in liquidation of their claims. But, with the single exception of gold, all our money is discredited by law, while the statute authorizes the creditor to designate the money of payment, thus taking from the debtor a right he enjoyed for more than three hundred years.

A medium of exchange by the coinage of gold and silver on terms of equality to be supplemented by a volume of full legal tender paper money, such as the country enjoyed for over forty years, is demanded by the People's party and denied by the Republican and Democratic parties. Railway transportation of passengers and freight and the transmission of public and private intelligence by wire present questions of pressing importance. Railway and telegraph companies are in their natures monopolies. But few men can build a railway or an extensive telegraph line, while all must use them or are virtually affected by their use, and their services should by reason of this fact be offered to the people at cost.

The railway and telegraph systems are made engines of oppression and rank injustice; money is extorted by them from the people to build up tremendous private fortunes by legalized monopolistic confiscation through exorbitant rates, while their influence in our elections is sinister and detrimental to the Republic.

Respecting the transmission of intelligence by wire it may be truthfully observed that the transmission is rarely correct if there is a motive to suppress or falsify the facts, while it is notorious that there is not the slightest secrecy in sending news by telegraph or telephone, however sacred or confidential the communication may be. Falsehoods are scattered broadcast for facts, while matters of universal importance are censored out of shape or wholly suppressed, and the people left in ignorance of them.

That the evils growing out of the railway and telegraph systems cannot be remedied or, at least, that they will not be

as the government is now administered is obvious, and the only remedy is government ownership and operation. This neither the Republican nor Democratic party purposes doing.

Absentee alien ownership of our soil is a portentous and growing evil. If a man is permitted to own land in this country he ought to be a citizen, or, at least, a resident in sympathy with our institutions, and he should not owe allegiance to some other government, and this kind of ownership should, in the interest of national safety and common justice to our own people, be abolished. Will either the Republican or Democratic party abolish it?

Millions of acres of our best agricultural land and millions of dollars' worth of valuable city and village real estate are owned by absentee aliens who spend their incomes abroad and who openly sneer at and decry our form of government. One of the great business buildings in New York was owned by the late Queen Victoria and has doubtless passed by the law of inheritance to King Edward VII.

The evils that have been mentioned are vital and many of them fundamental in character. They negative republicanism and bolster up the theory of thrones and class rulership, while enriching privileged classes and giving to wealth the power to debauch or corrupt government and enchain the people. No friend of democracy can regard the real perils of the hour with indifference. Our government is menaced with evils that will revolutionize it unless steps are promptly taken to check the reactionary and oppressing advance of class interests.

That there is no reasonable hope for relief from the evils I have noticed through the Democratic or Republican party Populists firmly believe, and their belief is fortified by the fact that neither, when in power, took any steps to that end.

I have not attempted to state the entire Populist creed, as that can be found in the several national platforms and the Denver Conference Address. I have simply briefly referred to some deep-seated evils that the People's party would eradicate.

The Republican party is candid enough to admit that it does

not intend to correct any of the grievances I have noticed or to avert any of the threatened dangers I have pointed out. Will the Democratic party do so? There is a decided preponderance of the evidence in favor of a negative answer. When in power from 1893 until 1897 no attempt at reform was made. By the Democratic platforms of 1896 and 1900 some of the reforms I have suggested were stated as necessary, but the party split, a sufficient number supporting the Republican nominee for the Presidency to elect him. A distinguished citizen of my own State, whose overshadowing ability, spotless character, unswerving integrity, and *eminent fitness* for the office was defeated for the Presidency by a division of his party. The People's party supported him, hoping through his election that needed reforms would be introduced, but now that it is reasonably apparent that Mr. Bryan will not be the nominee of his party in 1904 and that the reactionary or Bourbon element will control, the People's party, as stated in the Denver Conference Address, has concluded to nominate its own ticket and appeal to the intelligence and patriotism of the country to support it.

WILLIAM VINCENT ALLEN.

*Madison, Neb.*

## THE DIGNITY OF LABOR.

"All the delights of Heaven are conjoined with uses, and are inherent in them, because uses are the good works of love and charity, in the practise of which the angels live."

I N the opening hours of the twentieth century a supreme duty devolves upon parents and instructors, and that is the teaching of the young that labor—honest toil—is the most dignified ambition of man. Instead of having servants running after our children, it would be well if we should lead them to see that he who serves with a loving heart is great in the sight of God and of all whose approbation is worth the seeking. Honest toil gives expression to the spiritual being and shadows forth the highest ideal of infinite activity. We must exalt labor by placing it on the throne of honor in the mind.

No man can escape the performance of the labor necessary to develop the individuality. Work is a divine privilege, not a curse from Adam. The very life of the body as well as the joy of the normal soul and the proper development of the intellect depends upon it. It is by labor that we build, each his own character in his own way. It is through work that we prepare ourselves for the to-morrow of existence, so that when we pass into the higher order of life we shall not have to pass this way again or come in contact with the same problems of thought life.

Nor is it enough to toil grudgingly and with naught but sordid ends in view. He who works merely for gain loses the soul of labor, while he who labors for the sake of labor puts soul into every touch of the hands. Love for the work that is to be wrought glorifies labor even as the rising sun glorifies the glistening mountain peak and its last smile bathes the valleys with golden splendor.

This is a commercial age, and the very commercialism which flaunts its tawdry robes and, Belshazzar-like, boasts of its greatness and its prosperity, has, by making gold and material

wealth the end instead of a subordinate means to the end of life, served to dwarf the soul and shrivel the higher faculties of man until it is no exaggeration to say that there are few great, well-rounded intellects in America to-day,—few men whose mental and moral power is giving western civilization the elements of permanent greatness and enduring progress.

Think not that wealth wrung from slavery in any form, or power achieved through ignoring the moral law, can by any species of legerdemain spell out greatness. Rome was never so imposing to the casual spectator when viewed from afar as when, rotten at the heart, her mantle of material wealth covered a civilization stricken to death in all its vitals.

Let us not deceive ourselves or be deceived by false shibboleths. We are living in an age so given to commercialism that the highest utilitarianism as well as the noblest ethics are being subordinated by a society insane with the lust for gold.

So strong has been the reaction from the noble idealism that blossomed in the birth time of our republic and toward egoistic materialism, that the great institutions which should ever conserve the ethical and spiritual realities have become largely recreant to their trust. The school and the university to-day tend too much toward the teaching of labor for gain and to a superficial view of life that is born of crass materialism. In religion, also, the same falling away from the spirit to the worship of things material and the dead letter is noticeable. That artistic element which enriches life by its great simplicity of thought and childlike attitude toward work for the joy of working is happily far removed from the sordid side of human existence. Unlike the theological concept which regards work as a curse placed on man for sin, it finds in toil dignity, beauty, and peace which afford the weary mind the sweetest and most restorative rest.

We cease to live spiritually the very moment we try to shift the labor of the common, daily life onto the shoulders of others, and seek by cunning ways to absolve ourselves from contact with the humbler uses of this life. We are spiritually lost the very moment we try to escape from the common labor of the



hands and the honest thought which is the fruit of that labor. It is, indeed, hard to keep pace with one's highest ideals in an age that is permeated with commercialism and when the lust for gain has made the gambling spirit not only tolerated but almost dominant in business life.

It is at our work that we must pray. It is good to pray in churches, but the real prayer of the soul is at the carpenter's bench, in the field, and at the household work. The scent of the shavings made in the little shop in Galilee was as an incense that mounted up to the heavens of man's fondest hopes. Our blessed Lord labored at the bench in the early morning of his life, and thus he left an impressive and practical example for the youth of the age wise enough to appreciate the true meaning of the gospel of service, the evangel of sane and healthy work. He forever dignified labor, making it the glory of God, not the curse of Adam. "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work,"—such were his words to the carping conventional critics of his age.

We are losing much of the value of real life in these days of materialistic commercialism, because of our worship of ephemeral baubles and our pursuit of pseudo-pleasures. We have lost the key to true growth, happiness, and contentment, and have come to entertain a false and ignoble view of common labor, the reverse of that held by the Master. Every artist knows that it is when he is at labor in his studio or with nature that the muse comes with her most soothing touch and uplifting inspiration, sending life thrilling into the clay or beaming from the canvas; and men call the result a work of genius. The artist knows full well in his own heart that it was his preparation of common labor which made possible what the muse did while his hands were honest and his heart sound.

The effort to escape work on the part of a portion of the community demoralizes society throughout all its ramifications. It curses the essentially dishonest ones who acquire what others earn, and it curses their offspring. It imposes unequal and onerous burdens upon others, making slaves where there should be freemen; and the consciousness of injustice deadens

the finer and stimulates the baser elements in the nature of the poor. Thus, crime is augmented and the misery and wretchedness of society increased. Give man freedom, under just conditions, or an equality of opportunity, and it is astonishing how the divine will assert itself and greatness will spring from the ashes of baseness. We have a most impressive illustration of this character in the development of the Australian commonwealth. Little did England think when she sent her criminals to the wilds of Botany Bay that in so doing she was founding one of the most prosperous and powerful colonies of her domain. *The secret of the development of the criminal up to self-respecting and ennobled manhood in this great colony was common labor and freedom to rise, without the artificial restraints and the injustice and inhumanity to man that one finds in the large commercial centers.* The English criminal in Australia found himself in an entirely new environment, thrown on his own resources, and with plenty of honest toil at hand; and he demonstrated to the world that the human soul, if given a chance, will prove itself divinely good. London offered no opportunity to be good, for there the poor were the slaves of the wealthy class. The over-rich did not and do not give the poor much chance to be free and to live as God intended them to. In cunning and devious ways they shift the toil they themselves should do in this world onto the shoulders of their brothers, and the result is crime. Low cunning and the reaping where others have sown, far more than drink, are the causes of the poverty, wretchedness, and crime in the social cellar.

I know of no surer way of ridding man of cunning diplomacy than by leading him back to a wholesome respect for common labor, where each shares alike in creative and utilitarian service that makes for individual development and for the common weal.

Is it too much to ask the artist to work with his own hands on his own statues; the wife and mother to return to her own home and there labor for the good of those who love and look up to her for the comforts that make for the honor and glory

of right living; the man to go out into the field and come in contact with Nature in her sublime moods and there learn that honesty of dealing which lives and lets others live, and the wage-earner to learn to love and respect the toil that God has put in his way? When this is achieved, the most perplexing social and economic problems of the age will be near solution; for all classes will be coming together, touching hands on that high plane of usefulness where, according to the old Egyptian concept, the great god Ra, when he walks in the two countries of the soul—the upper and the lower—will find all men brothers, and when Isis, mother of beauty and of all living things, will find her children giving their true name honestly, and not withholding it, having it written in shining letters on their foreheads,—and that name shall be *labor*, the glory of heaven and earth—Labor, the symbol of eternal happiness; for God so loved the world that he came in His divine human nature and taught us at the carpenter's bench in Galilee the most useful lesson that humanity will ever learn.

Ra, in the sun boat, rises from the East,  
The labor of a day dawns in the sky;  
Man lifts the sleeping body from the ground,  
Life is renewed under the blazing eye.

The sounds of nature rise in melting waves,  
The heart of man throbs pure and strong;  
The sower seeks the fields of earth,  
The maiden laughs at labor with a song.

The sun boat sinks again in western glow,  
The laborer leaves his work for honest sleep;  
Evening shadows like a blessing fall,  
And the souls of men are in God's keep.

F. EDWIN ELWELL.

*New York City, N. Y.*

## A NEGLECTED PHASE OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM.

THE problem of the housing of women without family ties is, perhaps, greater and calls for a more pressing solution in New York than in any other city in this country; in the first place because the housing question in general for all sorts and conditions of people, except the very wealthy who own their houses, is more complicated here than in any other city, owing to the physical conformation of New York, and in particular of Manhattan where the working life of the city centers; and secondly because there are probably more single self-supporting women congregated here than anywhere else. Whatever claims other cities may advance as to being centers of business, intellectual, or artistic life, New York is still the glittering and often treacherous magnet that attracts the ambitious, the talented, or the merely deluded woman, who, thrown upon her own resources, is endeavoring to carve out her fortunes to the best of her abilities; hence, there are, perhaps, also more educated women workers here than elsewhere.

The educated woman wage earner is a very recent product of modern society, dating back not much further than fifteen or twenty years for most of the callings requiring special aptitudes or training, except that of teaching. Her appearance among the bread winners is due to several causes: In the first place, the conditions of modern social life, the fierce competition, and the social unrest, are either forcing or urging ever larger numbers of women into the ranks of the wage earners; in the second place, the splendid work done by the women's colleges is fitting more and more women for entering the professions formerly pursued exclusively by men, most of which are now, theoretically, at least, open to them, and this higher education, again, has paved the way for many new lines of work in the business, social, educational, and industrial world requiring special preparation. Exact statistics of this phase of

the woman's movement do not yet exist because it is so very recent, but the general statistics of women wage earners in this city may serve as basis for drawing some conclusions on that point.

According to the United States Census of 1900 there are in the city of New York 367,437 women wage earners, or, in the phraseology of the report, females of ten years and over engaged in gainful occupations, constituting 27.1 per cent. of the female population of ten years and over. Of this number 146,722 are engaged in domestic service; 132,535 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, these being commonly designated as working girls; 65,318 in trade and transportation, including clerks in stores and offices and "business women" in general; while 22,422 are classed under "professional service," including actresses, artists, journalists and writers, musicians, teachers, etc. The term "professional woman," which like other technical terms has been coined to supply a need, and still sounds strange to old-fashioned ears, is used in a somewhat wider sense than the corresponding term "professional man," covering the women engaged in all the newer occupations, not included under the first three items, that involve sweat of the brain instead of the brow.

New problems have arisen in connection with this advent of the educated woman worker, some of which cause apprehension in certain quarters as to the future of the race and the deterioration of the feminine instincts. For it is an undeniable fact, whatever the causes may be, that a large percentage of these women are without visible family ties; it is estimated that in New York City there are more than 20,000 single self-supporting women engaged in callings requiring special aptitudes and training. But the one problem that is of vital importance to-day for the unattached worker personally—namely, where to find lodgings adapted to her needs and means—has not received the attention it deserves at the hands of those interested in the welfare of working people. When one considers to what an extent a woman's physical well-being reacts on the efficiency of her work, and fur-

thermore that home-like surroundings in the hours of rest mean so much to a woman who spends the larger part of her day in office or shop, it is incomprehensible that the awakening social conscience, which is beginning to interest itself in the housing of working people in general, should be so slow to recognize the needs of the unattached women workers. Whatever has been done in this line has been done for the underpaid, in the form of working girls' boarding houses, and so-called "Homes," generally under religious or charitable auspices. Nor has the business aspect of this phase of the housing question in cities been considered to any extent, for while clubs and bachelor apartments abound for men of all ranks, ranging from Mills Hotels to the most luxurious "dens," apartments adapted to the needs of unattached women, and more especially the great army of women workers, are, with a few notable exceptions, still on paper. The boarding house or the furnished room have so far been the chief agencies in catering to the physical needs of the majority of unattached women, who have neither the time nor the means of making a home for themselves elsewhere. The intolerable gossip of the one, and the discomforts and chilling atmosphere of the other are too well known to call for more than passing mention here. But the whole truth has not yet been told, and perhaps never will be, of isolated lives passed amid such cheerless surroundings while battling for the daily bread. The tragedy of the hall bedroom is still unwritten.

The woman of a domestic turn of mind, with a spirit of independence, in time grew tired of this sort of life. Why pay eight and ten dollars a week for a tiny room, often with indifferent or insufficient board, when there are so many small flats to be had uptown, where one can have all the comforts of home and better food for the same amount of money? Three or four congenial souls, by clubbing together and taking turns in housekeeping, can live infinitely better on their joint incomes than if each one went off by herself to a hall room. This step from the boarding house or furnished room to the flat marks the period of the bachelor girl with her chafing dish. It is a mode of

living popular and perhaps most successful with the hundreds of students who come to the city during the winter. This colonizing of girls has much in its favor. Coöperation here, as elsewhere, means more for your money's worth. And as the arrangement is understood to be temporary, small hitches are easily overlooked. Less can be said in favor of this departure on a permanent basis, for the result is apt to be disastrous if time reveals serious differences in taste and temperament between the coöperators. But in those rare cases where two entirely congenial women come together, an ideal union is formed that offers perhaps the final solution to the housing problem for unattached women.

The inadequacy of existing accommodations has been recognized from time to time, and it has even induced the managers of one model tenement in New York city to divert that building from its original purposes as a family apartment house. When the City and Suburban Homes Company threw open for occupancy its first block of model tenements, the Alfred Corning Clark Buildings on West 68th and 69th streets, New York City, in the spring of 1898, one of the houses was set aside for self-supporting women, in response to many requests, and has been maintained with that end in view. Forty out of the forty-five apartments, of one, two, or three rooms each, with an average rental of 93 cents per room per week, are occupied by unattached women; the great majority of these are bread winners with moderate salaries, including nurses, teachers, clerks, dress-makers, literary workers, and day workers, and also a few small annuitants. The President of the Company says, in his third annual report :

"For all practical purposes this is a woman's building. The experience here has been eminently satisfactory. Good order, attention to the very mild regulations imposed, and promptness in the payment of rent, have been some of the results. Not a single cent has been lost in this building from irrecoverable arrears, during the fourteen months that it has been open."

The subsequent reports are equally favorable. This seems a conclusive refutation of the argument that single women as

a class are unreliable tenants, and that it would not pay to erect buildings expressly for them. No special apartments have been set aside in the Company's other block on First avenue and 64th street. New York City, though these apartments, with a somewhat higher rental, leave little to be desired in the way of modern conveniences. Buildings of this description, in accessible, residential parts of the city, with a parlor for social purposes, a restaurant where appetizing food may be had at a moderate price, and service within call of those willing to pay for the same—is this an impossible dream in our modern cities of flats? So-called family apartment hotels are springing up like mushrooms—indicative of a tendency of American life that seems to give color to the cry of race suicide,—but most of them are on so luxurious a scale and so high priced that they require a larger purse than the woman worker generally commands.

The efforts to interest capitalists in the plan of erecting buildings especially for women workers have finally borne fruit in New York city. For years the standing objection was that it would not pay as a business investment, and the idea of charity of course was excluded as foredooming any such attempt to failure. But the project would not down, for the need increased with the ever-growing number of women workers in the city. Those having it most at heart finally succeeded in interesting some prominent capitalists. A company was formed, under the name of The Woman's Hotel Company, with a share capital of \$400,000, "organized for the purpose of erecting in the City of New York one or more Hotels for the exclusive accommodation of women, especially of those who either maintain themselves, or are preparing to do so, in artistic, literary, educational, professional, mercantile, and kindred pursuits." The prospectus issued in January, 1898, still more explicitly states the purpose to be, "to supply greatly needed accommodations, combined with far more comfort and independence than they can elsewhere procure within their means, to the thousands of salaried and professional women of New York, and to those annually coming to the city for longer or



shorter periods of study, training, and business, and [the Directors] have established the enterprise entirely on business principles, with a view of giving to the share holders a reasonable income, with undoubted security of constantly augmenting value." The last part of this statement deserves close attention: it is a business enterprise established on business principles, promising to the holders of the 4000 shares a fair dividend. Thus the idea of charity, or even philanthropy, that is objectionable to most women workers, is entirely eliminated.

The Company was incorporated March 10, 1900, and three years later, on March 2, 1903, the initial hotel was thrown open for occupancy, with every room for permanent guests engaged, a large waiting list, and many inquiries from all parts of the country for transient rooms. This shows the readiness with which the women workers of New York have responded to an enterprise organized primarily for their benefit, yet without the humiliating admixture of charity. Prospective guests, moreover, are encouraged to support the undertaking financially as share holders, who are given precedence in the assignment of rooms. Thus a personal interest in the business aspect is evoked that should be of far reaching results. From this point of view it should not be difficult for the Company to get subscriptions for as many additional buildings as it could profitably operate. For it is the intention of the Company if the success of this pioneer hotel warrants it in doing so, to erect others in different parts of New York on a descending scale of luxuriousness and expense, so as to reach finally all self-supporting women in the city. The time is more than ripe for such an undertaking, and the need was never greater than now.

The "Hotel Martha Washington," the Company's first building, is a fire proof, twelve story structure, accommodating about 500 guests. One hundred rooms are reserved for transient use. There is a restaurant for the general public, a dining room for the guests, a whole floor of parlors, including a handsome library and a dainty tea room. The furnishing throughout is tasteful though simple; and there is a sense of generous space, light, and air about the whole building, that seems refreshing

to any woman who comes to it from the cramped, depressing surroundings of the average boarding house or flat.

Of course objections are already raised, and more will be forthcoming, to the sequestering of women in buildings especially set apart for them. While such objections may be well founded in theory, it is idle to argue on what should be or might be, in face of the fact that the number of unattached women in our large cities is increasing in proportion as the sphere of their activities is extended. And the student of social economics, who does not spin idyllic dreams of a state of society where every woman shall be mated and have her nest feathered for her, is confronted with the question: What provision is there for the woman living alone in a large city that will enable her to perform her share of the world's work with the least dissipation of nervous energy due to the friction of depressing surroundings in her hours of rest?

R. H. KNORR.

*New York City.*

## MODERN PARABLES AND FABLES.

### I.

#### THE JUDGMENT DAY.

**P**OOR little child, the problem was hard, and the pencil scratched on the slate, and when the time for recess was come he went to the desk without any answer written upon his slate. And the schoolmaster, who was God, said, "We will not lead stupid lives; go back to your desk, my son."

Poor little child, the problem was long and the lines were crooked on the slate, and when the time for recess was come he went to the desk with a random answer written upon his slate, and the schoolmaster, who was God, said, "We must not lead wicked lives; go back to your desk again."

Poor little child, the problem was serious and the figures were blurred on the slate, and when the time for recess was come he went to the desk with the problem rubbed off his slate, and the schoolmaster, who was God, said, "My son, we cannot evade our lives; go back to your desk again."

To learn to love, and to live; these are the tasks before us.

### II.

#### THE UNFAITHFUL MESSENGER.

A certain man was made Ambassador of the Great King, and the messages of the King were delivered unto him.

Now this was a wise and prudent man: therefore, he said, "I will not deliver the whole of the messages, lest I run my head against a wall." So, where the King threatened, the Ambassador softened the threats: said he, "Such hard sayings will weaken my influence; and it may be that the King's business will suffer, unless, indeed, I am cautious."

But the King laughed when he heard what his servant had done and put him down from being his Ambassador. And those came after him that did deliver all the messages to the King.

BOLTON HALL.

*New York City.*

# TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

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## THE PRESENT STRUGGLE BETWEEN REACTION AND DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

The opposing forces in all the great nations of to-day are the same. It matters not whether we view Germany or France, England or the United States, Russia or Italy, the same titanic struggle is in progress between the principles of democracy and the reactionary theories which, though appearing under various guises, have the same animating genius and are in all instances inimical to the healthful life and normal progress of republican government.

Thus we find that in Russia the Czar and the bureaucracy are brutally and savagely battling for the supremacy of autocratic rule and the enjoyment of the wealth, power, and prestige that are the chief ends of all efforts toward mastery not inspired by fanaticism.

In Germany the Kaiser, the hereditary aristocracy, the reactionary clericals, and the bourgeois class or parvenu aristocracy have pooled issues against the extreme Liberals and Social Democrats.

In France the Republicans and Social Democrats are battling against the combined forces of reaction, represented by the advocates of monarchy, the friends of militarism, and reactionary clericalism.

In Italy political conditions are more complicated, owing to the fact that the throne, the Papal hierarchy and social democracy are all striving for popular favor. This necessitates the monarchy's displaying a degree of liberality that it would probably not exhibit if its position were more secure; while the frightful expense called for by the war and naval budgets (part of the price the people pay for Italy's position in the Triple Alliance) necessitates a tax burden that the people can ill afford

to pay and that renders the government far less secure than it would otherwise be from dangers within its borders. The pretense of the Papacy to secular rule and temporal power is probably a source of strength rather than of weakness to the throne, insuring as it does the support of a large and influential element which would embrace the cause of social democracy were it not that it fears, in the event of a political upheaval, that the Papacy might again gain the temporal supremacy that it obtained during so many unhappy generations of division, war, bloodshed, and oppression.

In England, as in the United States and Germany, the government is reactionary. Here Mr. Chamberlain, the head and front of the reactionary movement and the responsible cause of the unholy Boer War, represents the military or blood and iron spirit which glories in force, tramples on the rights of the weaker, pushes aside justice for short-sighted expediency, and seeks to further class interests instead of the underlying ethical principles upon which rest the true glory and permanent power of nations. It is a notable fact that this spirit of militarism and reaction should become the national exponent of privilege for the few and of the exploitation of the many. Thus we find Mr. Chamberlain and the government which he overmasters making war upon the principles of Free Trade, precisely as the party of protection and privilege in the United States is also the party of militarism, imperialism, and reaction. The unrepblican and tyrannical spirit of the present ministry is further illustrated in the passage of the most odious and unholy reactionary educational bill that has disgraced England since the old days of Tory supremacy.

In England, however, the friends of freedom and democracy have strong grounds for hope in the political outlook, for here the Liberals, after years of vacillation and incompetent leadership which rendered all opposition futile, are manifesting an aggressive attitude and adopting a more definite program; while the tendency to unite with the Labor party in resolute opposition to the reactionary tendency of the Unionists is resulting in numerous victories. It would seem that at last the Liberal statesmen appreciate the fact that conditions in England are identical with those in Germany which called forth the recent plea from the great German historian and statesman, Mommsenn, for a union of the German Liberals with the Social Democrats to combat reaction and prevent an autocratic *coup d'etat*.

Chamberlain's ministry stands for militarism and wars of conquest; for the hunger tariff and the religious and educational reactionary spirit which is a distinguishing characteristic of the reactionary parties in the German Empire; and the recognition of this fact is leading to victory after victory for the united Liberal and Labor candidates in the by-elections.

In the United States the political outlook resembles in many respects the conditions in England, with the important difference that here the reactionary plutocratic and class rule elements are not only entrenched in power, but are united and strong in the possession of unlimited wealth won through privilege, in direction and corrupt control of government; while the liberal democracy and the workingmen here are drifting farther and farther apart. The administration in the United States embodies the spirit of militarism; it has enormously augmented the burdens of taxation by increased military expenditures; it has championed a war of subjugation in defiance of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and has incurred a cost to the nation of about two billion dollars. This administration last year passed the most infamous and unrepugnant military bill ever proposed in Congress. Its spirit, in spite of its fair pretenses, has been that of militarism, of blood and iron; and the horrible barbarities, torture, treachery, and murder in the Philippines, that have come to light in spite of the frantic attempts of the administration and the Republican Senate to smother the evidence, are a logical expression of the spirit of militarism which finds manifestation in wars of criminal aggression and subjugation.

The administration is not only imitating the reactionary government of the Kaiser in its spirit of militarism, but it is safe to say that never before in the history of the republic have class interests been so fostered and protected, or the demands of the banking class, the Wall Street gamblers, and the corporations or trusts been so deferred to as during the past four years. In olden times the treasury department was very jealous in guarding the interests of the people against the rapacity of the interested banking classes. In recent years bankers have been selected to head the treasury department, and the monetary policy of the government has been substantially in line with the demands of the Wall Street gamblers and the great banking interests. At every turn the demands of capitalism, of the reactionary and selfish interests, are primarily considered. The President is proving himself as complete a slave of expediency as he is a master of strenuous language. On every

hand corporate wealth is proving not only the virtual master of the administration and of the dominant party, but, presuming on the hopeless demoralization of Democracy and the deflection of the Socialistic votes from other liberal and truly republican parties, the machine and the corporations are forcing reactionary class interests forward to such an extent that the nation to-day is far less republican in many respects than other governments where friends of freedom in former times drew inspiration from the United States.

The crimes against the genius of free government in the interests of plutocracy would have been impossible but for the distracted condition of the Democratic party and the fact that that organization sheltered an element as reactionary, as opportunistic, as the Republican party—an element as beholden to corporate wealth, to Wall Street speculators, and to reactionary tendencies as the trust-ridden party of Knox, Root, Quay, Addicks, Aldrich, and Hanna. Hundreds and thousands of voters who believe in direct legislation, the popular ownership of public utilities, and the abolition of class legislation, have turned to the Socialist party as being a sincere and honest advocate of these vital demands. The division of the Democratic party has been the opportunity of the trusts, corporations, and the community of wealth, and they have improved it to the utmost. The present outlook for the early triumph of the fundamental principles of republican government and the turning back of the tide of class rule as embodied in the government of the corporations through the partizan machine and its creatures, is less hopeful than in several of the European governments.

It is not, however, without its signs of promise; for in spite of the great power of corporate wealth in owning or controlling and dictating the policy of the great dailies and many of the greatest magazines and other periodicals; in spite of the fact that the administration is bound hand and foot to the partizan machine and that the machine is absolutely controlled by corporate wealth and, furthermore, in spite of the fact that one faction of the Democratic party is as recreant to the ideals of republican government as is the party of Lincoln to-day, there is a tremendous undercurrent of unrest that is rapidly rising. The appalling revelations of wholesale corruption in the postal department, where the railroads have for years been enabled through the connivance of the government to plunder the people in extortionate charges out of far more than the annual deficit of the department; the amazing revelation of the plunder of the people seen in the treasury graft scandal and the western land

swindles; the uncovering of wholesale and systematic bribery by the corporations in municipal and State governments, and the increase of the cost of living from twenty to thirty per cent., with no corresponding increase in salaries or wages for ninety-five per cent. of the wealth-creators, are preparing the way for one of those mighty political tidal waves that at times move forward with irresistible momentum.

The distracted and disordered condition of the Democratic party, and the fact that the really republican elements are warring, when reactionary and class interests are united, though depressing to all friends of free government, are no cause for despair, but should stimulate the friends of freedom or republican government to enter the political arena with the fire, enthusiasm, earnestness, sincerity and superb courage manifested by Hancock, Adams, Otis, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson in that earlier day when class interests and reactionary rule assailed justice and sought to trample upon the rights of man.

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### MATERIAL PROSPERITY AND PERMANENT GREATNESS.

To serious-minded students of history one of the most disquieting signs of our day is the all but universal tendency to elevate material prosperity to a supreme place in the consideration of the people. Our commercial supremacy, our material ascendancy, our wealth in dollars and cents—these are the things that from our President and statesmen down through the press to the vast mass of the people, are advanced as matters of overmastering consideration.

The question as to whether a policy or an action squares with the fundamental demands which differentiate a republic or democracy from a monarchy or a class government, is secondary in consideration to the demand of exploiting influences fostered by privilege and which have elevated the supposed requirements of trade to the throne consecrated and dedicated to justice, freedom, and human rights.

And yet history should teach us how pitifully shallow and short-sighted is a statesmanship or a national consciousness that permits commercialism or expediency to over-ride the demands of the eternal ethical verities. Out of the wrecks of the past comes no clearer voice than that which proclaims the doom of all nations that have exalted trade or material prosperity



over the empire of moral or intellectual rectitude. The austere religion of Israel, the philosophy and noble art of Greece, the justice or law of Rome, gave to those ancient civilizations their immortality; and the power and greatness of their peoples passed not from them until after they permitted the dominating moral ideals to become subordinate to sensuous and materialistic ideals. Egoism, the passion for wealth, ease, and luxury, and cruel and unjust subjugation of others finally wrought their downfall and death, but were powerless to wrest from them their crowns of fadeless glory or despoil humanity of the great gifts they bestowed upon civilization. Though their sceptres passed when the conscience of the people became recreant to the divine ideal which gave their civilizations vitality, their power remained a potent force in the world; while other civilizations, far richer than Israel or Greece in material wealth, far richer than Rome when she was at her moral zenith, vanished and are all but forgotten. Persia, Assyria, Egypt! What inspiration comes from these sepulchres of might and power? Babylon, Nineveh and Memphis are melancholy words, devoid of inspiration and suggesting a gorgeous pageant, rich in tinsel gew-gaws and red light, dazzling, perhaps, but essentially hollow and evanescent. On this point Victor Hugo, in discussing the power of education, the influence of the school in which the mind and the soul are informed, well observed:

Tyre bought and sold; Berytus bought and sold; Sidon bought and sold; Sarepta bought and sold. Where are these cities? Athens taught; and she is to this hour one of the capitals of human thought.

The grass is growing on the six steps of the tribune where spoke Demosthenes; the Ceramicus is a ravine half-choked with the marble-dust which was once the palace of Cecrops; the Odeon of Herod Atticus, at the foot of the Acropolis, is now but a ruin on which falls, at certain hours, the imperfect shadow of the Parthenon; the temple of Theseus belongs to the swallows; the goats browse on the Pnyx. Still the Greek spirit lives; still Greece is queen; still Greece is goddess. A counting-house passes away: a school remains.

This elevation of material considerations above the requirements of the basic moral verities and the underlying principles of pure democracy is as deadly to free government as would be the cutting of the tap-root fatal to the life of the vigorous young oak that promised to become the monarch of the forest. Gold may be a blessing. It is just as liable to be a deadly curse. History eloquently testifies to the melancholy fact that material prosperity may mark the decay of all that is most worthy or

vital in a nation or civilization. Time and again it has proved not merely the herald or forerunner, but the positive cause of national eclipse. Material prosperity is beneficent only when it is the handmaid of justice. Only when the dominating spirit in the nation is altruistic rather than egoistic, only when the law of solidarity and its implications are so honestly accepted as to be manifest in national action; only when the Golden Rule overshadows selfish desires, class rule, or personal ambition, can material prosperity add to the real glory and permanent greatness of a people.

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### HUMAN ACHIEVEMENT AND SORDID GAIN.

Among the many examples of sophistry, as shallow as it is pernicious, which wealth and privilege are industriously disseminating, is the claim that the incentive of money or material personal gain is the chief inspirer of genius, invention, and discovery. It is asserted as a dogmatic fact that if social changes were inaugurated in which the incentive to personal wealth was withdrawn, dullness and mediocrity would flourish where now society is being enriched by wonderful discoveries, master strokes of inventive genius, and rich creations of the splendid imaginations of artists, poets, and scholars, because the mainspring of action would be removed; which is equivalent to saying that wealth of the mind and soul—the glories of the imagination, the revelations of science, and the creations of literature and art—is chiefly stimulated by the lash of hunger or the sordid dream of golden treasures.

That the intelligence and common sense of the public should be so insulted by the constant iteration of sophistry belied by every page of history, would be incredible if it were not for the fact that we are in the midst of an age of commercial materialism in which success in life is measured by the acquirement of gold by the high-priests of conventionalism, and where the fear of hunger and want is an ever-present specter in millions of homes. As a matter of historical fact only a small minority of the men of genius who have won an enviable immortality through enriching civilization and ennobling mankind, have been by nature so slothful that hunger served to urge them to conquests or achievements; while still fewer have been stimulated by a sordid dream.

Genius is nothing if not restless and active. Her children may be and often are erratic. They are seldom slothful. Run over the list of those who have been chief among the prophets, poets, painters, sculptors, scientists, discoverers, and inventors, and it will be seen that while few were driven by hunger or lured by avarice, many were terribly hampered by poverty and paralyzed by the ever-present fear of the starvation and suffering of those dependent upon them. It will be seen that the greatest benefactors of humanity were either among the poor who sought not personal wealth but rather the benefit of humanity, or were in comfortable circumstances such as would be within the reach of all men and women under just social conditions in which equal opportunities and rights should be guaranteed to all and special privileges granted to none.

Take the prophets and ethical leaders, from Isaiah to Savonarola, Luther, Mazzini, Wilberforce, Garrison, and Phillips. How many were urged on by the gnawings of hunger or the passion for gold, or stimulated by any thought of self? Not one. Take the philosophers, from Socrates and Plato to Locke, Rousseau, Kant, and Emerson. The same facts are revealed. Take sculpture and painting, from Phidias to Michaelangelo; from Raphael to Millet. How many wrought merely for bread or slaved for wealth? The same is true of discovery, from Columbus to Humboldt, and from Humboldt to Livingstone. In science Darwin, Wallace, Huxley, Tyndall, Crookes, and Kelvin are typical of the master spirits in special fields, some of whom exiled themselves from country and the comforts of civilization for long periods, with no thought other than the discovery of new truth. The passion for truth, together with its sister passions, those of love and beauty—the trinity of divine expression—has been the inspirer of genius and beneficent action in all ages and times. But often, indeed, has necessity compelled these torch-bearers of progress and enrichers of mankind to turn from their great work and the splendid dreams that filled their brains with divine light, and which might and would have enriched all future ages had they been given to the world, in order to drudge and toil that loved ones dependent upon them should not starve.

Under just social conditions all this would disappear. The haunting fear of a morrow of want and starvation would be forever banished, and the brain and soul would know that freedom that is above all necessary for the noblest expression of life on any plane. Then would come grander ideals, nobler ethics, loftier philosophy, more splendid art, more marvelous

scientific discoveries, and greater inventions than the world has ever known, for then for the first time conditions favoring the people as a whole would foster the full-orbed expression of the best in every life. If the nineteenth century was the most wonderful hundred years in civilization's annals, it was primarily because humanity enjoyed a greater measure of freedom and because education was more diffused than ever before. Under still juster conditions the incentives to genius and intellectual achievements would be greatly augmented. The broader vision of justice and the proud consciousness that the new freedom which fosters joy and growth would be no longer the prize of the few but the splendid heritage of the millions, would give a deeper, richer, diviner meaning to life than was possible in any age in which egoism was the dominant note, and where war and competition fostered the savage in the soul of man.

And more than this, the recognition of the solidarity of life, in so far as it relates to humanity, would lift man to spiritual heights only as yet traversed by the very elect. It would bring the soul into such close rapport with the Infinite that the eyes of man would be opened anew, and he would see not only good and evil, but would perceive how beneficent, how altogether lovely is the good; and he would see that truth and love and beauty are one, or are but different manifestations of the same Infinite Life; that, while truth speaks to reason, and beauty feeds and purifies the imagination, love warms and glorifies the heart or soul; while in them all is heard the voice of the Infinite—the voice of the All-Father, who is Light and Life and Love.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.\*

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A PRINCE OF SINNERS. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. 386 pp. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

In "A Prince of Sinners" we have one of the best novels of the year, and though its economic theories impress us as being shallow and worse than valueless, as we shall later point out, the novel considered as a clever story of present-day social life in England has few peers in recent fiction.

The personality that stands out most boldly in the romance is Lord Arranmore, the "Prince of Sinners," though perhaps the best character study is that of the wealthy parvenue, Mr. Bullsom, a contractor who has by modern financial methods amassed an enormous fortune. He is unlettered, and at times suggests Mr. Howells' Silas Lapham, but he has a thoroughly good heart and it is with pleasure that the reader follows his good fortune, which finally leads him to the House of Commons.

In the opening chapter and for some time after Lord Arranmore is cloaked in mystery, as is also the paternity of Kingston Brooks, a young barrister second only to Arranmore in prominence in the work. The lord's life, as is finally revealed, has been marked by amazing extremes. A younger son of a wealthy English nobleman, he was suddenly brought face to face with the frightful wretchedness of the submerged tenth in London. So profoundly was he impressed that, from a life of gaiety and frivolity, he turned to a career of self-abnegation. Suddenly and mysteriously disappearing from his accustomed haunts and taking the name of Brooks, he worked in the most wretched sections of London for many years. At length he became a police court missionary, and while engaged in his philanthropic work he married a lady who like himself had foresworn all in life save ministering to the outcasts and exiles of society. There was no special affinity between them other than mutual interest in their work, but in the course of time a son was born, not, however, before the father, broken in health and spirit, had come measurably under the baleful psychological influence of the social cellar. And here our author displays a knowledge of the new psychology as accurate and profound as his protection views are superficial and sophistical. Those who have made a close study of the subtle influences which sway the mind in a psychic or psychological manner have found a key to many things that were hitherto insoluble mysteries. They understand, for example, that when a physical organism or nature has become ener-

\*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

vated by over-work, fatigue, mental worry, or physical disease, the mind becomes negative and incapable of resisting the intangible influences born of the psychical environment that under normal conditions and with a sound, healthy body and an unoppressed mind would have no perceptible effect. The telepathy of the pit, the psychic miasma of the under-world of dissipation and moral death is at once the most subtle and one of the most deadly influences that assail the moral and mental nature when man is in a weakened or negative state. And either knowing this fact from the later revelations of advanced psychology, or following the lead of truth as a mind touched with the madness of genius is wont to do, our author has given a faithful picture of the giving way of the moral and mental equilibrium of a man whose health had been shattered by over-work in the most horrible environment, and whose mind had been long oppressed by the hopelessness of the outlook for the spawn of civilization's inferno. At length this worker, who for years had lived in an atmosphere of physical and moral contagion, was overtaken by brain fever, and it was as though the manes of the multitude who had gone to their graves through the gates of debauchery held high carnival in his brain. As his physical nature began to reassert itself his mind was possessed with an insane desire to get out of England and in a foreign land let loose all the baser elements of his being in a riot of dissipation such as he had seen tragically depicted for years. With the cunning frequently found among the insane he feigned the need of a change of climate. The wife and the family physician, beholding the wreck of a once noble manhood, encouraged his desire to go to Australia. He, however, had no idea of going to the antipodes. Before leaving he settled most of his money on his wife and son. Then he fared forth, ostensibly for a visit to Australia, but in reality he sailed for Canada. Arriving in Montreal he assumed a fictitious name and entered upon a career of vice and debauchery. He became an expert gambler and in a short time acquired quite a competence, winning from almost all with whom he played and leading one poor man—the father of a girl who later as Mary Scott becomes a leading character in the story—to commit suicide. The riot of debauchery at length spent itself, and in a certain sense the wayward prodigal came to himself. He was, indeed, in the far country and had put a great distance between himself and the normal Soul of the Universe. But during this waking hour of his soul he was led by the inner light to abandon man and sin and to flee to the heart of nature. In a cabin in the woods, miles from any human habitation, this man lived for years, and living thus he recovered to a great extent his moral and mental poise. At length news arrived that he had fallen heir to the title and the fabulously rich estates of the Marquis of Arranmore. He had been known as Philip Ferringshaw in Canada, as he was known as Brooks in London. He now emerged from the wilds of America to assume his title as Lord Arranmore, but a frightful change had come

over this man who now posed as a cold, heartless cynic. All this, however, is incidental to the main story and though intimately related to what follows, occurs before the story opens.

In the romance Kingston Brooks is introduced to the public by Mr. Bullsom on the hustings. A parliamentary election is being held in the district in which Mechester, a great manufacturing city is situated. Brooks manages the campaign for a Liberal candidate. The war in Africa is over and the reaction has come. Mechester is thronged with out-of-works. Industry is paralyzed. Men, women, and children are starving. The Liberal candidate amazes and confounds friends and foes by declaring that he is going to advocate a protective tariff in order to start up the factories and give work to the unemployed. There is much of the threadbare sophistry here introduced with which Americans have been long regaled for the financial advancement of classes enjoying special privileges, and there are many inferences not legitimate because based either on false premises or opposed to the historical facts in the case.

In a demagogical speech the candidate wins over the discontented and gains his seat, only to do as machine candidates in America are wont to do, that is, ignore all ante-election pledges. Brooks and Bullsom, however, after striving to get him to carry out his pledges, compass his defeat at the next election, and Bullsom succeeds him.

Brooks has become in a degree enamored of a niece of Mr. Bullsom, Mary Scott, to whom we have referred as having been orphaned in Montreal through the ruin of her father by the future Lord Arranmore. Later Brooks finds that the nobleman is his father, but he spurns all advances made by the latter because of the desertion of his mother. The fact that Arranmore's mind was unhinged at the time of the desertion has no weight with Brooks, who is decidedly priggish and thoroughly egotistic.

An old sweetheart of Arranmore's and her daughter, Lady Sybil Caroom, occupy a large place in the story. The nobleman seeks the hand of the only woman he ever deeply loved, but she fears to marry a man who has descended into hell and lived there so long. Brooks' affection is divided for a time between Lady Sybil and Mary Scott. This is while he is creating a furor in London by pushing to success a rational or common-sense movement for the reclamation of the submerged tenth by practically assisting their physical needs instead of feeding them on religious tracts or dispensing theological homilies. Mary Scott becomes one of his most efficient aids, and Sybil also engages in the work for a time. At length a journalist assails Brooks, and the Bishop of Beeston after introducing a bill into Parliament to put all charitable institutions under the control of the church, makes a vigorous defense of his measure. Lord Arranmore, who has taken his seat in Parliament, replies in a scathing arraignment of conventional religious charity so effectively as to overwhelmingly defeat the Bishop's bill.

The story ends with the old-time sweetheart accepting Lord Arnamore, the reconciliation of father and son, and, presumably, a happy outcome of Brooks' love affairs.

The novel is written in excellent style, the characters are strongly drawn, the interest of the reader never flags, and the novel as a romance is satisfying. Its economic theories, however, impress us as being thoroughly fallacious and indicative of very superficial knowledge on the part of the author of either the facts of history or the causes that underlie deplorable social conditions. He represents the business stagnation that has overtaken England now that the unholy Boer War is over and the great burden of taxes is falling on the people, as the result of Free Trade, and points as conclusive proof of the fact to the apparently prosperous conditions in America, in connection with the problem of the unemployed in England.

The reasoning is as superficial as the premises upon which his argument rests are unsound. One has only to go back in his mind ten years in our country's history to find himself confronted by a period of business depression, in spite of the boundless natural resources and great wealth of the United States, which presented as tragic a spectacle as anything seen in England to-day. There were then tens if not hundreds of thousands of people in New England eagerly clamoring for the opportunity to work that they might not starve. More than a million able-bodied men and women in the United States were begging for work of any kind, but finding none. Many thousands assembled on Beacon Hill in Boston and pled with the law-makers to let them labor on some public works that they might not starve. Cox's army marched peaceably to Washington, occasioning much apprehension in the minds of the moneyed class, while the spectacle of unemployed thousands begging for the privilege of working was familiar in every great city.

Now all this misery, this mighty army of over a million out-of-works, many of whom were in a starving condition, occurred under a high tariff régime, during the halcyon days of protection. True, the trusts were not so powerful and wealth had not been so augmented in the hands of the few as now; but the protectionists were so rich and powerful as to prevent any material lowering of the tariff, which would have relieved the condition of the unemployed and rendered less pitiable the lot of the very poor by making life's necessities cheaper in price. There was an insufficient circulating medium, due to the machinations of the money power and seven years of successive crop failures. These had occasioned a condition of widespread misery that had never before been equalled in America and was almost comparable to the terrible starvation and widespread poverty in England before the triumph of Free Trade, when Great Britain was in the grip of the protectionists. The stagnation in business, the problem of the unemployed, and the suffering of the poor in England to-day are not a circumstance to what they were when the landlords were waxing rich off of dear bread and all Free Trade talk was denounced as rank heresy.



With us the Spanish War set in circulation vast sums of money, while the expense of the war stimulated anew stagnant industry. The revival of business came as reformers predicted it would come, with the increase of money in circulation; but what more than aught else has given us what prosperity we really have, that is solid in character, are the successive seasons of enormous crops and the great demand for our products, due to war and failure of crops in other parts of the world. Much of our so-called prosperity, however, is anything but real. Vast sums on paper, or inflated capitalizations, or the presence of what J. Pierpont Morgan happily termed "undigested securities," are in no sense real wealth or evidences of healthy prosperity; while the rapid augmentation of wealth, through protective legislation and other special privileges, in the hands of a very few, is wealth gained at the expense of the many, and when a period of depression comes, when a succession of bad crops overtakes us, we will be liable to see even worse times in America than England now experiences; for government in the mother country is far more responsive to public interests and less subservient to the demands of corporate greed than with us.

The economic theories advanced in this book impress us as shallow and thoroughly fallacious, but the romance considered as such is without doubt one of the best stories of the year.

THE MAIN CHANCE. By Meredith Nicholson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 419. Price 1.50. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

The Hoosier State was long regarded by the literati east of the Appalachian Mountains much as the Pharisees of old regarded Nazareth. Recent years, however, have wrought a very marked change—such a change, indeed, that Indiana is fast becoming the Massachusetts of the Middle West, thanks to Gen. Lew Wallace, James Whitcomb Riley, the late John Clark Ridpath, the late Maurice Thompson, Booth Tarkington, and other writers of marked ability, and also in no small measure to the presence in its State capital of a strong, progressive, and discriminating book publishing house. The Bobbs-Merrill Company has of late been to Indiana, in a measure, at least, what Houghton, Mifflin and Company and their predecessors were to New England. They have made a literary center and are stimulating literary efforts. During the present year no publishing house in America has sent out more novels of the first class or clothed its fiction in more elegant dress than this enterprising firm. And, what is more important, they are introducing some strong new writers to the public. The latest example of this kind is found in Meredith Nicholson, whose new book, "The Main Chance," justly entitles him to a high place among the vigorous and wholesome novelists of the west.

"The Main Chance" is a strong, clean, wholesome story of western life, thoroughly natural, devoid of plot, and with little of the melodramatic about it, but very strong in human interest; absorbing because, while being thoroughly true to life, its characters are drawn with

the skill and power of a gifted intellect trained to closely observe human nature. In many places the story strongly reminds one of Hamlin Garland's romances, but with no suggestion of imitation. The resemblance is due to the fact that both writers picture western life with the power of the veritist novelist, and both are thoroughly acquainted with the free western types. True, they deal with different spheres of life, Mr. Garland being the apostle of out-door existence and for the most part the depicter of toil-worn life; while Mr. Nicholson concerns himself chiefly with the denizens of Clarkson, a western city in the Missouri Valley, and his characters are found principally among the educated, the wealthy, or the well-to-do, although the hero, John Saxton, is neither independent in circumstances nor a western man. On the contrary, he hails from New England, though he is not unfamiliar with the west, for after graduating from Harvard he sank what little means he possessed in a ranch in Wyoming. After this costly experience he returned to Boston, when he was commissioned by the Neponset Trust Company to go west and straighten out their business difficulties due to loaning money on western securities before the long years of crop failures and hard times of a decade ago.

Saxton makes his headquarters at Clarkson, and with characteristic American determination and perseverance enters upon his labors. Here he meets and falls in love with Evelyn Porter, the only daughter of one of the old bankers of the town, and a belle in Clarkson where she has many suitors, the principal of which are a childhood playmate, Warry Raridan, and the cashier of Mr. Porter's bank.

There is much action and some exciting adventures and happenings, for, as we have observed, a strong human interest runs through the work, such as will always attach to a story dealing with real people who are natural, wholesome, and depicted with the power of a true novelist.

Evelyn Porter is a fine type of the unspoiled American girl whose education has strengthened her character as well as polished her manners. The portrayal of Warry Raridan also is a graphic piece of character study. He is the bright though sometimes superficial young man who from the knee-breeches age has been the lover of the banker's daughter, but who, having been cursed with so much money that he does not have to work, trifles away his days as a butterfly in July.

But perhaps James Wheaton, the cashier of the bank and a suitor for Evelyn's hand, is the most suggestive creation. As a small boy east of the Mississippi, he engaged with his brother in a theft, but on account of the brother's magnanimity in taking all the blame, Jim was not sent to prison. He thus had the one chance that would be the saving of thousands of youthful criminals if given them, and while his brother served sentence he secured a position as newsboy on a train. Later he drifted into Clarkson, secured a permanent position, and by faithful service gained the confidence of the people. Finally he was employed in the bank as errand boy, and later, after several promotions, was made cashier of the institution; while his brother, in prison, as-

sociated with men schooled in crime, became a hardened criminal and a confirmed law-breaker. He is the evil genius of the story, as John Saxton is the hero, and in the end the successful suitor.

The story is a capital romance of present-day western life, and a credit to the literature of the Mississippi Valley.

**REFORM IN THE JUNGLE.** By Oliver C. McCardell. Cloth. 60 pp. Price 50 cents. Washington, The Neale Pub. Co.

This is a bright little book for children, giving the imaginary biography of a member of the royal Chimpanzee dynasty who was kidnapped and taken to America, where he passed through many unhappy experiences, but finally succeeded in getting on board a vessel carrying mules to South Africa and in due time reached his home and ascended the throne of his fathers.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

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CHIEF JUSTICE CLARK ON THE PERILS OF THE PRESENT:—Last month we opened a series of notable papers on vital political and economic themes, by master minds among our educators, statesmen, and essayists, in the powerful paper by Dean Geo. McA. Miller, on "The Bible *versus* Plutocracy." This month we publish the second contribution to this series in Chief Justice Walter Clark's powerful unmasking of the injustice, oppression, and corruption of corporate power in the Republic. This paper is one of the noblest and most convincing appeals for justice for the masses of modern times. It is worthy of the greatest statesman of the past. It rings true at every point, and is in perfect alignment with fundamental principles of Democracy. While we regret that the distinguished jurist did not touch upon Direct Legislation, among his suggestions for immediate reformative measures, we note with great satisfaction his demand that the Judiciary and the Senators be elected by direct vote of the people; that the people own and control all public utilities, and that just taxation and the abolition of special privileges be made keystones of the advance movement in politics. No thoughtful American who is at once concerned in the perpetuation of free institutions, in averting a Revolution of Force, and in securing justice for all the toilers, can afford to overlook this masterly utterance from one of the ablest and most distinguished representatives of the American Judiciary. Chief Justice Clark is a ripe scholar, the author of a number of important legal works, and for years he has been a contributor to leading American periodicals, such as *THE ARENA*, *North American Review*, *Harpers Magazine*, *Magazine of American History*, and *The American Law Review*. In 1889 he was elected Associate Justice on the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, and a year ago, after one of the most hotly contested campaigns in the history of the Judiciary of North Carolina, Justice Clark swept the state for the office of Chief Justice, being elected by over 60,000 majority. The opposition was headed by the American Tobacco Trust and reinforced by the corporations and monopolies who justly fear the incorruptible Judge and clear-seeing statesman.

DR. NEWTON'S FINE STUDY OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON:—Seldom is it the privilege of a magazine to present to its readers so fine and discriminating a study of the life and character of a great man as that which we publish this month in the study of Ralph Waldo Emerson, by the Rev. R. Heber Newton. The Concord thinker

was one of the greatest ethical philosophers of any age. He was one of the high-priests of American literature, a poet in a very true sense, and above all else his life was one of the purest, sanest, noblest, and most simple that has glorified the earth since the great Nazarene trod the sands of Judea. It is difficult to estimate the value, the inspiration, and the spiritual exaltation that comes into the thought-world of him who is privileged to peruse so fine and comprehensive a study of so elevating a subject as that presented by Dr. Newton this month. And how restful it is, after the surfeit of lives of men of blood and iron and the nauseating adulations by the conventional press of the money lords who through gambling, special privilege, and cunning have acquired vast fortunes, to come into the atmosphere of the simple and serene poet, philosopher, and typical democrat of New England. No more important message has been given to the young men and women of America to-day than that found in the compass of this essay, treated so effectively by the broad-minded Episcopal divine. This paper is the opening article in a series of studies of lives of the truly great—those who have helped the world onward and who represent the aristocracy of moral and mental excellence.

**PLUTOCRACY'S LATEST DEMAND:**—No more important political contribution has appeared in the pages of an American review in months than the masterly paper which we present in this issue, from the scholarly pen of the Hon. Wharton Barker, A.M., of Philadelphia. The author is admirably qualified for the work he has so ably performed in this discussion. In 1863, although he was only seventeen years of age, he commanded a company of colored soldiers and helped to organize the Third United States Colored Troops. In 1866 he graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1869 received from his alma mater the degree of Master of Arts. After leaving the university he became a member of the banking firm of Barker Brothers & Company, where he gained a wide and intimate knowledge and experience of finance. In 1878 he was appointed financial agent of the Russian government in the United States, and was entrusted by the Czar with the building of four cruisers for the Russian navy. He has been prominently connected with many of the leading and successful business enterprises in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, and for years he has been the owner and editor of the *Weekly American*.

Many political crimes of gigantic proportion have been perpetrated since the rise of corporate power in the republic, and the influence and control of organized wealth and class interests have been dominating factors in government; but we doubt if anything has yet been consummated by the national government at the demand of a small but interested class half so potential for evil as the legislation so urgently demanded by the banking interests, and especially by J. P. Morgan and his friends on the one hand and the New York City Bank, or the Standard Oil Bank as it is popularly known, on the other. Mr. Barker sounds a note of warning to statesmen and the people, though it is highly

probable that the president in this case, as on various occasions when corporate wealth and public interests have conflicted, will not jeopardize his nomination by throwing down the gauntlet to the Wall Street gamblers and the creatures of privilege. Indeed, we shall be much surprised if Senator Aldrich, the father-in-law of young Rockefeller, does not succeed in winning a decisive victory for plutocracy. Yet the day of reckoning will come. Already signs are not wanting which indicate that it may come much more speedily than the money-changers in the temple of democracy imagine; and this statesmanlike and luminous paper by Mr. Barker will do much toward opening the eyes of the people on one of the most important subjects of the hour. It has been well observed that whoever controls the finances of a nation has the people of that nation in his power; and the legislation of recent years and that contemplated at the present time will effectively place the finances of the nation in the hands of a relatively small class whose headquarters are in Wall Street and whose gambling in stocks belongs for the most part to that class of gaming known as playing with loaded dice.

COMMISSIONER INGRAM ON MUNICIPAL LIGHTING:—It is the purpose of THE ARENA each month to present one or more practical papers on the great fundamental principles relating to the success of democracy or republican government. At the present time, next to the question of securing to the people the popular government contemplated by the fathers, through changes and modifications which altered conditions necessitate, no question is of more immediate and vital importance than the public ownership of public utilities. In all recent investigations of political corruption in municipal and state governments, it has been shown that in the great majority of cases the debauching of the people's servants, the betrayal of the communities, and the high-handed robbery of the people have been consummated by the public service companies or the corporations operating public utilities. Leaving out of consideration all motives of economy and expediency, as well as the fundamental principle that the people in a popular government should operate all public utilities, the question of purity of government alone would demand the immediate abolition of private ownership and control of the natural monopolies. In this number of THE ARENA we give one of the most able and convincing papers that has been prepared in recent years, demonstrating the practical value as well as the importance of municipal ownership of public lighting plants. It has been prepared by the Hon. Frederick F. Ingram, Commissioner of Public Lighting in Detroit, and is a paper that should be carefully read by all reformers and friends of republican government.

AN EDUCATOR'S PLEA FOR A HOME-MAKERS' COLLEGE:—Our new series of papers on Twentieth Century Education, by eminent and authoritative thinkers, is opened in this issue by Professor Oscar Chrisman's deeply thoughtful discussion of "Education for the

Home." Prof. Chrisman holds the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Jena, and that of Master of Arts from the Indiana State University. He is a member of the faculty of the Ohio State University, and as our readers will see, is a deep, bold, and progressive thinker who discusses education fundamentally and broadly. The subject considered is one of the most vital themes that confront the educators of the twentieth century—a subject that cannot fail to deeply interest all readers of *THE ARENA*.

**PROFESSOR MAXEY ON LAWLESSNESS:**—Professor Maxey's papers are always timely, bright, and thoroughly readable. This month he discusses "Mob Rule" in a logical and statesmanlike manner, appealing, as do most of the writers for *THE ARENA*, to the basic principles of justice, reason, and right.

**HON. WILLIAM V. ALLEN ON THE PEOPLE'S PARTY:**—The reactionary element in the Democratic party threatens to recapture the organization and nominate a candidate as acceptable to corporation interests as the candidate the Republicans will nominate. In view of this contingency, leading representatives of the two wings of the People's Party recently met in Denver, Colorado, and formed a coalition of forces to fight for the central demands of the Omaha Platform. This meeting has attracted general attention to the People's Party, making the discussion by Ex-United States Senator William V. Allen, on the necessity of the People's Party a most interesting and timely topic. Ex-Senator Allen is without question, the ablest leader in the People's Party. When in the United States Senate he ranked among the ablest debaters, and his conspicuous ability was freely recognized by the opposition.

**A GREAT SCULPTOR ON THE DIGNITY OF LABOR:**—One of the principal ethical features of this number is Mr. Elwell's contribution on the importance of labor in the development of the individual. The truths he impresses are timely, as everywhere we see a tendency to look down upon manual toil and to, so far as possible, avoid it as something degrading rather than ennobling. Mr. Elwell is Curator of the Department of Ancient and Modern Statuary in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Arts. He is also one of the foremost American sculptors. Among his many famous works may be mentioned his "Dickens and Little Nell," representing Charles Dickens and Little Nell, which after being exhibited at the World's Fair at Chicago was awarded a gold medal by the Philadelphia Art Club and subsequently was purchased by the Fairmount Art Association of Philadelphia. "Diana and the Lion," or "Intelligence Subduing Brute Force," was also exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair and later found a place in the Gallery of Modern Masters in the Art Institute of Chicago. A bust of Levi P. Morton which adorns the Senate Chamber in the United States Capitol; a heroic equestrian statue of General Hancock, now

occupying a conspicuous place on the battlefield of Gettysburg; "Egypt Awakening;" "Mary Magdalen;" a bust of Robert Collyer; a bas-relief of Edwin Booth; "The Origin of Religion," and "The New Life" are other notable creations that have been widely praised by the best and most discriminating artists. Mr. Elwell was born and reared in Concord, Massachusetts, at the time when Emerson, Alcott and Thoreau were powerful personalities in that beautiful and historic town. His natural idealistic tastes were greatly stimulated by the intellectual atmosphere which surrounded his youth; but the person of all others who most beneficently influenced his early life was Louisa M. Alcott. She became his foster mother, and, leading him through her own thought-world, unfolded the beauties of goodness. The deep spiritual ideals received by the boy from the gifted author were a shield and a buckler to him in his student days in Paris and elsewhere, and have greatly aided in making him a positive moral power in the community.

**THE HOUSING OF UNATTACHED WOMEN WORKERS:—**  
The new conscience which is stirring society in various directions and which is the hope of the republic, finds voice in a very interesting paper published in this issue entitled "A Neglected Phase of the Housing Problem." The movement that has been successfully inaugurated to meet this very real want in New York City is most encouraging and because of its practical and financial success will doubtless lead to similar movements in all of our great cities, the result of which cannot fail to be salutary.



*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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# THE ARENA

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## IS THE REPUBLIC PASSING?

### I. THE OVERSHADOWING QUESTION.

**I**S the republic passing? Is the most promising experiment in free government gradually succumbing to those subtle influences that have most frequently led to the transformation or overthrow of republics in the past? Had this question been seriously asked twenty-five years ago, probably ninety-five per cent. of the most intelligent citizens would have unhesitatingly answered in the negative, while the majority would have dismissed the query as too absurd to challenge grave consideration. Yet to-day the most thoughtful and intelligent among the true friends of republican institutions—those who still reverence the Declaration of Independence and the teachings of the founders of our government—either freely admit this to be the most serious and disquieting question of the hour, or, like the scholarly Dr. Francis Abbott, sadly maintain that the republic is a thing of the past. Nor is this all. Many of the finest scholars, the truest prophets, and even the most discerning politicians of Europe, recognize the momentous and fundamental character of the changes that have been wrought in the republic in the last three decades quite as clearly as do the most thoughtful and disinterested of our people.

## II. AS OTHERS SEE US.

He who is removed from the heat of a great struggle, if he thoroughly understands the fundamental issues involved, and is acquainted with the important facts and details of the contest, is often far better qualified to justly judge of the meaning of what is taking place and the trend of certain happenings than are those who are actively participating in the occurring events; for not only has he a better vantage-ground for observation, but he is less liable to be influenced by prejudice, passion, personal feeling, or the psychic or thought waves that are in active vibration, all of which tend to blind reason and vitiate sound judgment.

With these facts in mind we invite the attention of the reader to some recently-expressed views of persons residing across the Atlantic who are thoroughly competent to judge of this grave question. The first opinion is taken from a personal letter recently received from one of the most able magazine and review essayists of the Old World. The writer is a man of mature judgment, residing in London, though spending a portion of his time in Paris and elsewhere. He is a valued and frequent contributor to leading European reviews and periodicals, while the philosophical bent of his mind, his wide knowledge of history and of events of the past fifty years, together with his passionate love of democracy, make his opinions of special value to friends of republican institutions. After discussing the fine work that a mutual literary friend is doing for the cause of free government, our correspondent writes:

"I think he realizes the dangers of the moment, but to realize the dangers and the signs of the times to the full one has, I think, to know both Europe and America intimately—the political, religious, and social signs of Paris, London, and New York. Had I not lived in Paris under Louis Napoleon, as well as under the different presidents since, I should not now be in a position to feel my way as by a thread in a dark corridor where the lamp of Liberty has gone out. What does all this display of fashion and luxury really mean? Why is Paris more frenzied and frivolous than ever before? Why is republican New York

the most pompous and imperial of cities? Why are the nobles of England becoming more democratic and the Americans more snobbish? These are rude questions, and they must be answered by Americans. Truly there is a task before someone. . . . What you have to deal with in America is snobbery. We have here in London a host of American women who have shaken the democratic dust of America off their feet forever, and who are nightly to be seen at the royal opera, their heads covered with tiaras and coronets, giving themselves all the airs and presumptions of sybaritic queens, and who think it a disgrace to talk of America. Yet their fortunes were made in the American mines and the American railroads, and without the American laborer they would this moment be living in the backwoods, on the remote plains, or on some obscure street of New York, unheard of, unobserved, and unknown. Snobbery is undermining American institutions. . . . Within a short period of twenty years your rich American snobs have made of New York, Washington, and Chicago antechambers of London and Paris. But as I said before, one must know the society of Paris and London, as well as that of New York, to really know what is going on. One must see to believe. I often sit and dream of the old American days, when democracy, sincerity, and patriotism were one; when liberty, independence, and progress were found together, and when greed and pretention were all but unknown. And as I think of the solemn hour when with bowed heads we passed by Lincoln's coffin, in the Chicago Court House, I ask myself what such scenes mean in the history of the American people. In those days there were no snobs in the sense in which we have them now, and society at Washington was simple, democratic, and natural. The city of Washington which I knew was not troubled with European airs and conventions. . . . As for American women marrying English lords, I have this to say: the women who bring their fortunes here are bringing them to bolster up a decadent world. . . . I predict an invasion of broken-down lords of all grades in the near future, until at last there will not be a fortune left in America of any considerable size that will not pass to the favor of men residing in England or on the Continent. 'Come what may,' said an Englishman to me not long ago, 'we are bound to possess the wealth of the American millionaires in the long run, through the American women.' . . . Before closing I wish to call your attention to a matter of the gravest importance. Germany and England will both put every possible effort into the balance to win over the American people

to the side of monarchical habits and institutions. The visit of Prince Henry was nothing but a ruse in this direction. The German Emperor is an arch-flatterer, but he hates democracy."

Turning from this remarkably acute observer and eminent writer to the rugged pioneer Russian author, philosopher, and reformer, Count Tolstoi, we find another keen student of modern civilization and the trend of present-day governments whose convictions are even more positive in reference to our republic than those of our correspondent from England. The great eastern iconoclast is at once a man of genius and a prophet of righteousness. As the former he views life on the colossal scale. The type, the trend of events, the dominant note—these are the things with which he is concerned. As a prophet he is bold, direct, brutally frank and extreme if you will; but his generalizations are true in essence if ultra in expression. Few men in remote regions have kept in so close touch with the heart throbs in great western nations as has Count Tolstoi. Hence his opinions, if severe, possess interest and value because they come from one thoroughly acquainted with the dominant political and social life currents and the trend of events in the republic, and also because his utterances are the opinions of a man absolutely sincere and honest, who has made himself almost as much a stone rejected by the builders, because he has insisted on taking Jesus seriously and living the Christ life, as did the founder of Christianity by his unconventional life and lofty spiritual teachings. In a remarkable interview with the distinguished journalist, James Creelman, which recently appeared in the *New York World*, Count Tolstoi said:

"America has lost her youth. Her hair is growing gray her teeth are falling out; she is becoming senile. Voltaire said that France was rotten before she was ripe, but what shall be said of a nation whose ideals have perished almost in one generation? Your Emersons, Garrisons, and Whittiers are all gone. You produce nothing but rich men. In the years before and after the Civil War the soul-life of your people flowered and bore fruit. You are pitiful materialists now."

Discerning scholars who are friends of republican institutions, and the great reformers and prophets of the Old World are by no means the only observers who have noticed the startling reactionary changes that have marked the republic during the past ten or fifteen years. Diplomats and politicians of the reactionary school have hailed with delight the apostacy of the republic—the falling away of the people from the high, fine ideals of the first century of our history. In a graphic paper by the brilliant and vigorous young author, David Graham Phillips, which recently appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*, the views of an *attaché* of one of the continental embassies at London who is a close student of political life and tendencies were given in the following language to an American friend at a social function held at Carlton House:

“You Americans are very popular here,” said the diplomat.

“Yes,” replied the American.

“And on the Continent also,” said the diplomat.

“Yes,” replied the American. “How the German Emperor does love us—he is almost as enthusiastic as King Edward.”

“You are very popular,” went on the diplomat, “and very unpopular. You were never so popular or so unpopular.”

“You mean we are unpopular because of the American trade invasion?”

“Not at all. That is a trifling matter. It concerns only the politicians and a few manufacturers and the farmers, and the most of the farmers over here are too ignorant to know what ails them. No—let me explain. Formerly we—and when I say we, over here, I mean the upper classes, the dominating classes, those which still rule for all this talk about the progress of democracy—formerly we feared you; we pretended to despise you, but in fact we were afraid. You were the great experiment in democracy, that is in anarchy—in the rule of the masses, the mob. Your success meant serious trouble if not the handwriting on the wall for us, because our masses were always thinking of you.” Here the diplomat smiled peculiarly and glanced around the room.

“Now all that has been changed,” he went on. “Europe and America are better acquainted. We no longer fear you—why should we? . . . Our fears have been proved groundless, our suspicions have been justified. And so our upper class

hated you, now—well, it neither loves nor admires you, but it honors and courts you. And our masses who once looked up to you as their ideal—” He shrugged his shoulders.

“They no longer look up to us?”

“They look down upon you. They see that you, too, have your dominating upper class just as they have. And they prefer their own kind of upper class as less sordid, less vulgar, the embodiment of a more inspiring ideal. . . . They prefer their own princes to ‘bosses’ and upstart newly-rich.”

“But suppose that these Americans whom you see over here and whom you read most about are not representative?”

“But, my dear friend, they are. Your country has changed and you do not realize it. Think a moment. What sort of men did you formerly send to us as diplomats? And what sort of men do you send now? What has become of your old horror of court dress and rank and precedence which they used to exhibit? You cannot deny that your diplomats are representative. And are they not of the same class as these ladies and gentlemen about us here, so obviously delighted with themselves and their aristocratic company, with themselves because of their company?

About ten years ago, after completing his investigations of Chicago, Mr. W. T. Stead expressed to us his amazement at the power exerted by wealth and privileged sets or special interests in the election and selection of legislators, executive officials, and especially of the judiciary; and what seemed to astonish him still more were the numerous ways in which indirect bribery was practiced and by which personal favors were gained or the ends of justice defeated. Should he visit the republic to-day and make his studies in Rhode Island, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Missouri, or any of a half dozen other states where public service corporations—especially the railroads, street car companies and public lighting monopolies—have been able to perfect their control of government through union with corrupt bosses and partizan machines, he would find that indirect bribery had given place to more barefaced and direct methods of corrupt practices. So active, indeed, have been the monopolies and trusts in the manipulation of political affairs and through the control of public opinion-forming or-

gans, that our descent has been almost incredibly rapid during the past decade. And with this vanishing of the old sturdy morality—the finely sensitive public conscience, the sturdy and rugged spirit of independence born of democracy—there has come, as we shall presently show, a rapid reaction toward the theories that have bulwarked thrones and military empires and against which the whole power of the republic, from Washington to Lincoln, was arrayed.

But before noting some typical signs of the passing of the old order to which the European critics have referred, let us turn to history, the eloquent monitor of mankind, and see the way that other republics have gone and the principal causes that led to their overthrow.

### III. THE LESSONS AND WARNINGS OF HISTORY.

The republics of ancient Greece, though far from ideal democracies, were more invincible than the mightiest contemporaneous despotism so long as the sturdy spirit of freedom and the love of justice were in the ascendency. But when wealth and corruption enervated and debased the people and the State, when contempt for the weaker allies and disregard for the poor and helpless among their own people marked the Attic republics, the glory of Greece departed never to return; and the little republics that had hurled back the might of Persia at Marathon and Salamis succumbed to the invader because of the disease that had destroyed the old-time power. Demosthenes in one of his matchless speeches disclosed the secret of the downfall of Greece in these memorable words: "What is it that has ruined Greece? Envy when a man secures a bribe; laughter if he confesses it; mercy to the convicted, and hatred of those who denounce the crime—all the usual accompaniments of corruption."

In the transformation of the old republic of Rome into a class-ruled imperial republic and its logical sequence, an absolute despotism, we have one of the most impressive lessons and warnings of history, peculiarly ominous and startling to

thoughtful friends of democratic institutions in our republic because, broadly speaking, of the repetition of historical events under our flag during the past quarter of a century. Perhaps the most concise and graphic picture of the passing away of the old Roman republic in our literature is found in Froude's brilliant work on Caesar. After noting that the Romans possessed in an eminent degree the faculty of self-government, the English historian continues :

"In virtue of their temporal freedom, they became the most powerful nation in the known world, and their liberties perished only when Rome became the mistress of *conquered races to whom she was unable or unwilling to extend her privileges*. . . . If there is one lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this: *that free nations cannot govern subject provinces*. If they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall in pieces from mere incompetence for its duties."

Of the disintegrating character of that period of Roman history that witnessed the passing of the old democracy or the flight of the soul of free government from the republican shell that long cloaked despotism, Froude observes :

It was an age of material progress and material civilization ; an age of pamphlets and epigrams ; of salons and of dinner parties ; of senatorial majorities and electoral corruption. The highest offices of state were open, in theory, to the meanest citizen ; they were confined, in fact, to those who had the longest purses or the most ready use of the tongue on popular platforms. Distinction of birth had been exchanged for distinction of wealth. The struggle between plebeians and patricians for equality of privilege was over, and a new division had been formed between the party of property and a party who desired a change in the structure of society. The free cultivators were disappearing from the soil. Italy was being fast absorbed into vast estates held by a few favored families and cultivated by slaves, while the old agricultural population was driven off the land and was crowded into towns. The rich were extravagant, for life had ceased to have practical interest except for its material pleasures ; the occupation of the higher classes was to obtain money without labor, and to spend it in idle enjoyment. Patriotism survived on the lips, but patriotism meant the as-



cendency of the party which would maintain the existing order of things, or would overthrow it for a more equal distribution of the good things which alone were valued.

Religion, once the foundation of the laws and rule of personal conduct, had subsided into opinion. The educated in their hearts disbelieved it. Temples were still built with increasing splendor; the established forms were scrupulously observed. Public men spoke conventionally of Providence, that they might throw on their opponents the odium of impiety; but of genuine belief that life had any serious meaning, there was none remaining beyond the circle of the silent, patient, ignorant multitude. The whole spiritual atmosphere was saturated with cant—cant political, cant religious; an affectation of high principle which had ceased to touch the conduct and flowed on in an increasing volume of insincere and unreal speech.

The republics of Italy in later days perished either through the gradual rise and entrenchment of a powerful official aristocracy, as in Venice; the stealthy advance of rich and powerful egotistic influences, which in time finally strangled free government by the subtle employment of gold and the gradual corruption of the people, as in Florence; or by the sword of force, as in Milan, where the new-born republic was destroyed by Sforza.

Of these deadly perils that ever lurk in the pathway of democracy, ready to throttle liberty if the people fail to jealously guard the ark of the covenant, the insidious influences of wealth used to corrupt government, blind the mental vision and anesthetize the conscience, has proved by far the most fatal enemy of republicanism. Usually the degenerative influence of corrupt wealth is followed by either one or both of the other destroyers of free institutions—an aristocracy of office-holders or the sword of force.

The republic of Florence, which became a victim of organized wealth, offers a peculiarly impressive warning to the United States at the present time, for in the Medicean family we find the prototype of the modern corporations. As the former silently, persistently, and effectively became all-powerful in the little Appennine republic, so the latter in a quarter of

a century have become a dominant factor in our nation. So striking are the parallels presented that we desire to call the attention of the reader to the testimony of John Addington Symonds, the most illustrious historian of the Renaissance. In speaking of Florence, he says :

"The de Medici family in effect bought and sold the honor of the public officials, lent money, jobbed posts of profit and winked at peculation, until they had created a sufficient body of men who had everything to gain by a continuance of their corrupt authority."

And the learned Professor Vallari, in describing the overthrow of the republic of Florence by the Medicean family, speaks of "the subtle policy that was persistently pursued from generation to generation," and shows how Giovanni de Medici apparently "took little part in political affairs, but realized an immense fortune by establishing banks in Italy and abroad, which in his successor's hands (Cosimo de Medici) became the most efficient engine of political power."

In referring to Cosimo de Medici this author says :

"He succeeded in solving the strange problem of becoming absolute ruler of a republic that was keenly jealous of its liberty, without holding any fixed office, without suppressing any previous form of government, and always preserving the appearance and form of a private citizen. . . . He was generous in lending and even giving money whenever he could gain popularity by that means. At critical moments he frequently came to the succor of the government itself. He was very dexterous in turning his private liberality to account for the increase of his political privileges, and showed no less acumen and far fewer scruples in making use of his political prestige for pecuniary profit. Indeed, whenever his own interests were at stake he showed himself capable of political villainy, although this was always tempered by calculation. . . . He had comprehended that the art of politics depended rather upon individuals than institutions, and that he who ruled men could also dictate laws."

When Lorenzo de Medici assumed the position of head of his family, on the death of Cosimo, his father, the old-time republic was corrupted and bereft of its high ideals. In speak-

ing of the condition of affairs when this greatest of the de Medicis became "complete master of Florence," Professor Val-lari continues :

"Florence was still *called* a republic; the old institutions were still preserved, if only in name. Lorenzo was absolute lord of all and virtually a tyrant. . . . The more oppressive his government, the more did he seek to incite the public to festivities, and lull it to slumber by sensual enjoyment. His immorality was scandalous. He kept an army of spies and meddled with the citizens' most private affairs."

No thoughtful American who has closely followed our own history during the last quarter of a century, and especially during the past decade can escape experiencing the gravest solicitude for what has long been considered the greatest and most promising experiment in democracy.

*We are repeating the fatal mistakes of the past.*

#### IV. OUR REPUBLIC TO-DAY.

We are treading the same pathway trod by the City of the Violet Crown, the City of the Seven Hills, and the Mistress of the Arno. Witness the scandal after scandal in the election of United States Senators, from the days when the Standard Oil magnate, Henry B. Payne, scandalized the State of Ohio and was circumstantially denounced by his own party press as well as by that of the opposition as having obtained his seat in the Senate as the fruit of wholesale bribery, down to the odious and scandalous revelations which accompanied the election of Senator Marcus A. Hanna to the same seat; from the notorious scandal created by the election of the millionaire and alleged democrat, Senator Clark of Montana, to the high-handed attempt of the republican corporation magnate, Addicks, to capture Delaware. On every hand the air has been tainted with scandals. The United States Senate to-day is largely composed of men of three classes, namely, representatives of great wealth, which is largely the result of special privilege; the political boss who as master of the partizan machine rules with the

power of a despot; and the attorneys or mouth-pieces of predatory wealth or the trusts and corporations. The term, "The Rich Man's Club," as so frequently applied to the Senate, is no misnomer. The Senate to-day resembles in a startling manner the senate of ancient Rome described so graphically by Froude.

Again, as the Roman republic passed into eclipse when the nation became, to use the language of the great English historian, "the mistress of conquered races to whom she was unable or unwilling to extend her privileges," so we also are repeating almost literally this fatal mistake. Are we so blinded by the materialism of the market, so crazed by the madness for gain, that we refuse to seriously heed the great lesson which Froude observes history most clearly teaches—that "free nations cannot govern subject provinces. If they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall in pieces from mere incompetence for its duties?"

When the publication and circulation of the Declaration of Independence is branded as treason under the flag of the United States, is it not time that every friend of democracy in the republic shakes off the deadly lethargy and recognizes the fact that we are to-day on the brink of the same chasm that proved the grave of all that was fundamental and of worth in the republic of ancient Rome? As the republic of Florence became enslaved through the poison of corruption subtly injected into the arteries of public life, so history is again repeating itself, as is amply shown by the recent revelations of national, state and municipal corruption; in the army, the Department of State, that of the Post Office and the Department of Public Lands; in the state governments of Missouri, Delaware, Rhode Island, and other commonwealths; and in almost all the great American municipalities. Everywhere we find the deadly poison springing primarily from lust for gold and due to the capture of political bosses and partizan machines by corporate and predatory wealth. Just as Florence was enslaved and the republic overthrown through corrupt practises

emanating from great wealth craftily employed with the double aim of securing power and a still greater return of wealth than that employed to compass the end, so the great public service corporations and monopolies, the creatures of privilege, and the over-rich beneficiaries of predatory wealth for over a quarter of a century have been repeating the tactics of the de Medici family only it has been on a far more gigantic scale—a scale as much greater as have been the interests more multitudinous and the nation greater than that of the Appenine republic.

Nor are these the only startling illustrations of the decadence of free institutions. They have been accompanied by other signs, quite as ominous and which have been more or less in evidence in the old republics as they passed into eclipse, and all of which are as fundamentally inimical to the genius and spirit of pure democracy as they are in harmony with the ideals and traditions of monarchies or despotisms of various kinds:

(1) The thoroughly unrepublican Military Bill, moulded so largely after the ideal of despotic Germany, which was enacted and signed last winter; (2) the amazing bureaucratic aggressions of recent years, such as found typical expression in the lawless acts of Mr. Edwin C. Madden, with the sanction of his superiors, in which the Post Office department has not only systematically ruled in such a way as to make glad the hearts of the great express companies, but has actually arrogated the law-making and judicial functions instead of confining the department to its proper executive work;\* (3) the

\*Strange and almost incredible as it may seem, the Post Office Department has made rulings to compass what the Department has publicly admitted that Congress *refused to enact* into statutes at its request. It has gone further than this: It has arrogated functions that are only proper to the judiciary, as when on *ex parti* evidence it has branded citizens as criminals and has refused them all privileges of the mails, destroying their business and rendering it impossible for them to properly present their case before the judiciary, all prior to the accused having been permitted a judicial hearing. This stepping beyond the legitimate function of its proper sphere—that of an executive office, and assuming the rights of the law-making and judicial bodies of government, is thoroughly bureaucratic, despotic, unjust, and in as perfect accord with the spirit of the Russian government as it is inimical to the genius of republicanism.

concentrating of all but supreme power in the hands of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Rules, by which the popular branch of government has ceased to be what the House of Commons of England is—the greatest deliberative body in the nation, and has degenerated into a body which records the will or the supposed will of the dominant party as the Speaker and a small coterie of favored representatives interpret it, and without that full, free, and thorough discussion of great problems that is vital to the health and even the life of republican institutions; (4) the rapid increase in numbers of United States Senators who are either notorious partizan bosses, conspicuous beneficiaries of special privilege and monopoly, or the friends and whilom attorneys of great corporations and of predatory wealth; (5) the appointment to seats in the Supreme Court of lawyers who in a large majority of instances have long been retained by corporate interests, trusts and monopolies, and who, however honorable and pure their intentions may be, have nevertheless been so accustomed to look at all contests between the nation and the corporations, or the people and the trusts and monopolies, through the spectacles of corporate interests that their bent of mind, prejudice, and bias lean as naturally to the side of corporate wealth as did the opinions of the royal councillors of King Charles I. lean to the theory of the divine right of kings and other theories inimical to the interests of the people; (6) the successive appointment for the past twelve years of great trust lawyers and attorneys for railroads and corporate interests to the extremely important position of Attorney-General of the United States; (7) the eager attempt to ape monarchical and reactionary governments in diplomatic services and matters, and (8) the whole reversal of the fundamental theory of the inalienable right of a people to enjoy the blessings of free government; are among the certain, obvious and ominous signs of the passing of the old order no less than are the growth of snobbery and the tendency among the rich to imitate the manners, customs, and acts of foreign aristocracies and titled classes, and the still more appalling spectacle of that most abhorrent of all forms

of prostitution, in which the daughters of parvenu multimillionaires sell themselves for coronets to broken-down debauchees from whom these same girls would shrink in loathing if the suitors for their hands were poor Americans with such notorious records of infamous licentiousness and excesses as is the odious distinction of many of those who have recently wedded American heiresses.

The exaltation of wealth above merit, the deification of material success, and the ignoring of the basic principles of democratic institutions—of right, of justice and of freedom, when they run counter to the interests of wealth, social station, or political power, are other striking signs which portend the flight of the soul of democracy from the shell that long tabernacled the most full-orbed, aggressive and vigorous experiment in free government that civilization has ever known—a flight which will surely take place unless the people be speedily aroused so that a counter movement shall check the strong reactionary forces now in full play.

#### V. OUR GROUNDS FOR FAITH IN ULTIMATE VICTORY.

Do we despair of the republic? By no means. If the outlook was hopeless, this discussion would be useless as well as thankless. It is because we believe that there is strong and well-grounded reason for faith in a progressive reaction that we insist that a supreme duty devolves upon statesmanship, patriotism, and manhood—a duty as august and imperative as ever confronted man or nation, and that is the fearless unmasking of every reactionary and undemocratic action and tendency, and of bold and aggressive agitation to arouse the conscience and reason of the masses and to secure at the earliest possible moment the re-establishment of the old ideals that were the soul of the republic for almost a century after its birth and which made it the greatest moral world-power of civilization.

The reason for this confidence is based chiefly on these facts: (1) the wide diffusion of knowledge or the general education

of the masses; (2) the character of the Anglo-Saxon people, and (3) the presence of simple, practical, and not untried measures which are at once a logical extension of the principles of democracy and which in operation would prove effective in meeting changed conditions and overcoming the rising tide of class rulership or plutocracy.

(1) The education of the people: Our people are more generally educated than the masses of any land, and the education they have received has made them measurably susceptible to dispassionate argument or pure reason. This was not the case in any ancient republic or old-time experiment in free government. In Greece, Rome, and mediæval Italy—in all the old-time democracies, the masses were ignorant and the easy prey of masterful and unscrupulous minds. Then also in other days a large proportion of the people had little voice in government. Forcible revolutions afforded the only hope of radical reforms in most instances. With us it is different. An aroused people have it in their power to immediately inaugurate changes that will destroy the sources of corruption and check the evil tendencies.

(2) The influence of reason and ethical consideration on the Anglo-Saxon mind: the Anglo-Saxon is far less a creature of blind prejudice or insane emotionalism than most other peoples. He will bear much and suffer long. He has his periods of moral and mental lethargy, but when once aroused he becomes the invincible master. This has been illustrated time and again in the history of England and America. The supreme need of the hour is the moral and mental awakening of the people. The public conscience has been drugged by an egotistic or positivistic reaction that has placed the master emphasis upon the acquisition of money. The brain of the people has become so hypnotized by the droning of such words as "prosperity," "success" and "power" that it has largely ceased to hear and note those spiritual and ethical demands which are to permanent greatness or enduring civilization what oxygen is to the physical life. The people have lost sight of the fact that there can be no enduring prosperity where material



considerations are placed before moral demands; no lasting success where gold and expediency are enthroned on the seats reserved to justice and freedom; no true power that is not rooted and grounded in that righteousness that exalts a nation. Our present condition resembles in many respects that of England under King John, prior to the wresting of the Magna Charta from that despotic monarch, or under Charles I., before Eliot, Pym, and Hampden blazed the path of freedom, or under the last of the Georges, when monarchy and aristocracy banded together to stop the sweep of democratic tendencies just prior to the great Reform Bill agitation which marked the passing of personal government and the establishment of constitutional rule, with the democratic spirit present in a larger degree than in any other monarchy in the world. In all cases in the history of England and America, when the people became apathetic, class interests became aggressive, but when the masses were once aroused they proved invincible.

(3) Practical and effective measures that can easily be introduced when the people are aroused: (a) The fountain-head of evil is found in the defeat of the will of the people through the influence of classes and interests seeking privilege and advantage. Every step away from the full, free recognition of the great principles that differentiate a republic from a class-ruled land, every attempt to place considerations based on privilege and interest before those which comprehend a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people, has carried the nation away from her old moorings and toward the reactionary governments of the Old World. In a republic the people are the seat of law and power, and the first and most imperative step is to extend the practical workings of government so that the republican ideal shall come into fuller operation, to the end that changed conditions will be met in an adequate manner. Such an effective remedy is found in Majority Rule, or Direct Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum.

(b) But it is also important for the best interests of progressive civilization and the further expression of the repub-

lican ideal that minority parties shall have a full and free voice in the halls of government, and this demand is practically met by Proportional Representation.

(c) The chief agencies of corruption, bribery, and debauchery of the legislative, executive and judicial departments of government, as has been shown time and again, are found in the public service corporations which operate natural monopolies or those utilities in which all the people are interested. To destroy this fountain-head of political corruption and to give to all the people all the benefits flowing from the operation of public utilities or natural monopolies, the city, state and nation, or the people, should own and operate them for the good of the community at large.

(d) The appointed judiciary is becoming more and more reactionary. Perhaps it is natural that the interests of property rather than the interests of the people should concern men who have long been in the employment of trusts and monopolies, and whose appointment has been, to say the least, especially gratifying to corporate interests. But the people, not the corporations, must be the power to which the law-making, the executive, and the judicial branches of government must look unless the United States is to be a government of corporations for the exploitation of the masses, under the rule of classes. Hence the judiciary should be elected and not appointed, as has been so ably pointed out by Chief Justice Walter Clark, of North Carolina.

(e) Finally, the United States Senate must cease to be the rendezvous and asylum for political bosses and the creatures of corporate wealth. It must conform to the democratic ideal by the members being selected by the electorate instead of by the corporations through the control of political machines and the debauchery of legislators.

These are simple measures, perfectly in alignment with the spirit and genius of republican government; and though they will be fought by all venal politicians and corrupt bosses, by corporate wealth and all interests that are reactionary and inimical to republican institutions, they will more and more ap-

peal to intelligent and patriotic Americans who are at heart the friends of democratic institutions.

The republic is in the balance. No more critical hour has been passed in her history than that which is striking to-day. It is a time for patriotism to reach the heights of self-sacrifice and for manhood to flower in the glory of its divine potency, as it has flowered in every crucial moment in the world's history. Happy the statesmanship and the conscience-guided manhood that responds to the august demands of the hour.

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## THE THOUGHT SIDE OF THE SOCIAL ORDER.

**T**HERE is no way to prove that we are, or that the world is. Nor is it possible to doubt or deny these facts of primary knowledge. The affirmations of consciousness are—must be, final.

Certain forms of truth are called “necessary;” such as the relation of numbers and forms in mathematics, and the laws of thought in logic. They are one way because it is not thinkable that they could be any other way. On the things where it is not possible to differ, all minds are agreed.

But beyond the primary and the necessary are the larger fields of the contingent. Man is, but what is he? The world is, but what is it? These are the ever-present but never finished tasks of philosophy and science, and here have been and are the questions of debate.

It is one thing, and no easy matter, to know what has been thought to be true; it may be quite another to know what is true. Truth is; our thinking does not make it so, nor can denying take it away. The mind may perceive and know; it cannot create.

To thought the unthinkable is the impossible; hence, the necessary truths. The true is, must be, thinkable; but it does not follow that the thinkable is or must be true. The mere fact of the thinkableness of a thing is not even a criterion, much less a guaranty of its truthfulness.

It was thinkable, and long thought, that the earth was flat, and that the sun moved; but reason came to the aid of the senses and corrected the errors of the apparent. It is thinkable now, and hence, no one can positively deny that the sun and the moon stood still; but with the present knowledge of the order of the heavens, it is so improbable that not many can accept such a statement as literally true.

Beyond the necessary relations of premise and predicate, the laws of thought can be of little, if any, help in determining the

facts in the world of the real. The false may be just as logical as the true. The essential thing, and the greatest need of our world, is the assured truth of major and minor premises; with these the conclusions are easily reached.

It is thinkable that man is wholly a material existence; that there is no such thing as mind as an entity, having its own and essential constitution and laws; that all knowledge begins and ends with the senses; that thought is a brain secretion through molecular action.

And certainly not less thinkable that man is more than material; that he has not only a sense existence, but has being; is at center a spirit, is in kind like God, but less in degree, and is related to the eternal order of the good, and may will the will and live the life of the infinite reason, justice, and love.

It is a satisfaction to understand the forms and motions of the earth and the planets, and their relations to the sun, but without such knowledge it was long possible to sow and reap; and there are speculative questions that have little, if any, bearing upon character and conduct. But when we come to the pivotal points of the essential nature of man, questions of the soul and God that touch the very centers of life and being, and upon which schools and systems of philosophy and religion must stand or fall, then it is vastly important that we see things as they are in the world of the real. Our thinking does not—can not, change the realities of the real; but it does determine our practical working, living attitude. If we think of ourselves and others as having only a sense existence conditioned in the material, that will be our world, and in it must be found the meanings, the motivities, and the ideals of life. If we think of ourselves and others as having not only a sense existence in the world of material properties, but as having being in the higher world of rational and moral principles and qualities, the meanings of life are almost measurelessly enlarged, and its motivities and ideals transcendentally ennobled and exalted.

Sincerity and good intentions have—must have—high place and value in character, but they are not in themselves safe guides. Reason must go before to light the way. As the false

may be just as logical in form as the true, so may the wrong be not less sincere than the right. Not all of those who bound martyrs to the stakes and kindled the fires about their feet were bad or cruel men; many were sincere and kind, and acted from a sense of painful duty; duty to what they believed to be true and right. They did not know. "Had the princes of this world known, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory."

It does make a great difference what we think and believe. Our thought-world is to us the real world. "As a man thinketh, so is he." As the social order thinks, so it is. Right thinking and right living go together. There is a material or sense side of life; there is a rational and moral side, and the supernal or spiritual side. Each has its place and value, and only as there is the proper emphasis of each, and the whole being moves together upon its lower and higher planes as one life, are the noblest results possible.

Looking out upon these great but troubled years and feeling the unrest, the attritions, the wrongs and sufferings, the hopes and fears of the social order, we should study anew, and more closely, the thought side; the thinking that lies back of and gives shaping to the strange and wonderful life we are living. In this way we may be able to reach and deal with the causes rather than the effects. When the thinking is right, the world will not be wrong.

For two thousand years the philosophy of Aristotle was hardly questioned in all Europe. Recognizing less clearly than did his master, Plato, the spirit side and source of the universe, his vision was largely that of the sense understanding, and rested mainly upon the fields of natural science and political ethics. He had no lofty conception of man and the social order. To his thought there was no such thing as the equality of human rights; some were born to rule, others to serve. Slavery was the order of nature, a right of property, and the most valuable of all property was the man, the slave.

Individualism had little place in the theories of this thinker; the state was all; children should be raised for the state and by

the state; the number of births should be regulated; infanticide was forbidden, but abortion permitted; the weak and deformed should be destroyed. In government, monarchy was the highest and best; next came Aristocracy; last and least was democracy; and such in general were the teachings of Plato.

It is easy to see how such thinking gave shaping and support to the royalty and despotism, and the hierarchy and servile submission to the claims of ecclesiocracy in the dark and middle ages. What the social order thought, it was; and would have continued to be but for the change that came on the thought side.

Whether we can explain it or not, it is a fact, that in the long run the wrong and the false are self-undoing. Somehow there is the self-rejuvenescency and ever-becoming of the true and the good.

Hence, the renaissance, the new and larger forms of learning and liberty, the outbursts of individualism and the reactions against the old scholasticism, ecclesiasticism, and despotism.

All these were distinctly on the thought side of the Social Order, and from the inner or subjective came the wonderful changes in the objective shapings of science, industry, government, and religion. And having continuously to deal with the large facts and questions of cosmology, or world; psychology, or self; sociology, or relations; ontology, or being; theology, or God; it should not be thought strange that these have moved along in seemingly separate columns and uneven space, sometimes one or more rushing forward; others falling back.

The inductive philosophy of Bacon, turning from the speculative to the practical, went forth over the ready and natural paths of observation and experience to find and verify the facts of the material. It was distinctively an outer movement of sense preception and reason in the world of physical properties and laws, and hence, wholly different from the subjective studies in which the objective is shut out, and the mind turned in upon itself.

This change in the field and results of thought, from scholastic speculations to scientific realities was very great; nor less

the gladness, the satisfaction. It enlarged the boundaries of knowledge, and by the mastery of material forces augmented a hundredfold the power to do; and thus gave man a new world and life. But all this was on the physical plane of existence, and hence emphasized and exalted the power and value of the sense understanding, and in so far tended to push aside or cloud the vision of the intuitive and spiritual. In its near and realistic forms and appeals it rose up and almost filled the whole sky; and such a movement once well under way was, and is, beyond recall. More than is realized this exaggerated sense side of existence and thought holds and dominates the intense, the toiling, and often demoralized life of these strange years.

The material world and the physical existence of man, and the sense side of knowing are unquestionable facts of consciousness; hence, not debatable. But are these all the facts of consciousness? Or, is there not also a spiritual consciousness of being, of moral qualities; a something more and higher than physical existence? And are there not truths intuitively known; truths that transcend the plane of sense knowledge? Here has been and is the battle-ground of philosophy.

The inductive method is to first find the assured facts; discriminated from this is the deductive or syllogistic method of assuming facts, and hence reasoning from unverified premises, may logically reach false conclusions. This was the weakness, the vice of the scholastic ages from which the modern world turned away to welcome the surer method of the inductive.

As a method, the inductive philosophy is not by any means limited to the material sciences in which the results have been so marvelous. The principle is universal; was so conceived in the great scheme of Bacon; it applies alike to the physical and the metaphysical.

Rene Des Cartes, following Bacon, was the first to boldly carry the inductive method into philosophy, and to carry philosophy into its own and only proper field of consciousness. And here questioning and ready to deny all he had ever thought to be true, he found the undeniable, "I think, therefore I am."



This was not an assumption, consciousness does not assume, it affirms; he was not looking out through the senses at the world of things but standing in the world of thought back of things; and hence said—had to say; “I am; I, not as a body, a physical existence, but I the thinker, am.” And then from the conception of the perfect he reasoned his way to the affirmation of God as the source of the conception. The conclusions may be a fact, but coming as the result of a process, should be discriminated from the positive affirmations of consciousness. But the inductive method had been accepted, and philosophy carried into consciousness from cosmology, or world, to ontology, or being.

After Des Cartes came Spinoza, the learned and noble Jew, to whose vision the Divine was so all-inclusive as to leave little if any room for anything else. As a mathematician he rigidly adhered to the axiomatic process, not realizing that ontology transcends cosmology; is qualitative; that being is life, is love, and that only in being can being be known.

Then came Mabbranche so emphasizing in another way the idea of the Infinite as to have no place for the finite. God is so the all; “the place of spirits;” that in seeing things—the world—we see only God. Such is the tendency to extreme; that going out into the world of sense it may so fill the vision as to obscure the spiritual; or, turning within, the world of mind, of being, may lose sight of the world of things.

With Leibnitz came the more evenly balanced vision and judgment that could see and properly place and estimate the facts of both existence and being. The material world and laws are facts; sense observation and experience are facts. Beyond these are the laws of mind and the necessary truths grounded in the constitution of the soul, and not dependent upon the experiences of the senses.

But now two other thinkers appear in the field. Hobbs, claiming sense experience as the source of all knowledge, and that as by sensation only the material can be known, the material is the only knowable reality. And Locke, holding the sense view of knowledge, claiming there could be nothing in

the understanding that was not first in the senses. And, further, that in knowing, not things, but only the impressions of things can be known. That is, we can know only through the senses, and this being only a sense impression, we cannot know that there is any real world outside of sensation.

When Bishop Buckley and Hume, seeing the open door to doubt and denial, said, suppose we deny that there is any world; England halted on the verge of sensational nihilism, but such minds as Hartley and Priestley, and Condilac of France, went forward to positive materialism, and we have to say that in a modified sense, Mill and Huxley and Spencer stand on the material side; while with such writers as Voght, Buchner, and Maudsley, there is no such thing as mind as an entity.

In Germany the Ideal or Transcendental philosophy ran forward. Kant affirmed the intuitions of reason, and the validity and imperativeness of the moral consciousness. In Scotland, Reid and Stewart stood for the philosophy of "Common Sense;" and later Sir William Hamilton made clear the truths of natural realism. Supplementing all these are the able works of Dr. McCosh on the "Intuitions of the Mind," and "The Seat of Authority in Religion," by Dr. Martineau.

There are then these two and radically differing schools of philosophy—the sensational and the ideal—or the material and the spiritual. But it may be asked, what has all this to do with the social order? Everything. And for the reason, that it has to do with the essential nature of man. Is he, and has he, only a sense existence and life as a physical organism in the world of the material; or is he, and has he, a spiritual being and life in the eternal principles and qualities of the true and the good?

The answer to these questions and the conclusions reached will determine the theories and motivations of conduct and the character of social institutions. Not one in a thousand—or ten thousand—may study and weigh the systems of thought, but the conclusions of the thinkers are accepted and the masses follow the leaders.

Things are so related and the mind so naturally logical that one fundamental proposition leads on to another; hence, sensationalism in philosophy becomes utilitarianism in ethics. The sense conception of existence finds its corollary in pleasure as the rational explanation and end of life. If thought be only a higher form of sensation, there is—can be—no such thing as a moral principle; good and evil are simply questions of pleasure and pain. These are the logical deductions from Hobbs and Locke, and thus the whole utilitarian school. Morality is prescriptive, not essential; things are right or wrong because the law says so; and carried higher, because God so wills—declares.

Radically, irreconcilably different from such theories and conclusions is the intuitionist philosophy that sees man at center as Divine, and finds in consciousness the high moral sense and imperativeness of the right as an eternal principle. God wills the right because it is right. God is himself the right, the good. As Cousin says—"The Principle of Principles," God is love; *agapio*; goodness in action.

The sense existence of man in a material world is a fact; the noetic, the constructive and acquisitive powers of the sense understanding are large and valuable. The weakness, the limitation of sensationalism is in shutting off the higher vision of the supernal. Man should live in all the wide ranges and transcendent possibilities of both existence and being.

Utility has, must have, a large place in life; the useful and the good are closely related; pleasure has its place and value, is better than pain, and plenty is better than poverty. The vice of Utilitarianism is that it makes pleasure the criterion of the good, and the sole end and aim of life, and self the all. There is no place for the right as a principle; nor for the love of moral qualities, as such; *the sense philosophy that denies mind as an entity has nothing in which a principle can inhere.* Hence, at best and most, utilitarian morality is and can be nothing more than a refined expediency.

And there is a place and value in the order of things for the expedient as there is for the useful. The tolerance of evil and progress through compromise may be and often are ex-

pedient in the becoming of the good ; but that is not to put sense pleasures in the place of moral principles. Utilitarian expediency may and often does choose the higher pleasures of culture, of purity, honesty, and altruism, not because these are essentially right, and carnal abuses, dishonesty and selfishness wrong, or the one more noble than the other ; but that the higher seems safer, and upon the whole promises larger and more satisfactory returns.

Such a theory is wholly selfish and really leaves no place for the great virtues, but people are often better than theories—good in spite of them ; hence, from the utilitarian school have come forth many beautiful lives, just as in all religions are found souls devotedly pious. But a system not grounded in the essential principles of the good is certainly not the best to safe-guard the highest interests of the social order ; it leaves open the easy paths to the lower—has no higher self to put over against the lower ; nor has it the all-commanding imperative of the right.

Upon the basis of the sensational and utilitarian philosophy and ethics, may be projected a corresponding civilization of mighty industries, a government with powerful army and navy, and a religion of external forms and authority ; but a material civilization can never rise to the nobler qualities of the morally sublime. To reach the heights, must be called forth, not alone the sense understanding and pleasures, but the intuitional, the spiritual powers and possibilities of knowing, doing, and being. And in this the whole great and multiform nature of man should work together as one ; the feet and the face are parts of the one body, as are the sense understanding, the higher reason, and the subliminal vision parts of the one mind. It is only in their related uses that the largest results are possible. To live only on the sense, or the supernal side, is to live only a half life, and that half on the balance line between, and tending to the extremes of both sides.

From the *sensationalism of Locke* in England the way was easy to *materialism in philosophy*, and *utilitarianism in ethics* ; and in Germany the Transcendentalism of Kant opened the way

for the egoism of Fichtit and Schelling, and the attendant subtle idealism of Hegel. And in both these extremes there may be and is a truth; at one point there is only matter and sensation; at the other only mind, thought; but in the wonderful nature and life of man these are found together in the lower and higher facts of existence and being; and in doing and becoming all the facts should be taken into account, and the emphasis on each properly placed. Whole thinking means whole living.

The amazing progress in science, invention, and the mastery of natural forces, has accentuated the facts and values of the material side of existence; and in this all should rejoice for it means the possibility and promise of a larger and better life for the millions who toil under the burdens of ignorance and poverty. But all this is possible because there is an established order of nature, and we are learning to work with that order; and it is not less certain that there is a higher moral order of the good; and that only in obedience to and working with this order are the nobler ends of being possible. Hence, the changed condition and augmentations of the material call for larger visions and accessions of the spiritual.

This tremendous fact of physical power, so long seemingly withheld from our world, enters into and affects all the relations of life, domestic, political, and religious. It lies back of the concentrations of labor and capital, and the vast wealth-producing possibilities of machinery; these changed conditions call for larger study and interpretations of liberty, of the rights of man, and the social justice. And this at bottom means—must mean—a profounder understanding of what man in his essential nature is. If only a creature of sense with pleasure as the only end, then there is no such thing as moral principle or responsibility; the survival of the strongest is the only law, and expediency, balancing the risks and costs of pleasure or possible pain, the only thing to be considered. The power to do carries the right to do. If an Alexander can conquer a world, or the Cæsars compel universal Empire, or a Napoleon overrun Europe, the doing is its own justification; might is the only right. But if man is at center a Divine being, the

child of God, and all men are brothers, then must the right be supreme. The power of volitional or self-determining beings to do, may make possible the wrong; but it cannot make the wrong right, nor escape the law of moral sequence.

The world is growing better; the general intelligence, the power to do, and the increase of wealth and comforts were never so great as in these wonderful years; and all this from a larger understanding and use of natural laws. But just above and related to this material order is the higher moral order, and from the overbalanced emphasis of the sense side of existence there is danger of under-rating the spiritual by which alone the uses of the physical can be controlled and carried up to the nobler life of being. It is only in harmony with both natural and spiritual laws that a civilization can be materially great and morally grand.

There need be no fears that the mighty material forces now in the foreground of thought and action, will fall behind. The sense life is always near and insistent; the greed of gain and the pride of power are insatiable. Our civilization trembles on the heights of material greatness, and with new inventions and added forces we will go on building higher our modern Babel of earthly security, and larger our palaces and gardens of worldly pleasures.

Against the extravagances of wealth and luxury, and the abuses of power, the sensational philosophy and the utilitarian ethics can offer no effective protest; can lift up no Sinai with the everlasting "Yea and Nay" of righteousness. Utility and expediency are the only criterion or right, and pleasure the motive and end. Great Britain can crush the little republics of Africa; our own land of the free can force its power and rule upon the far off Philippine Islands, and the trusts can own the coal mines, control the railways, carry elections, and put the ugly hand of money upon the mouth of the pulpit and it is all a matter of expediency, of calculating the costs, the losses or gains of power and pleasure. And the strangest, saddest, not to say the hypocrisy, of it all is, that professedly Christian peoples whose highest ideal is "The Man of Sor-

rows," can say and do these things in the name of the Christ. Many in our day fear that the public conscience has been strained, the vision of the higher clouded, and the Holy Spirit of truth and right grieved.

These are strange portentous years of universal unrest, of tension and expectancy, of world-struggle for material gains and supremacy. We should all be optimists; but that does not mean obliviousness nor indifference to facts and conditions as they are. In all this fierce struggle there is increasing social and political corruption; race and religious prejudices and hatreds are reviving in the worst forms; there is a growing disrespect for the sacredness of law and life; more murders and lynchings; and the great nations of the earth stand in a kind of balanced antagonism, and with larger armies and navies than ever before. And naturally there is increased activity along the lines of education, morality, and religion, but the education is mainly secular, the morality largely a refined expediency, and religion—sad to say it—too much a competitive denominational struggle for wealth, external display, popularity, appealing to the senses rather than the soul and righteousness.

All this may look discouraging, but it is as good, certainly not worse, than should be expected from a civilization projected so largely from the sense side of existence; and from that side we can hope for little that is better. Speaking of collectivism, world-coöperation, or socialism, Herbert Spencer says it is biologically fatal—the stronger giving to the weaker would lower the life of all—and psychologically absurd; for there is no ground for thinking that the selfish nature of man will ever change; strong peoples will go on conquering the weaker; and the world will applaud the heroism and butchery of war. And that is true, if there be nothing more and higher in man than existence and pleasure. We should be optimists because of the more that is in man, and in man because it is in the moral constitution of the universe; is in God—is God; is goodness in action.

We should not look upon evil as in any sense an entity; a something that has or can have self-existence. There can be

nothing wholly ungood; evil is the negative side; an incident in the evolution of the good; the error, the wrong choosing of minds conditioned in the freedom that is essential to virtue. As such, wrong is, in a measure, self-correcting; and in the end, self-negating. Sin is its own punishment; virtue its own reward. Only the good can be eternal. Hence, a civilization projected upon the basis of wars, of conquest, must in the end work its own undoing; that has been the history of kingdoms and empires from Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and the empires of Alexander the Great and the Cæsars; and for our modern nations to go on enlarging their armies and navies and conquering the weaker is to travel on the same road, and to reach the same end. The earth is a vast tomb of buried civilizations. The Twentieth Century should plan for peace. ➤

But the good is conserved and carried forward in the deathless time—Spirit; and hence, the world grows better. Beauty could not die with Greece, nor law with Rome; the Jews lost their Holy Land and City, but they did not lose the God-consciousness that made them immortal.

The tremendous material forces and activities of our time are educational along certain lines, and conditioned in and working with the material order, the perceptive reason is self-correcting. But whether man would have it so or not, it is a fact in his own nature and the constitution of things that there is a moral order working in and with the material. It is not possible to put away the fact of the related life of mankind; and from these arise the related facts of the great virtues of truthfulness, justice, and the law and life of love. From right or wrong relations come harmony or discord. Unsocial conduct is sin; right social living is righteousness, it is moral qualities in action. It is from the wrong relations in thinking, feeling, and doing that the social order has so long suffered. —

A measure of relief, of self-regulation may be possible from the lower motivities of selfish gain and pleasures, but the social order can never regenerate itself, nor be regenerated and characterized in the good from the sense side of existence and ethical expediency alone. There must be the higher intuitions and



inspirations of the moral and spiritual in man, and the profound conviction of the right, of duty, and of responsibility. And these, not as theories only, but as the positive and final affirmations of the rational and moral consciousness. And that means the revelation of God in the reason and conscience of man. And on its own plane this is just as natural as in the lower sense-consciousness. It is supernatural only in the sense that it is the higher natural. The spiritual consciousness is a part of the Divine nature of man as the Child of God; it is a germinal potentiality to be called forth, as is the sense of beauty or harmony.

The plain truth is that the lives given to the intoxications of gain and pleasure and the pride of power do not desire the spiritual; it costs too much on the sense side of existence. That "the carnal mind is not subject to the law of God; nor, indeed, can be," is a truth beyond the books; it is a fact in the world of things.

And it is precisely at this point that the long world-struggle has been and must be, for while we may discriminate between, it is not possible to separate existence from being in the one life of man. The abstract may be thinkable, but in their uses the virtues must be concrete and active in the relations of the social order. Civilization is a process of becoming, and not alone in the mastery of forces, but in the supremacy of principles. Reason and conscience must overcome ignorance and prejudice, and subordinate the appetites and passions to the nobler ends of the morally good.

The stress-point, the crisis, of the civilization of the present, is not that material progress has been or can ever be too great—a something hardly conceivable; but that *the moral powers are not keeping pace with the forces of the physical, and are being overbalanced and borne down by them.* Things are becoming more valued than principles; money is greater than man. It is easy to control forces, difficult to control conduct. We obey natural laws, but try to evade or compromise moral principles. We accept the new science, but cling to the old theology.

The social organism may for a time preserve correspondence )

The one commonly suggested is a differential in the markets of the mother country in favor of the foodstuffs or raw material of the colonies in return for a like favor to the manufactures of the mother country in the markets of the colonies. But let us see what this involves. Clearly, an abandonment of the principle of free trade upon the part of the United Kingdom and a bickering with her colonies as to the amount of the concession which each shall make; neither of which propositions is attractive to the majority of Englishmen.

Though free trade is not to the average Englishman a fetich to be worshipped, it is, nevertheless, a principle which he considers responsible for much of his nation's prosperity during more than half a century. Under it her manufacturing interests have enabled her to hold a high place among the commercial nations of the world, certainly a higher place than she could have held had she continued to protect her landed gentry at the expense of her industrial classes. That her mills and factories might flourish there must be found a cheap and abundant food supply for their operatives. To secure this she very wisely threw open her ports to the foodstuffs of every land. A cheap and abundant supply of raw materials for manufactures she secured by the same means. Whether in so doing she was acting generously or selfishly we need not stop to inquire, as it affects neither the principle nor the results.

But have conditions so changed as to render free trade an unnecessary or inexpedient principle in the politics of the United Kingdom? That the English nation does not think so may be safely concluded from the general and hearty approval of the recent repeal of the duties upon grain. Nor could we expect it to be otherwise. For never were the manufacturing interests of the United Kingdom more vital to her national welfare or more predominant than they are to-day. And certainly they were never forced to meet keener competition for the markets of the world than to-day. So close, indeed, is the competition that any appreciable increase in the price of food to her operatives, or of raw materials to her manufacturers, which was not

shared by her competitors, might so handicap her as to virtually count her out of the competition.

As few would be rash enough to advocate a British tariff upon raw materials for manufacture, let us note the effect of a tariff upon foodstuffs not coming from the colonies. So long as this would be of any value to the colonies it would necessarily result in an increase in the price of food to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. This would mean either one of two things—an increase in wages or a lower standard of living for the English workingman. As it would not create any greater demand for labor in the United Kingdom, I can see no reason for supposing that it would result in an increase in wages to its operatives. Wages are governed by the demand for labor and not by the cost of living, though this, if long periods are considered, fixes a minimum wage. A lower standard of living would injure the manufacturer in two ways: (1) it would decrease the efficiency of his operatives, and (2) it would lessen the demand for manufactured goods. Therefore, whether an increase in wages or a lower standard of living followed as a result of the tariff, the manufacturers would suffer.

But what would the United Kingdom gain as an offset to this sacrifice? A differential in the markets of her colonies. In order that we may the better estimate the value of this differential, a few statistics will be helpful. Of the \$525,000-000 worth of goods exported by the United Kingdom to her colonies, more than half goes to her free trade colonies, where it needs no differential; and of the remainder, which goes to her protectionist colonies, a considerable portion is now upon the free list. Thus not more than one-eighth of the exports of the United Kingdom could at present be benefited by a differential in the markets of her colonies. Granted that her exports to the protectionist colonies may increase considerably, and that some of her free trade colonies may become protectionist and hence be able to grant a differential, the fact remains that for many years to come the larger part of British trade must be with foreign countries.

As to the amount of benefit which the mother country could reasonably expect from such differentials as are likely to be granted her, we are fortunately not left entirely to speculation. In 1897 Canada granted a differential of twelve and one-half per cent. in favor of the exports of the United Kingdom; this was doubled in 1898, and on July 1, 1900, it was increased to thirty-three and one-third per cent. Under this preferential the exports of the United Kingdom to Canada have increased; but unfortunately for the advocates of Mr. Chamberlain's plan, the exports to Canada of certain other countries have increased more rapidly than have those of the United Kingdom. For example: the exports of the United Kingdom to Canada have increased less than thirty per cent., while those of the United States and France have increased one hundred per cent. during the period covered by the differential. In seeking for an explanation of this, we find it partly in the proximity of Canada to the United States and partly in the fact that raw materials are on the free list while the tariff on manufactured articles is such that with the differential off the Canadian manufacturer is still protected.

The protectionist sentiment is on the increase in both Canada and Australia, so that neither of them need be expected to grant a differential to the mother country which will leave their own manufacturers without protection. As the Canadians frankly assert, "we are willing to give a substantial preference to the mother country, provided that the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian products." Viewed from this standpoint a differential furnishes an extremely narrow and illusory basis upon which to rest an imperial zollverein. Of what avail is it to the British manufacturer that other goods are shut out by a high tariff if his also are shut out by a somewhat lower tariff?

But granting for the purpose of argument that the scheme would result in the capture of the colonial market by the mother country. As but one-fourth of the oversea trade of the United Kingdom is with her colonies, would it be manifesting good business judgment for her to risk the other three-fourths, or

\$600,000,000, for the sake of the \$200,000,000? And this risk is not of an imaginary or unsubstantial nature with reference to a very considerable portion of her trade with foreign countries. For as soon as the United Kingdom were to grant a differential in favor of the colonies her ability to compete in the markets of foreign countries will be lessened in two ways: (1) because of increased cost of production to her manufacturers, and (2) because in many countries she will be compelled to pay the maximum tariff rate, whereas she now pays the minimum. So long as the United Kingdom adheres to the policy of free trade she will have no difficulty in securing "most favored nation" treatment, *i.e.*, minimum tariffs; but not so when once she shall have begun to chase after delusive deities. When we remember that in many of the countries of continental Europe the minimum is frequently a low while the maximum is often a prohibitive tariff rate, the importance of the above to the British exporter becomes evident.

Would all this tariff-bargaining strengthen the ties which bind the colonies to the mother country? Or, would it not rather be an ever-present and prolific source of jealousy and disaffection? As there is no one product which is exported by all the colonies, and hardly a product which is exported in equal quantities by any two of them, the differential in the market of the mother country would have to cover a wide range of products in order to equalize the advantages accorded to her children. It is difficult to conceive of an adjustment which would not leave ground for apprehension upon the part of some colonies lest the mother country was dealing more generously with their sisters. But even if an entirely satisfactory adjustment of favors could be agreed upon, the rapidly changing conditions characteristic of new countries would soon necessitate a readjustment, hence you have an "endless chain," the links in which are family fights for favors.

If a free entry into the best market in the world for food-stuffs and raw materials, which for years must constitute the bulk of the exports of the colonies; defense by the British navy maintained at the expense of the mother country; representa-

tion by diplomats and consular agents also maintained at the expense of the mother country—if these do not constitute “ties of interest,” it is exceedingly doubtful if such ties could be created by a swapping of tariff favors. When a partnership is to be formed, whether for “tariff tinkering” or other purposes, it is pertinent to inquire what each partner can and will bring to the concern and how the profits are to be divided. In this case the United Kingdom brings a market of 41,000,000 customers with whom the colonies are to be given favored rights of trading, while the colonies, who jointly may be considered as the other partner, can bring a market of but 10,000,000 customers, upon whom a first mortgage is to be retained by their home manufacturers. And yet this junior partner in the concern is to be given the major portion of the profits. If the mother country is on the hunt for an opportunity to do philanthropic work among her self-governing colonies, it would seem that a more effective and at the same time less hazardous and expensive scheme could easily be hit upon. Neither as a piece of philanthropy nor as a business proposition does Mr. Chamberlain’s plan commend itself, and should the Conservatives become committed to the scheme, a victory for the Liberals in the next election is reasonably certain.

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## HENRY THOREAU—AN ESTIMATE.

**A** LONG with the interest now in vogue concerning Emerson we might opportunely recall the character and works of one of his less famous but more radical and peculiar contemporaries—Henry David Thoreau—whose personality, more than most personalities, is unquestionably somewhat of a mystery. Most of us, to be sure, are familiar with the facts of his more or less lonely and unlovely life, but still, it may not be amiss here to sketch briefly the essential features of it.

He was born in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1817, and he died in 1862. His father was of French, and his mother of Scotch, descent; and a grave, sturdy Scotch temper in the son's make-up was ever more or less happily blended with an alert and humorous French strain. In 1837 he graduated from Harvard—but without taking any degree or winning any distinction. With his brother, for a while after leaving college, he taught a small private school; next, he applied himself to the business of making lead-pencils; and then he became a kind of land-surveyor. But in the pursuit of these various activities, he was restless and dissatisfied, and evidently enjoyed as much as anything long solitary tramps in the woods. At last, in 1845, when he was twenty-eight years old, he abandoned almost entirely life in society; built a hut on the shore of Walden Pond at Concord; and lived alone there in particular for about two years. All through life he was at heart a transcendentalist—one of those who believe human knowledge is ascertainable, in greater or less degree, without the aid of scientific experiment—and as such was the friend not only of Emerson, but as well of such of his contemporary celebrities as the Alcotts, the Channings, and Margaret Fuller.

The estimation in which Thoreau was held by his fellow townsmen is curious. He had few comrades or friends. By different folks he was regarded in different lights. Young people easily became attached to him, and he often acted as

guide, philosopher, and friend to them on their excursions into the fields and woods. His colleagues, such as Emerson and Channing, appreciated his fine sentiments and lofty thoughts—although they scarcely relished his habit of contradiction in conversation. But for the most part the farmers and others of Concord, the town in which he lived during the larger part of his life, did not know what to make of him; they regarded him and his unsocial and negative ways as queer; and he does not seem to have cared a doit what they thought.

In Hamlet, however, Shakespere puts into the mouth of Polonius the lines:

"To thine own self be true,  
And it must follow as the night the day,  
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

And Thoreau, early in life, seems to have discerned what kind of a being he was, to what conditions of existence he was subject; and then, calmly accepting himself and his conditions, he bravely set about making the most of them. It is perhaps because he was so true to himself, and lived so highly and nobly in accordance with the promptings of his genius and the circumstances of his environment, that his career and character attract the attention of so many of us—notwithstanding the fact that few, if any, would care to follow exactly in his footsteps.

To Thoreau, indeed, life was a thing to be lived, and, though compelled to earn his own livelihood like most of us, he desired to live life for himself fully and freely from beginning to end. In his most important book, "Walden," in which he records his experiences as hermit at Walden Pond, he writes:

"I went into the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach—I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and cut close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms, and, if it proved to be mean, why then to get the whole



and genuine meanness of it, and publish its meanness to the world; or if it were sublime, to know it by experience, and be able to give a true account of it in my next excursion."

In order to put into effect to the utmost these ideals and purposes he did about everything for himself—built his own house, provided his own food, made to some extent his own clothing, and wrote to some extent his own books. And he regarded the performance of all this not as a hardship, nor waste of effort, but as a pastime and means of self-culture.

Perhaps the key-note to his principles of life, however, is to be found in the following passage:

"It is not the tailor alone who is the ninth part of a man; it is as much the preacher, and the merchant, and the farmer. Where is this division of labor to end? And what object does it finally serve? The student who secures his coveted leisure and retirement by systematically shirking any labor necessary to man obtains but an ignoble and unprofitable leisure, defrauding himself of the experience which alone can make leisure fruitful. Which would have advanced most at the end of a month, the boy who had made his own jack-knife from the ore which he had dug and smelted, reading as much as would be necessary for this, or the boy who has attended the lectures on metallurgy at the Institute in the meanwhile, and had received a Roger's pen-knife from his father?"

Thoreau believes there is only one right response to his queries. He confidently challenges the virtues of our modern complex civilization with reference to its effects on the formation and development of human character, and his sharp criticisms in respect to the advantages of our present customs and institutions, as against more primitive ways, provoke thought in us whether we will or no. But, although he at first sight gives one the impression of having a strong case, and shakes our faith in the social order a bit, in reality his reasoning along this line is not especially profound, and there is after all little cause for alarm.

In the case of a craftsman as calculative and inventive as Thoreau, the exercise of one's powers and faculties, in providing for all personal wants, might, as a matter of course,

turn out both pleasurable and profitable. In the case of most of us, however, such a scheme of life would prove to be anything but feasible. Even for Thoreau, efficient in so many things as he was, with a college education besides—the benefits of which he was altogether too fain to underrate—such a course would have been impossible had his wants been more diverse. They were, however, limited in scope, and simple in character. He seems to have preferred the enjoyment of hoeing a potato-patch to that of attending a grand opera. He held that the lives of most of us were frittered away in the pursuit of such trivialities (in his estimation) as fiction, drama, music, sculpture, painting, and of such superfluities (in his opinion) as ice, telegraph, steam-engine, and many other things happily obtained by division of labor, coöperation in industry, and special training of special aptitudes at various schools and universities, and generally considered as quite legitimate and desirable comforts and luxuries of life. His motto was: simplicity, simplicity, simplicity. And, surely, if anyone in modern times ever underwent a life of simple living and high thinking in the full meaning of these words that person was Thoreau.

He ever nourished, moreover, as one of the chief principles of his life, the humor always to be about something new. A thing once done by him seemed to lose forthwith all its hold upon him. He worked for awhile at the stunt of making a new kind of lead pencil, and, on successfully completing his experiments, he renounced all further interest in the manufacture, saying: "I would not do again what I have once done." When he had depleted the resources and enjoyments of his anchorite existence at Walden Pond, and his stay there began to grow flat and wearisome, he forthwith decamped. His expeditions across the country were endless, and he ever liked to set out on them in a fresh direction, either to seek some new species of plant or animal life, or to appreciate some new aspect of nature's grandeur and beauty.

Another important conception of Thoreau, and of the other transcendentalists of his time, seems to have been that happiness comes from within. He and his fellow transcendentalists, in-

deed, were apparently each and all of them prone to regard themselves as the salt of the earth; either consciously or unconsciously they were ever posing as paragons for the edification of their less elect brethren. From what Thoreau writes of himself one is almost forced to believe that no man ever lived who had attained to a higher degree of self-knowledge, self-reverence, and self-control than he; whether he was happy or not, he ever stoutly maintained that he was, and it is quite possible in a measure in his own way that he was. "I love my faith to the core and rind," he once wrote, and the words have a true ring—as true as the ax did while he was hewing timber for his hut on the shore of Walden Pond.

To ring true in all he felt and did, and especially to the impressions nature might make upon him, was, of course, a matter about which Thoreau ever had a deal of solicitude. He confidently assures us that the mysteries and secrets of the universe are forever on the side of the most sensitive, on the side of those who are most content with and make the most of their surroundings. His own acutely trained bodily senses and mental faculties were nicely attuned to the rarest, subtlest manifestations of existence. Indifferent, he let gross things pass over his head; but with every nerve on the alert he seized upon the fine events of life, carefully studied them, and set accounts of them forth in a plain and piquant fashion. The habits and characteristics of a mother partridge and her brood, the gentle and sustaining influence of falling rain, the activities of snowbirds, the traits of the woodpecker, and what not, he describes with insight and delicacy. He seems to have known every tree of the forest, every flower of the field, every bird of the air, every fish in the water, and the tracks of every animal in the snow or ground of the region in which he lived. He found willows to be the trees most suitable for spring, elms for summer, maples and walnuts for autumn, evergreens for winter, and oaks for all seasons. Fishes came to the surface of the water to feed from his hand, squirrels ran up his arm to obtain nuts from his pocket, and even chickadees were on such good terms with him as to lisp and twitter cheerfully

under his gaze while warming themselves in the winter sun. Thoreau, indeed, could discover more resources for enjoyment in a day in a meadow than most of us could discover in a year on a continent. He possessed a kind of quick wisdom, too, that often enabled him to penetrate into the heart of things. In so far as savages and gypsies asserted a right to the productions of nature, and a place in her, like rivulets of the mountains, herbage of the fields, and trees of the forests, he sympathized with them. He was himself, at times, a sort of savage gypsy. He counsels:

"Go fish and hunt far and wide day by day—farther and wider—and rest thee by many brooks and hearth-sides without misgiving. Grow wild according to thy nature, like these sedges and brakes, which will never become English hay. Let the thunder rumble; what if it threatens ruin to farmer's crops? That is not its errand to thee. Take shelter under the cloud, while they flee to carts and sheds. Let not to get a living be thy trade, but thy sport. Enjoy the land, but own it not."

In short, don't be afraid to be poor, or get wet. Obtainment of food, clothing, and shelter, we see, never bothered Thoreau much. He had in him, as it were, a kind of untamable twist for independence.

But a world in which the struggle for existence is severe, where the tangle in which conflicting wills involve each other—in matters of business as well as love—is heart-splitting, and where those who once succeed in getting up are only too apt to turn around and try to keep others down, was a sphere scarcely suited to one of Thoreau's temper. The scramble among men for easy chairs, the exaltation of material comfort, the parade of pretention, in this world, too, he held in highest disdain. Of cities where the struggle of commercial life is fiercest he writes: "Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, New Orleans, and many others are the names of wharves projecting into the sea. They are good places to take in or to discharge a cargo. The more barrels, the more Boston. The museums and scientific societies and libraries are accidental. They gather around

the barrels to save carting." His mockery is luminous; and, what is worse, it is in no slight degree warrantable.

Thoreau, in fact, was a bit rustic and diffident. He could not well apply himself to the regime of social and industrial life of our great civilized centers. He shrank instinctively from rough personal encounters. In one of his journals he writes: "From hard, coarse, insensible men with whom I have no sympathy, I go to commune with the rocks whose hearts are comparatively soft." He resembles, in certain respects, a delicate and sensitive plant which thrives and grows hardy in the fresh air and bright sunshine of nature's hills and glens, but withers, grows rank, and dies in the heat and dust of city life.

For the peculiar blend of his spiritual and earthly nature, however, Thoreau is admired and respected as much as for anything. He seems constantly to have felt within him a force bearing him up and along as irresistibly as the law of gravitation holds planets and stars in their orbits; and he had an abiding faith in the guiding and sustaining influence of that force. It was his desire to attain not to Knowledge in particular, but to sympathy with Intelligence in general. He writes: "You think I am impoverishing myself by withdrawing from men, but in my solitude I have woven for myself a silken thread or chrysalis, and nymph-like shall ere long burst forth a more perfect creature, fitted for a higher society." He undoubtedly has a natural affinity for the mystical philosophies of the East. At times, too, he really does impress us as being the denizen of an atmosphere more ethereal than that in which most of us abide, as ever groping about in, or trying to fit himself for, those unexplored and immortal regions which lie beyond human ken.

Thoreau, though, would make himself more natural as well as more spiritual. He found in himself an instinct toward a lower and more savage life, not less than an instinct toward a higher and more spiritual one; and he revered them both. At certain times he experienced an inclination to roam the woods wild like a wolf, with the brute instincts uppermost in him, ready to devour voraciously any creature he happened upon. On other occasions he felt in so celestial a mood that

the motion of the most light-footed air, or the most silent-flowing water seemed to him pulsations of the Infinite. One of his most pithy utterances is perhaps the following: "When after feeling dissatisfied with my life, I aspire to something better, am more scrupulous, more reserved and continent, as if expecting somewhat, suddenly I find myself full of life as a nut full of meat, even overflowing with a quiet genial mirthfulness. I think to myself I must attend to my diet. I must get up earlier and take a morning walk. I must have done with business and devote myself to my muse." When his health was sound and his spirits high, he felt that all things worked together for good; even the toiling and moiling of humanity, and the tragedies constantly enacted in the animal world, he interpreted as plaintive strains of the universal harp whose ineffable melody ought to elevate us above the temporary and trivial.

Throughout his life Thoreau was, in truth, nobly chaste and abstemious. He had a mind at once disciplined and controlling. He never allowed himself to indulge in any bacchanial debauch, in any martial frenzy, in any unwise romanticism, in any dispiriting morbidness. He pursued the tenor of his way largely, if not wholly, emancipated from humanity's common sins and temptations, faults and foibles. The small spark of spirituality, in greater or less degree in all of us, he kept alive and burning brightly in him till the last.

After making due allowances, however, we know that the true life of a human being does not consist in living for oneself or by oneself to such an extent as Thoreau did. An individual cannot almost altogether detach himself from the society of his fellows with impunity. Our emulative faculties are quickened, and our knowledge and abilities happily increased, by living in company with fellow men. The friends and acquaintances, the tastes and habits of another, Thoreau considered as much a part of that other as the other's own personality; and the combination of all that went to make up another was apt to inspire in him, only too often, a monkey-like distrust and hate, rather than a Christian-like confidence and love. But

in this world here below friendship and love beget friendship and love, just as hate begets hate, and Thoreau, although he had in the main a kind and sensitive heart, yet, for some reason or other, he could not, or did not, impart the tenderness and affection in him to others; and so, as a natural consequence, he got little from them in return.

His complete works, as published in the New Riverside Edition, are, besides "Walden," "Concord and Merrimac Rivers," "Maine Woods," "Cape Cod," "Early Spring in Massachusetts," "Summer," "Autumn," "Winter," "Excursions," "Miscellanies," and "Familiar Letters." And in these works in both poetry and prose (for he wrote a little poetry as well as prose) Thoreau's style is like himself—lacking in sweetness and amenity, but possessing a peculiar purity, simplicity, vitality, and poise, all its own. Although he again and again tries to tear down without building up, he yet possesses the precious faculty of fecundating other minds, and helps—in his own way—to fix our attention on the good in life and nature, on the highest and best.

To some, whose idea of success is the attainment of a large competency through being of use to one's fellow men, praise of Henry David Thoreau must seem droll. But in spite of the narrowness and eccentricity of his career, in some respects, it is, in other respects, quite worthy of esteem. In the midst of the materialism of modern civilization, he is a wholesome reactionary, or counterbalancing, force. Almost everything in life seems to be counterbalanced: north by south, east by west, up by down, in by out, hot by cold, positive by negative, male by female, civilization by wildness, complexity by simplicity, and so on. Now, undoubtedly, a highly civilized and complex life tends in time to become debilitating and degenerating; and, when we feel ourselves debilitated or degenerated by it, we would do well to chasten and invigorate ourselves by reading what Thoreau has written. We need not swing so far in a recalcitrant direction as he did. But we might to advantage follow him part way, adopt the golden mean course.

It is true that many, in supercilious moods, are prone to dis-

pose of Thoreau rather summarily by dubbing him a crank. But much honor may be due to cranks. Carlyle, the author of "Sartor Resartus," and Emerson, the author of "Spiritual Laws," were, each in his own fashion, cranks as well as Thoreau; and by such superb cranks as these fresh zest is given to life. Indeed, it is a little deplorable that more of us do not have time to read oftener such a, let us say, crank as the author of "Walden."

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## ART AND AMERICAN STUDENTS.

SOME twelve years ago, in a magazine article on the origin and growth of the Art Students League, the author said: "Culture is not bought with French pictures and peach blow vases. It comes from within; it cannot be imparted from without."

Long before the above named article appeared and to an increasing extent since, the United States have been sending young men and women to study Art in foreign ateliers and galleries. To-day it is conceded even by the pessimist that we are slowly evolving a national Art. To what lengths, it may be asked, has foreign study contributed to this end? And furthermore, at what stage in their careers have the foremost American artists made their foreign studies?

Time was when Paris and Rome shared the honor of cradling the Art of other nations. The correspondence between the two cities was (and to a certain extent still remains) a parental relation. America sends her students to Paris, France sends hers to Rome. The man who has risen to prominence out of this chaos realizes that Art is not nailed on the door post of any nation. The true artist (using the term in a qualifying sense) does not seek Art outside of his country; he carries it with him. But the students—the elementary candidates—are ever "en route," are ever being directed to this or that way-house of Art. Ninety per cent., deluded into believing the Muse to be domiciled "*dans ses meubles*," set up easel and stool in Paris, London, Munich, Rome, Antwerp, etc., and forthwith begin to emulate their chosen deity. When the lack of means or some other urgent cause forces them to turn their faces homeward, they arrive at their starting point so foreignized in thought and expression of work that they are out of harmony with the national spirit and consequently with the artistic movement of their country.

Much has been said concerning the dangers which attend the student who, believing himself talented and fit to struggle

through the weary years of study, flies off to a foreign school to worship at the very steps of the shrine. The gravest error made at the very beginning of his career is the belief that Art is located. Few, indeed, are those with character sufficiently formed and individuality so grounded that surrounding influences will have no bad effect upon their natures. Of all persons, the artist is most delicately open to sensitive impressions. An unformed mind lends the most ready ear and heart to outside opinions. Art students in the early years of study are not antagonistic enough to the onslaughts of foreign individualities. Painters are painters the world over, not less in America than abroad. The average of strong artists or promising students is as small in Europe as at home, while the temptations toward waste of time are appallingly greater. It has been often said that Paris, Rome, or Brussels offer better surroundings and larger opportunities for the study of Art, both as regards means of living and methods of study. As a whole, native students in the Beaux Arts, Juliens, the Royal Academies, etc., etc., are of no higher order, and I think less sincere than those in our own New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg schools. The great majority are hopelessly academic, vainly seeking for inspiration and technical secrets from the often over-much vaunted old masters, or deluded intransigents, blinded by the light of a modern secessionist, without the ability or knowledge of penetrating beneath the painted surface and finding the soul of a great work. For them to seek within themselves for a moving impulse seems to be an unthought of thing. The American thrown amid such fellow students is in great danger, unless he is gifted with exceptionally strong resisting powers that will enable him to bid the gregarious instinct lie low. The difficulty of persisting in a determined course involving years of application and ceaseless study is too great a tax on the mind for the individual to weaken himself by association with other unnecessary conditions capable of exercising a pernicious influence upon his advance.

When the student has finally merged into the man—the artist with opinions healthily formed and a soundly rooted apprecia-

tion of art principles—then and not before can he with safety and resulting benefit visit the Old World schools and galleries. He will then be able to distinguish between abstract admiration of the archaic and unconscious imitation. Knowing the cunning of his own hand, he will value at its true relative merit (to him) the technique of old masters without at any time being deluded into believing that to paint as this or that one did is an end in itself. The influence of an old master's technical qualities is dangerous only to the ignorant; but many art students have fallen in the beginning of their careers into slavish imitation purely by reason of their too early weaning from the kindergarten stage of study, and ignorance as to what qualities in the old masters' work explains their power in the world, both in their time and ours.

Many years of study are necessary for the student to grasp the perspective of its history and turn the knowledge gained to proper account. Nothing is easier than getting away from the to-day of Art into the yesterday of Rubens, Veronese, Velasquez, or any one of the illustrious dead. The circle of influence is readily discernible, but to understand its pathology is another matter, and for the striving student to perceive and consign to their proper places the stars whose luster increases or is dimmed with time, is as impossible as for a primary grade scholar to write an essay on the comparative value of Elizabethan literature.

The necessity for the art student to first study in his own country is imperative. The permanently expatriated artist will become a French, British, or Italian painter, good or bad; but the man, who after studying abroad returns home to paint in his own country is likely to give us Art of a hybrid kind, if it be Art at all. The world has not yet reached the stage where Art is universal in its own time. Years before Velasquez was hailed Universal! he was a Spaniard; Giorgione was an Italian a long time, and Rembrandt a Hollander ere the world claimed them irrespective of nationality. Love of country is just as essential to the painter as interest in the model or preference for a landscape. The superficial attractions of life in Paris

and Rome may be quite inimical to one's opinions regarding the nation or its character.

The artist or student in Europe is not a more important individual than his neighbor of more prosaic profession, as is so frequently supposed. But very often by reason of eccentricities in dress and manner he is pronounced a greater fool. A large brimmed hat, bow tie, long hair, velvet coat and baggy trousers usually cover a multitude of shortcomings, both ethical and mental. And yet many American students who are in mortal dread of popular opinion at home adopt the most unconventional habits abroad as if these things conferred upon a painter the qualities of an artist. It is another evidence of the worship of the outside while the within is neglected. Comic paper caricatures of artists are not exaggerated; on the contrary, they frequently fall short of the reality. The student's elementary philosophy enables him to take the humor and leave the lesson.

American artists—especially students—are often heard complaining about the absence of artistic atmosphere and traditions of Art at home. This, of course, in comparison with the same, pervading European cities, as described in romantic stories and newspaper articles. Leaving aside the complaint's claims to truth, they should be glad rather than otherwise if this is so, for in that case it yet remains to be created. Not the enervating kind existing in the Quartier Latin, Montmartre, or the Villa Medici, but a healthy, invigorating atmosphere, untainted by the pollution of dead principles; a clean and free soil as befits the rise of an adolescent nation's art, untrammelled by the binding precedents of a decaying institution.

In many European cities where art schools exist, the students, too weak to look forward and keep pace with a revivifying modernity, turn their faces back and dwell in the Art of their forebears. The few who break away from self-imposed limitations find it difficult to shake off the old spirit of imitation and content themselves with worshipping a modern idol, be he Impressionist, Pointillist, or Luminarist. This also is atmospheric. A true artist, on the other hand, creates his own surroundings,

lives and works within them. The wish to bask in the warming rays of a new star is a confession of mental poverty the artist should be the first to shrink from. "Artistic atmosphere" has never made an artist of lasting fame, but it has caused the downfall of many promising students.

The average student cannot hope to model his life after those of a few exceptional men who despite all rules to the contrary, have risen to towering heights in their particular field. Shakespeare as Shakespeare may do with impunity what would be artistic suicide with a literary aspirant whose qualifications so far consist of a boundless capacity for work added to a perfect knowledge of English. After the results are accomplished, man may glorify the means; to reverse the order is like placing the cart before the horse. Emulation for its own sake robs the action of all spiritual value.

Let the American student study in home schools, where the best of our artists stand ready to direct and assist him. Contact with others of a variegated order but of one national spirit will do much towards strengthening a native individuality, while the pernicious hodge-podge of an artistic Cosmopolis will not be present to enlist his mental energy in the ephemeral incidents of student life so common to Paris and Rome.

Enough of European art can be seen in the dealers' galleries to keep the student in touch with the movement at large; and if examples of the old masters are thought indispensable in the moulding stage of study, the Metropolitan Museum contains a sufficient number of their best canvases with which he may regale his amateurish desires. But one thing is absolutely essential—that he be thoroughly impressed with the value of artistic material in his own country, something he has grown up amid and whose soul he can understand before he seeks to paint European landscapes or figures to which he is spiritually unacclimated, and whose true relation to life he cannot grasp if the Art and Nature of his birthland are unfamiliar to him.

Raffaelli was asked one day, what should a sincere student of Art do besides study Nature and paint, in order to succeed. "*Il faut lire les Grecques,*" was his answer; and his interlocutor

understood this to mean that the study of abstract beauty in any form was a necessary adjunct to the study of Art. The Greek classics naturally stand as the symbol of all that is beautiful.

To go abroad in search of beauty betrays soul poverty. The American who fails to find beauty in American landscape, or artistic atmosphere among his fellow students, will never find either abroad, whatever he may induce himself to think. After the student has been thoroughly formed at home and merged into the artist, and not before, will he be capable of appreciating at its true value what the rest of the world has to offer.

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## CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS' MISTAKES ABOUT PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

I N the Boston Sunday *Herald* of Sept. 7, I find the following:

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Sept. 5, 1903.

Hoping to enlist his aid in agitating the question of municipal ownership of street railways and other public utilities, a question which is receiving some attention in Kansas City, Kan., at present, one of the agitators wrote Charles Francis Adams, of Boston, for an expression of opinion. Mr. Adams has large interests here. The reply, received to-day by E. P. Snedeker, is not encouraging to government ownership advocates. Mr. Adams says:

"I cannot agree with you about the transportation question. It so chances I have had occasion to examine very carefully municipal transportation, both for city service and for railroads in Europe. I have heard great yarns about it. I can only say that, as the result of careful official examination on my part, I have never yet found in Europe, anywhere, a case of municipal or public transportation worthy of an instant's consideration as compared with our own. The municipal systems in Glasgow would lead to a riot within 24 hours if put in use in Kansas City.

"Under the circumstances, do not look for sympathy from me in a movement in that direction. . . . Please don't talk to me of doing business through government machinery. It is one colossal exhibition of waste, extravagance and incompetence."

It appears to the friends and admirers of the Hon. Chas. Francis Adams, and I am one of them, that he is in danger of destroying in his old age the splendid reputation for careful investigation and accurate statement which he built up in his young manhood.

In the first place it is untrue that the street railway service of Glasgow would create a riot or any sort of disturbance if introduced into Kansas City. It is a very excellent electric service, quite as good in most respects as that of Kansas City, the

inferior in speed because the law does not allow such speed as we have. The cars go as fast as the law permits, safety being more regarded in England than speed.

In the second place the fair comparison is not between public plants in one country and private service in another country, which is more advanced than the first in all that has to do with machinery and transportation: the true comparison is between public ownership and private corporation management in the same country, and if possible in the same city.

Every one who has traveled through the English cities with his eyes and ears open, knows that municipal transportation, and other public services in Glasgow, Liverpool, and elsewhere are vastly superior to the private corporation services they displaced in the same cities, and to the services in other British cities still retaining the private tramways and other public utilities. This is matter of common knowledge in England. The facts about Glasgow are summarized by Prof. Parsons in "The City for the People," as follows:

"In 1894 the city of Glasgow became the owner and manager of its street car lines. The consequences were:

"1. The hours of labor were reduced from twelve and fourteen to ten per day, and from eighty-four and ninety-eight to sixty per week; wages were raised two shillings per week, and two uniforms a year were supplied to each man free, a voluntary improvement of the conditions of labor showing a policy exactly contrary to that of the private companies.

"2. Fares were reduced at once about thirty-three per cent.—the average fare is below two cents, and over thirty-five per cent. of the fares are one cent each—a voluntary movement in the direction of cheap transportation, disclosing once more a policy precisely contrary to that of the private companies. For short distances the fare is one cent, and night and morning working people can go long routes for a cent. . . . We pay the same five-cent rate that we did ten years ago, while in Glasgow fares fell fifty per cent. in five years (1891-1896), and are now fifty-five per cent. below the level of 1891.

"3. The service was improved. An editorial in the *Progressive Review*, London, November, 1896, says: 'The tramways of Glasgow have been made the finest undertaking of the kind in the country, judged both by their capacity to serve the



public and as a purely commercial enterprise.' Glasgow is one of the first cities in Britain to take steps toward replacing horse power by mechanical traction. She sent a committee all over the civilized world to study the best methods, and an electric system is now being introduced while even London contents itself with horses.

"4. The traffic was greatly enlarged, doubled in about two years, by low fares, good service and the increase of interest naturally felt by the people in a business of their own.

"5. Larger traffic and the economies of public ownership have reduced the operating cost per passenger to  $1\frac{1}{3}$  cents, and the total cost, including interest, taxes and depreciation, is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per passenger. When the private company was collecting 3.84 cents per passenger it declared that only .24 of a cent was profit. Now the city collects  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents and still there is about a quarter of a cent clear profit, and this is with horse power, which makes the cost per car mile at least twenty per cent. more than with electric traction.

"6. The profits of the business go to the public treasury, not into the pockets of a few stockholders."

This is one of the reasons Mr. Adams and other large stockholders dislike public ownership, but they do not usually explain this motive when they express their feelings on the subject.

In Liverpool, when the city took the street railways, it tore out the old plant at once and put in an electrical equipment, greatly improved the speed, comfort, and safety of the service, raised wages, and cut fares about one-half. The enterprise is worth \$5,000,000 more than its capitalization, and in twenty-five years the debt will be entirely extinguished. The tramways pay a large sum each year in reduction of local taxes; yet over a million is saved to the people in lower fares each year. The fares now are two cents in the old city, and four cents beyond. Ninety per cent. of the passengers pay the two-cent fare. About \$200,000 a year, or one-third of the total wage payment, represents the direct gain of the employees through municipal ownership. It would have cost \$200,000 less if the men worked the same hours and were paid the same wages as under the private company, so that in hours and

wages the men have gained an equivalent of about fifty per cent.

Is this "one colossal exhibition of waste, extravagance and incompetence?"<sup>1</sup> Did Mr. Adams know of these facts? If so why did he try to mislead and deceive the people of Kansas City? If he did not know them where is his reputation for careful investigation and accurate statement?

Before 1893 only one municipality operated its tramways; 1893-'95 four others entered the lists; 1896-'98 eleven more; and now over 100 street railway systems with more than half the mileage in the Kingdom, are owned by municipalities. Such has been the effect of the proved advantages of public ownership over the corporation system as shown by the experience of Leeds, Glasgow, Liverpool, Nottingham, Sheffield and many other cities.

It is true that the service, even on the public tramways of Great Britain, is inferior to the service on our best street railway systems, *but the service on the private company tramlines of Great Britain is still more inferior.* This is well known and admitted on all sides in England. Why does Mr. Adams refrain from mentioning this fact? Why does he tell the people of Kansas City in substance that public ownership is the reason the tramservice in Glasgow and elsewhere is not up to our grade, when he knows perfectly well that the cause of the inferiority of the English service is national backwardness; that private services in England and all along the line are inferior to ours, and that public ownership so far from deteriorating the service has greatly improved it.

To the onlooker it would seem that Mr. Adams' large financial interests in railways and other corporation enterprises

(1) For examples of splendid efficiency in public service in this country see the account of the Detroit electric lighting plant, in the last ARENA (Oct., 1903), and the many cases cited in "The City for the People," by Prof. Frank Parsons (published in the Equity Series, 1520 Chestnut St., Philadelphia); in "Municipal Monopolies," edited by Prof. E. W. Bemis (published by Crowell & Co.), and in the Convention Number of Municipal Affairs, vol. 6, No. 4, 52 Pine St., New York City.

blind him to the truth; and perhaps the consideration shown him in the past has led him to think that the people will credit all he says, no matter how ridiculous it may be. An example may show what I mean. At a dinner of the Boston Economic Club, attended by a large number of Boston's heavy business and professional men, Mr. Adams made a speech about the anthracite coal strike in which he strongly deprecated the efforts of President Roosevelt and others to settle the trouble by arbitration. He said he trembled for fear they would interfere with the natural order of events. Industrial war was according to the natural order. It should be let to run its course. If the strike went on some Yankee inventor would find a way to get along without coal and then our cities would be freed from smoke and dust.

The purpose was good but the reasoning execrable. We already know how to get rid of the smoke nuisance. If owners were required to put in smoke consumers even the air of Chicago might be fit to be at large. The assumption that strikes are in the natural order of things while efforts for arbitration are an interference with natural law is a sort of logic too absurd for any one but a railway attorney, or an intellectual contortionist trained in the mental somersaults of the old time theological logic, one of the tricks of which was to label everything the logician approved of "natural," or "divine," and everything he did not approve of "unnatural," "heathenish," or "satanic."

Mr. Adams' "Chapters of Eric," published in 1886, is one of the best and soundest books we have, but it looks as if he could no longer be relied upon for clear thought or careful statement, at least where his interests, prejudices or fancies interfere.

W. P. B. HOLMES.

## THE ABSENCE OF WOMAN IN LITERATURE.

THE most ardent champion of the equality of the sexes is compelled to admit that woman in literature is more conspicuous by her absence than by her presence. I do not mean to say that woman has not been active in the literary art. On the contrary, she has seized the pen as the most ready instrument of self-expression, and upon the written page has poured forth the thoughts, emotions and aspirations which have swelled to utterance in the silent chambers of her soul. She has done some good work, too—work that has endured and will continue to endure the test of time. Nevertheless, the great creative artists are men, not women. The masterpieces of a Homer, a Dante, a Shakespeare; of a Raphael, an Angelo; a Beethoven or a Wagner, stand upon an altitude where no woman has yet climbed.

These are facts. Who would seek to deny them? Instead of frown or cavil is it not wiser to look the fact squarely in the face, and then set to work to search out the hidden causes of which the fact is but the outward expression? Is woman's inferior status in literature due to a natural deficiency of brain as compared with the masculine gray matter, or may the cause be traced to more complex factors which do not appear upon the surface?

The woman of to-day, even more than the man of to-day, owes an incalculable debt to that brilliant body of fearless thinkers, who, with Darwin at their head, have within the last fifty years laid bare the processes of growth, and shown us that neither man, animal, nor the universe is a finished production, but is instead a steady unfoldment, development, or evolution in which the ceaseless surge of Infinite Power is constantly pressing for higher and better things. The researches in biology have revolutionized the status of woman in the scheme of creation, though I doubt if the mass of women are more

than fractionally awake to its uplifting import. Science has worked out this problem by a study of environment and individuality. And it is along these lines that I wish to indicate the cause of woman's present position in literature as well as the other creative arts.

Science has long since shown that all the physical forces of the universe may be reduced to two great forces—the centripetal and the centrifugal. Later investigation shows that a beautiful correspondence exists between these two opposing forces, in the realm of mind just as in the realm of matter. When the twin forces play upon human life and destiny, we call them individuality and environment. Individuality consists in the natural instincts and powers of the person, environment in the circumstances with which he is surrounded; the former or central principle corresponding to the centripetal force, and the latter, which is outer and variable, to the centrifugal.

I shall first touch on woman's environment.

The fascinating pages of biology, which is, indeed, but the recital of the fairy tales of creation, depict our ancestors roaming about in perfect freedom and equality. At that time maternity was but a passing incident. But as development proceeded and the family became a unit, the mother no longer roamed the wilds. The concentration of all her powers in the production of her child had been followed by the consequent dissipation of those same forces into the thousand small cares which hedge about the feet of the mother. The higher the race rose in the scale, the more circumscribed became her action; and thus, through the nurture and rearing of offspring, woman's "sphere" had its genesis.

Woman is like a deep river, which, issuing forth from the fountain head of life side by side with man, spreads into small channels until it ceases to attract the attention drawn by a single mighty current. On the other hand, man is the single current. His environment has never obliged him to divide his forces. His fatherhood has been the impelling power which has caused him to develop ingenuity, invention, reason, creativeness, through the struggle to secure for the family food, shelter,

fire, and clothing. Every occupation of man, broadly speaking, from primeval times to the present, has been of a nature to train the eye to keenness, the hand to skill, the body to strength, the mind to courage and concentration.

Through long centuries of experience and hereditary transmission he has acquired a degree of mental concentration unknown to woman, in the average. The mysteries of the laws of mind which are now being so assiduously pursued have shown with startling emphasis that concentration of the intellectual faculties is the essential principle of creative mentality. Only that mind which is capable of focusing all its powers on the subject in hand can give permanent expression to the spirit of art. By reason of her environment woman has developed faculty in small ways, man in large ways. When, once upon a time, the prehistoric man sat upon a river bank, thinking, thinking how to build a bridge across the rushing current, prehistoric woman was thinking, too; but—~~she was wondering~~ if her consort's old moth-eaten buffalo robe could be cut down into a suit for the prehistoric boy, and still have sufficient left to shoe the feet of the prehistoric girl!

In fine, woman has spent her forces on details, man on principles.

So far, man seems to have the better of the argument. But here again science comes to the rescue, and unfolds to our wondering gaze a fact before which all the creations of man in marble or enduring ink sink into insignificance. When the first mother looked upon her first little one in "the thorns and briars of the wilderness," there was born into the human soul "the greatest thing in the world."

The constant care, watchfulness, and labor for the helpless babe evolved within the mother-heart that love which is admitted to be the strongest tie on earth. Dr. Henry Drummond, the noted Scotch divine, has painted the evolution of the mother in words so chaste and beautiful that the reader is lifted entirely above the physical plane and stands in awe before the revelation. To further crown woman, Dr. John Fiske, of lamented memory, discovered that to the prolonged infancy of

the human species was due the rise of the moral sentiments, as well as the affections. From the love for her own, finally evolved the love for others, and the spirit of justice, truth, freedom, and equality.

I wish every woman who has ever felt weary and discouraged and inferior would read these authors, and forevermore exalt herself, her motherhood, and the role which is hers to fill in the great drama of creation.

The other factor in the process of growth, individuality, is modified as the years pass on by the beliefs which thought and experience build into the individual. The beliefs which have moulded the status of woman are legion, and yet the great majority may be classed under one general head; viz., those beliefs which strive to indicate the relation of man to God and of God to man—in other words, religion. Students of sociology admit the tremendous influence of religious beliefs in the race-development. The evolution of the race has gone hand in hand with the evolution of religion.

Woman, by reason of her development of the emotions, has been peculiarly susceptible to religious influence. Consider, then, the pregnant fact that religion has always taught woman that she was an inferior being. I grant you that, in spite of this fact, religion has been one of the mightiest uplifting factors in her development; but the statement stands that religion has declared woman inferior to man, and she has humbly accepted the man-made dictum.

Then the polytheism of semi-barbarism burst into the divine conception of the one God, the Jehovah, yet for many centuries the devout Hebrew thanked God daily that he was not born a woman. St. Paul, the greatest exponent of that offshoot from the Hebrew parent-stem, which we call Christianity, declared it a shame for a woman to speak in church and ordered her to learn of her husband in silence at home.

One of the keenest recollections of my childhood is the wave of indignation which always swept over me when these passages chanced to be read at family prayers or from the pulpit. I felt wronged, not only in my own person, but for all woman-

hood. Those were the days when every word between the lids of the Bible was supposed to be a direct fiat from the Almighty. Truly, woman owes much to science, but to no branch of it are her thanks more generously due than to that scientific method of investigation called "higher criticism," which has forever winnowed the chaff of personal opinion from the wheat of great spiritual truths.

The action of individuality upon environment, and the reaction of environment upon individuality, have in the steady process of growth, culminated during the latter half of the nineteenth century in a general letting down of the bars which public opinion, made up simply of individual beliefs, had erected around woman's sphere. The early women writers of this century plied the pen in secret and kept fancy work at hand with which to hide their occupation should a chance caller drop in. They were unsexed by an inkstand. No wonder their early efforts were highly romantic and oozed hysterical sentiment at every pore. The gentle creatures, who fainted at will and were debarred the strengthening studies of their brothers, no doubt marked an era of ascent from the epoch of the Vicar of Wakefield's poor wife who was sent to the kitchen to make gooseberry pie when her husband wished to discourse learnedly, but they were scarcely qualified to do more than gently agitate the literary waters.

As woman gained more confidence in her powers, the intense pages of the Charlotte Brontë stage appeared. Then she ventured into a little philosophy, and finally Mrs. Humphrey Ward startled the critics by daring to discuss religion itself. After this she grew braver still and tried her hand at social evils—so to-day we have the "problem" novel, a direct evolution of the forebears here recited.

Amid all this literary activity, which signifies nothing less than a woman's renaissance, a few names stand pre-eminent. First comes George Eliot, who, when her genius demanded a voice, was obliged to assume a man's name in order to secure a hearing for the keen analytical research and profound philosophy which have placed her at the head of woman-novelists.



She suffered deeply, too, from the censure which the public, because of unjust marriage laws, visited upon her because of her determination to marry the man of her choice.

George Sand strove also against the polite conventions of her day. Had she been free to follow her ideals, no doubt this greatest of French woman-writers would have borne a more favorable reputation. A strong nature, "Cabin'd, cribbed, confin'd," by the ignorant prejudices of public opinion must defy these prejudices for very life's sake.

It is pleasant to turn from the contemplation of these struggling authors to the environment of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Perhaps no other woman in literature has enjoyed the tender love and care which were showered upon the later life of this queen of woman-poets.

America has not yet produced a woman-writer worthy to be named with these artists. Harriet Beecher Stowe's book has perhaps been more widely read than any other book written by a woman, but its fame was due to the stirring questions of the day. Critics do not class it as monumental literature.

The trio of names, George Eliot, George Sand and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, are all that this century has produced whose place in the niche of fame is unquestioned. They represent not only the greatest achievements of woman in this century, but also in any other century. This is as it should be, and shows that the evolution of woman is a healthy growth, and that its ripening is set for the future.

It is evident that until very recent times all the odds have been against the woman with literary tastes. The wonder, therefore, is not that she has done so little, but that she has done so much. The dawn of the new century finds woman awakening to the fact that she is an individual, and, therefore, possesses a heaven-born right to develop herself along any line she desires. Motherhood is, and always will be, the greatest incident in her career; but over and above and beyond all else she is first, last, and always an individual.

It has been shown that in becoming the mother of the race, woman has used those forces which in man have sought ex-

pression in forms of art. But no gift of prophecy is required to perceive that the flood of mechanical inventions and the social tendency to coöperation promise to entirely relieve her of the small details of housekeeping which have so long absorbed her attention. The new order will result in much leisure time to her. What will she do with it? May not the genius which, denied utterance in times past, has been transmitted into aspiration for the child, now safely be spoken.

Woman needs to remember that before she can express herself through the medium of art, she must have that within herself which is worthy of expression. It is useless to claim that women have been thinkers. All the facts of history and science disprove the claim. The brilliant occasional exceptions are like the comets which serve to prove the rule of fixed stars. (This fact by no means detracts from the grandeur of her role in the drama of creation—it is simply related to the concrete facts of woman's absence in literature, which is the subject of this inquiry.)

If woman would write worthily, she must learn to think. She must abandon the shallow habits of mind which have become hereditary, handed down through generations so circumscribed that, always excepting the maternal affections, their forces could find no outlet except in the superficialities of dress, conventions, and personalities. A shallow stream cannot turn the wheels of manufacture, neither can a mind that has not wrestled understandingly with the deep things of life produce a work of art, be it drama, poem, picture, or bust.

Woman must speak from the center of her being, not the circumference. Her education must cease to stimulate her imagination at the expense of her reason. She must read more science and philosophy and less fiction. She must probe below the surface for causes, and seek to make practical application of principles.

Then, when she has developed on the intellectual side as she has already done on the emotional, who shall say that the resultant equilibrium shall not show forth in a creative art second to none?

ALMA A. ROGERS.

*Portland, Oregon.*

## THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

THE problems in what is known to-day as the labor world would be greatly simplified if the employer, the employed, and the public were the only factors. There is a fourth party, in my judgment the most troublesome factor of all—that fourth factor is the owner.

The owner often employs laborers and operates the business, but when he does so he operates and employs, not as owner, but as manager, and should be viewed in this double capacity. Ownership is not necessarily connected with any industry to-day, further than as represented in the dividends received from the business, or by votes in the meetings of the stockholders.

The rights of property are wholly subject to the law of expediency. This dictum does not compromise the laws of human justice, for in the material world the law of expediency is the law of right. The State—whether by that term we mean the savage tribe or clan, the barbarian or medieval free city or community, or the more imposing political states of the present—the State has always exercised this jurisdiction. It is ridiculous to affirm that the State has no right to interfere in the adjustment of affairs affecting private property. It was the application of the superior right of the State which abolished private property in children. In the exercise of this right the State has abolished property in slaves, has confiscated church lands and monasteries and large estates, has, in many instances, abolished the right of primogeniture, has abolished fiefs and the privileges of entail, while the right to will property without legal restriction has been almost universally succeeded by systems in which the public enters as a moral claimant, on the basis of expediency.

Now, while property is rightly subject to the welfare of the

State and is subordinate to its interests (the State being its protector and guardian), the State, in turn, exists solely in the interest of man. The State has no other mission than to serve human interests. And property, itself subordinate to the State, is only one of those agencies by which the State renders this service to men.

In this discussion I desire to use the last winter's coal strike as an illustrative object lesson, because it is at once typical in character and a clear-cut case still vividly present in the public mind, and also because I personally visited the mines during the strike, and so can discuss the question with a degree of certainty that personal acquaintance with the facts renders possible.

The appeal to the American people in the coal strike was distinctly an appeal arising out of the difference, not between employer and employee, but between organized monetary power on the one hand and men on the other. The attitude of both parties from the beginning was significant. The one ready to submit to any accredited body of investigators all questions at issue. The other affirming that the public has no voice in the adjustment of differences arising out of the manipulation of private property.

True, some of the expressions of the miners were uncouth, some acts were rough and reprehensible. This was to be anticipated. When we consider that nearly 150,000 men and boys were idle for nearly a half year, many of them entirely ignorant of American customs and of our language, virtually contract laborers when they were brought from Europe; when we consider the misrepresentation of the dominant press of the country and the public criticism from platform and pulpit; and when we consider the pressure brought to bear from the concerted action which money is always able to control, the only wonder is that, instead of the three murders reported by the Arbitration Commission, there were not the twenty-one reported to President Roosevelt by those who appealed for military protection. The saloons were wide open in every city and mining village. Strangers were in many towns intent on

stirring up strife and lawlessness. Yet in a trip which included practically every mining city and town in the region—from Mt. Carmel, Shamokin, and Pottsville on the southwest to Carbon-dale and Forest City on the northwest—we met only seven drunken men. Four of these were Pennsylvania soldiers, two were working in the stockades as “strike-breakers,” and the occupation of the seventh we did not learn.

But the fact which is of most significance is that at no time during the contest did the miners as a body shrink from publicity, nor from placing all issues in the hands of the public for adjustment, while there was the persistent assumption, on the part of those who represented the monetary interests involved, that there was nothing to arbitrate. It was to dispel the error that property has certain sacred rights which the State must not touch, that the production of a commodity indispensable to the very existence of the people can be the private business of a few individuals, that coal mining ceased for nearly half a year. And the highest lesson to be learned from the careful investigation and impartial award of the Coal Commission is that, above all the claims of monetary right is the right of humanity to essential freedom, and to the service of the State in securing that freedom. It was an expensive lesson for us to learn. It cost above \$100,000,000, beside inconvenience and suffering which can never be computed, to arouse us from the hallucination, but I think no one will doubt that the instruction has been worth the price.

We hear much discussion to-day of the struggles between Capital and Labor. I confess to a little feeling of irritation when I hear people talk about the relative rights of “Capital and Labor.” What are the relative rights of a wood-chopper and his ax, or a book-keeper and his pen? What are the relative rights of a miner and his pick? We are trying to place in the same category a human being and a machine—a Life and a Thing. What we mean when we speak of the struggle between capital and labor, or what we ought to mean, is—between *capital* and *the laborer*. And we ought to begin to be more exact in our language.

The owner of capital does not often enter upon the scene in an industrial conflict. When he is present it is as manager, or employer, not as owner. But the laborer must be on the ground or he ceases absolutely to be a factor. And he must be putting forth physical or mental energy, expending his own vitality—that is, his capital—or he has no economic significance in the conflict. We have said that property should be subject to the law of economic expediency. The same cannot be affirmed of “labor.” Labor means flesh and blood. A group of laborers cannot be studied simply as an economic force. The group represents a certain number of homes, of dependent children, of social and educational and spiritual interests, and any policy which fails to comprehend all these interests is as defective as a laboratory method which would dissect a living man to find his soul.

We saw capital everywhere in the coal region during the strike. Above the great veins of coal—the natural wealth of the region—stand the great plants of productive machinery. The “stripping” at Mellinsville, the richest I believe in the entire anthracite belt, is a striking example. The vein extends from fifteen feet below the surface to a depth of about eight hundred feet. At the top is the splendidly equipped breaker, and around the breaker the little plank shanties occupied by the laborers and their families—buildings which are inferior to many of the tenements in the East Side of New York City and which are owned by the mining company. We saw breakers and washeries and railroads and rolling stock, literally millions of dollars of Capital, but we did not see any Labor. We saw thousands of people, idle men, anxious women, little boys with bruised hands revealing their former toil; these were not “labor” they were human beings, each with personal features, a personal destiny, each having his own life to live. The capital was substantially the same whether the mines were in operation or idle, but the labor ceased to exist, and only Human Beings remained, when the miners dropped their tools.

It is only when we learn that “capital” represents material interests, interests to be fostered and guarded, but none the less

entirely subordinate to the control of organized society, and when we learn that "labor" means human beings, created to participate with God in the work of creation and to enjoy all the freedom of which life is capable, that we shall deliberately enter upon the adjustment of material forces with one end in view, and one only, the highest service that *things can render to men*.

We shall then better understand the right of "labor" to express its desires regarding legislation. Labor is not a distinct and separate force in society, labor is a part of the public: Capital is not. Capital is only one of the means of enriching that public of which the laborers constitute a portion.

While the award of the Coal Strike Commission is interpreted as a victory for the miners the material advantage to them was small.

The only gains of any deep significance were a shorter work day and a principle, but these were of incalculable importance.

A shorter work day means education, higher morals, better health, self-government, the culture growing out of home and family associations. This principle was recognized in the free cities and communities of Europe during the three or four centuries of the so-called Middle Ages, before empire and military burdens crushed art out of labor and reduced men to serfs. In nearly all trades the work day was eight hours, with a Saturday half-holiday, and the wages were higher compared with the cost of living than the wages of the workmen of average skill in America to-day. When organized labor becomes insistent it may be well for the public to remember that the granting of those demands would be but the restoration of what has been taken from men by the power of special privilege protected by unjust laws.

One of our foremost educators has recently expressed impatience that the "working class" are always demanding shorter days of labor. He argues that all the available hours of the day should be filled with toil, that men should desire to work as many, not as few, hours as possible. We shall never do any intelligent thinking in this matter until we recognize that

there are two kinds of labor : that in which the creative element is present, and that from which it is almost or entirely excluded. Doctors, lawyers, clergymen, and those of other professions are not asking for legislation to protect them from working more than eight hours a day, because their work is largely self-directed. It is of a creative nature, and inspires the worker in the doing.

It is not so with work which is purely mechanical, or which has been reduced to a dull monotony by the pressure of commercial competition, so that it calls out none of the divine creative faculties of a man. No man should be doomed to spend his entire life in labor entirely devoid of the creative principle, but so long as men are under such compulsion the slavery should be made as light as possible by legislative protection.

The principle won from the contest by the American people was the principle propounded by Abraham Lincoln in his Message to Congress, December 3, 1861. It is in the discussion of the effort which is being made "to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of the government." "It is assumed," he said, "that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. . . . Now there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed; nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless. Labor is prior to, and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration." It is this emphasis upon the value of human life, this exaltation of the rights of man regardless of his position or affiliation with capital interests or organized labor interests, that has rendered this event one of the most, if indeed not the most, significant in the industrial history of the world.

That this or any other arbitration of the differences that arise between capital interests and human laborers, will be



able to establish permanent industrial peace, I am not so sanguine as to believe.

Will men be content to toil under ground indefinitely for a fixed wage, to bring to the surface that which enriches the holders of the special privilege of ownership, out of all due proportion to the service rendered to society by capital? I have more faith in what William Watson has called a "broad and generous discontent" than to believe it.

The present competitive strain, pitting human life against inanimate gold, or insensate machinery, in the markets of the world, cannot produce social harmony. The contest is entirely unequal, and "Free Competition," the dream of our orthodox fathers in Political Economy, has already been proven an unsubstantial fiction, and the last decade has witnessed its fall in the temples of economic faith. So long as man must enter the lists against money which neither hungers nor thirsts, with his own hunger to goad him on, and the love of liberty to inspire him, and the cry of his own offspring to tip the balance in the day of trial, there will be strikes and labor disturbances, varied in demonstration only by the specific conditions in which they arise. One of these powers must gain supremacy.

Henry Clay saw this fifty years ago when he announced his belief that "The true solution of the contest for all time between labor and capital is that capital should own the laborer, whether white or black."

There are three possible conditions of "labor:" First—Slave Labor. Second—Wage Labor. Third—Free Labor. Henry Clay tells us that under the first there is industrial peace. Let slaves be kept ignorant enough, isolate them from all experience in personal initiative or the free use of their powers, keep them toiling solely under direction from without, and industrial peace is sure. We know that under the second condition—wage labor—there is perpetual war. From the lowest stratum of wage labor to the highest contention and discontent are almost ubiquitous. Whether from excessive hardship among the poorer paid, or from an ambition to improve conditions

among the better paid, we know that not a day now passes that does not record somewhere a labor conflict, the interruption of business, often the destruction of property and life.

What ought we then to do? The moral intelligence of the race forbids a return to the peace of slave labor. An increasing number of people are becoming dissatisfied with the perpetual conflict growing out of the competitive nature of wage labor. Our political history affords a suggestion. There was a time when those who were not the government became the government, when those who had no authority assumed authority, and out of a rebellion in an Empire our American Republic was born. The statesmen of the world knew it could never be done, but the fact of accomplishment shattered the theories of the ages. Having taken the first two steps in our industrial development may we not be justified in attempting the next step? May we not be justified in seeking to apply to our industrial life that principle which our forefathers applied to political life—the principle of democracy—thus making labor free?

President John Mitchell recently said—"I am one who believes that the time is not far distant when the workingman will have to solve the labor problem. I am free to say that my own views have somewhat changed since the strike. I look forward to the time when those who build the mansions will not have to live in the hovels. I look forward to the time when those whose labor builds the beautiful edifices, whose spires point heavenward, will not have to walk past them too ragged to enter. I look forward to the time when the workers of our country will take possession of their own country." In the coal regions were coördinated men of a dozen nationalities, alien in language and customs, one only in the welding of a common interest—the interest of the defenceless ones who looked to them for life—binding them into one vital force. As we mingled with them on the streets and in their homes and at the business sessions in their halls, and listened to their appeals in broken English for order and peace, listened also to their determination to patiently wait the issues of the future

for their vindication, that they were not drunken as the public had been led to suppose, but were filled with another kind of spirit—this stupendous uprising impressed us as being the pentecostal demonstration of a cosmic upheaval, heralding the approach of that great day.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY.

*Mount Vernon, N. Y.*

## THE RISING TIDE OF SOCIAL RIGHTEOUSNESS.

THE modern world is at present alert along the lines of economic and sociologic research, to make tangible many practical reforms for which time has matured society and which were more or less implied, and even germinated, in civilization centuries ago. Whatever evolutionary stages were necessary in Nature to enable the intellect and conscience of man to attain to these concepts and conditions, certain it is that the foremost minds and hearts in the best centers of each past age have predicted and even partly anticipated these coming human ameliorations. We can see the tender chord of noble consideration and divine equity that touched the princely conscience of an East Indian Rhama, and crystallized in the sublime unselfishness of the Hebrew Christ; caught up in the Greek purity of a Socrates or Plato; the broad humanity of a Roman Gracchus and Aurelius; the tender sympathies of a St. John and St. Francis; the moral heroism of a Savonarola, a Huss, a Luther, or a Wickliff; the political heroism of a Hampden, Cromwell, Washington or John Brown.

By whatever biological unfoldment from blind and crude egotism the "brotherhood" concept has grown, first to the control or suppression of individual selfishness in the more cohesive family adjustment, to the outlying clan and state—certain it is that altruistic unity is extending its concept with the earth's geographical unification, out from the brotherhood of a few under one earthly father to all under one Heavenly Father; to children in one cave or tent; to patriarchal clusters of tents; to groups of patriarchs in tribes; to tribes in cities, cities in states, and states in one planetary home, bound perhaps onward to an eternal "Spiritual City." The larger and more complex the groups, of course, the slower and more delicate the adjustments of brotherhood. But that the idea and ideal are steadily advancing, not merely as an ethically "Christian" but broadly cosmic consciousness, no sane observer should deny.

Yet that the relics of our barbarism and brutality hold over in many social and economic conditions is equally clear. At both private and public tables something of the old animal rapacity and greed is still in evidence. But improved parentage, at the first, is prohibiting the older or stronger brothers from snatching and monopolizing from younger and weaker brothers; humanizing etiquette is even establishing as the condition of an acceptable "gentleman" the ability to show extra consideration for the weakness of sex, for the extremity of age, or for the inexperience of youth. We will not in general allow one family outwardly and obviously to over-reach and oppress another family in a city, or stronger cities to oppress other cities in a state, or stronger states to oppress weaker ones in a republic. And international law is already crystallizing world conscience and conviction in response to the shock of indignation and disgust with which mankind as a whole revolts against the spirit of greed and avarice in any nation which browbeats and robs a less materially powerful brother nation. We have but to recall the force of this opinion in lately withdrawing the allied armies from China and Venezuela, in liberating Cuba, in protesting against the brutality in Russia and Manila, and in discounting English character, morality, and public honor for outraging the Boer Republics.

Hence all such disgraceful outlawry in any private or public group is inevitably cloaked in sophistical pretexts to hide its inner depravity. Political hypocrisy is a compliment which political vice pays to social and political virtue and to cosmic conscience.

The very fulness and closeness with which mankind is coming to know the earth as a whole and value the very contributions of its subdivisions historically and socially, by bonds of interdependent commerce, communication, and travel, is hastening this world solidarity and brotherhood.

But, strange to say, the one field in which Christian courtesy and cosmic conscience are most retarded and flagrantly abused to-day, in all lands, is that of "class" relationship. It is the most inveterate plague-spot, the most persistent cancer of so-

cial injustice, reflecting its inhumanity and unchristianity in a horde of false and vicious conventions, legalities, and absurd affectations. We need not cite East Indian depravity in this regard to witness how long and bitterly this social leprosy has afflicted mankind; for is not Europe writhing still under its wretched duplicities, impositions, and cruelties? And even free "republican" America has again caught the Bourbon spirit, and her parvenu plutocracy is already striving to ape the diseased and decadent aristocracy of the old régime.

It is true that the most morally advanced and enlightened democracies to-day, such as Switzerland, France, New Zealand, and the purest sections of the United States, are slowly "ringing in" the Higher Humanity, and are striving to "let the ape and tiger die."

Is not the vanity of snobbery the very tap-root and foster-mother of most crooked economic privilege and oblique legislative cruelty by which men still insult the Divine Authority and Fatherhood by robbing and despoiling their brethren at the great table God has spread for His children in Nature? Here His own sacred words fall with terrible and telling severity: "There is One Father, even God; and ye all are brethren." "Who maketh thee to differ from another, and what hast thou that thou hast not received?" There is now no difference between Jew and Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free; for the same Lord over all is rich to all who call on Him." While to the plutocrat he says: "Ye that are strong should bear the burden of the weak, not please yourselves;" and to the pillars of conventional religion and society he cries: "Ye hypocrites! first be reconciled to your brothers; then come offer thy gifts."

It is to the rectification of these cruel, blind disabilities and artificial injustices that modern "scientific" and (truly) "Christian Socialism" is summoning us to-day, warning society of its sacred role, its inevitable moral and material obligations to its fellows—a rôle in which every humane and conscientious being must ultimately enlist, whether he will or no; for the questions proposed of economic justice, legal equity, essential manhood, intrinsic democracy, and Christianity are the most burn-

ing and immanent to-day—the most vital, heroic, insistent, and trenchant that Deity in evolution is forcing upon us, however we hedge or prevaricate.

Let us take heed lest in blindness and prejudice toward their call we be found fighting against God. If we suffered so for black slavery, what shall we suffer for the enslavement of children, women, and our own white fellow-citizens?

JOHN WARD STIMSON.

*Nordhoff, California.*

# TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

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## ALL THE WORLD FOR ALL THE PEOPLE.

"The hour has struck for hoisting the 'All for All.'"

—*Victor Hugo.*

To each epoch in the history of an upward-moving race is given a new word or message which if heeded lifts civilization to a higher plane of vantage-ground, while across the pillar of fire which ever floats in the intellectual heaven of a virile civilization is written a new legend for the inspiration of the leaders and the guidance of the people. The eighteenth century gave to western civilization her marching orders in the demand for political emancipation and the recognition of the people as the true source of government. The new and luminous ideal which came with the new order and which was summed up in the three words, Justice, Freedom, and Fraternity, was big with promise of happiness, peace, and development for the race.

The twentieth century, through the voices of millions of thinking men and women, is uttering a new and equally august message, embodying the demand that political emancipation shall be supplemented by economic emancipation, and that the despotism of the dollar or the new theory of commercial feudalism, which seems to assume the divine right of wealth and which would elevate vested interests above the rights of man and the sanctity of human life, shall be forever overthrown, even as the eighteenth century exploded the age-long and triple delusion of the divine right of kings to mastership over the people, of priests to enslave the reason, and of a hereditary aristocracy to oppress the millions and enjoy special privileges.

The sunlight of popular education and the pervasive spirit of democracy are at once dispelling the fogs of darkness born of centuries of superstition, ignorance, and injustice, and strengthening the mental vision of the people, so that the masses are coming to see that this grand old world, instead of being the property of the few, belongs by right to all the common children of the common Father; that to exclude the many from



her bounties or for the few to assume ownership of the land and the hoarded wealth of the earth is to exile the millions of God's children from the richly laden festal board which He has spread for all. Nay, more. It is to condemn them to a species of slavery that the few may squander what the millions need.

Hence, from the marble mountains and citrous groves of fair Italy; from the orange orchards, the flower-laden gardens, and the vine-clad fields of sunny France; from the castle-crested banks of the picturesque Rhine, eastward, even beyond the Dnieper, the Don, and the Volga; from the land of Hampden and Milton, of Pit and Gladstone, of Dickens and Burns, to the antipodes where the splendid daughters of Britannia have become the glory of the southern seas, and from every quarter of our own republic, even from the forest-fringed northern lands to the orange groves of the far south; from the populous centers of the Atlantic to the fastnesses of the Rockies and the Sierras, and beyond; from the rose-hung cottages and fruit embowered homes of the Pacific states, comes the civilization-wide demand and declaration, "All the world for all the people."

Hugo was right when, with the vision of a seer and the voice of a prophet, he exclaimed: "The hour has struck for hoisting the 'All for All.'" Yes, the moment has arrived when it is the duty of every man and woman of conscience to resolutely demand that the reign of privilege and class, like that of kings and aristocracies, shall give place to true democracy based on political and economic freedom. We are at this moment in the midst of one of the greatest struggles for supremacy between two world-wide ideals, as diametrically opposed as light is to darkness, which has ever been waged. Reaction and egotism are battling against freedom and the altruistic spirit of democracy with a determination and tenacity never hitherto equalled. But because the conflict under the new order has been transferred from the field of physical force to the mental plane, and because the multitudinous agencies of reaction and egoism are striving in every way to divert the attention of the masses from the fundamental issues involved and to lull the fears of the people with party slogans and misleading shibboleths, many fail to realize that a momentous conflict is in progress. And few indeed appreciate that upon the issue of the struggle hinges the destiny of civilization. If reaction prevails, if the materialistic commercial feudalism of the New World and the reactionary governmental and religious ideals of Continental Europe triumph over free and enlightened democracy,

our civilization must go the way of Egypt, Syria, Persia, Greece, and Rome; for history emphasizes no truth more impressively than that so solemnly expressed by the greatest living poet of democracy in these lines:

No house can stand, no kingdom can endure,  
Built on the crumbling rocks of self-desire;  
Nothing is living stone, nothing is sure,  
That is not whitened in the social fire.

The soul of the people has been overlong drugged with a most vicious opportunism. The appeals have been to short-sighted self-interest. Expediency has been elevated to the throne of Justice, and the ideal of might has too often supplanted the ideal of right, until even the great republic has become a camp-follower in the march of enlightened progress. Hence the duty devolving upon all lovers of justice, freedom, and large-hearted humanitarianism, and upon practical idealists calls for that consecration and utter disinterestedness which flamed up in the souls of Eliot, Pym, and Hampden and through them saved England from a night-time of reaction and despotism; which burned brightly in the brain of Otis, of Hancock, and of Adams, of Henry and of Jefferson, crystallizing in the Declaration of Independence and triumphing in the birth of the republic; and which later awoke in the heart of Garrison, of Phillips, and of Whittier, summoning the conscience of the nation to the bar of eternal justice and culminating in the destruction of chattel slavery.

Such is the spirit that democracy demands from every loyal friend of free institutions to-day. The master note struck by Jesus when he enunciated the Golden Rule, and which his whole life as well as his teachings emphasized, has become the overmastering or dominating political as well as ethical concept in the minds of the practical idealists, the altruistic statesmen, and the true leaders of the twentieth century. Thus the dream of universal brotherhood, in spite of the rampant egoism and crass materialism of the hour, never loomed so largely on the world's horizon as at present.

"All the world for all the people." From the darkness of remote ages man has slowly, haltingly, toilsomely struggled toward this ideal. The history of civilization is the story of the conflict between the darkness and the light, the spirit of reaction and the genius of progress; between egoism and altruism; between the concept that the earth is for the stronger or the most crafty and unscrupulous, and the ideal that it is the common heritage of a common Father for the use of all His children.

From the absolutism of the Oriental despots to the modified tyranny of a Cæsar, a Czar or an Emperor; from the crimes of these incarnations of injustice to the oppressions of a limited monarchy; from limited monarchy to the political revolution and partial emancipation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and from these revolutions to the present demand for economic emancipation, or equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people and the realization of the ideal of Justice, Freedom, and Fraternity, we see the steady rise of man toward the supreme goal. "All the world for all the people."

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### THE FIELD AGAINST MAYOR JOHNSON.

Never in the history of modern politics have all the plutocratic elements been so united as they are in their determination to overwhelmingly defeat Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland in this month's election. Every corrupt public service corporation, every grasping monopoly, every influence enjoying special privileges, every man or corporation hoping for enrichment at the expense of the people, every political boss who has been associated with corrupt practises in party machine manipulations, and all the grafters are with one accord fighting the Mayor of Cleveland; and at their beck and call is every newspaper and public opinion-forming influence that can be owned or controlled by unlimited wealth or appeals to the personal ambition, vanity and greed of weak natures. Never has a venal press made a more disgraceful campaign of virulent misrepresentation, slander, and falsification than that which has marked the present contest in Ohio.

Telegrams to the Boston *Herald* on September 13, frankly admit the overwhelming odds against which the Mayor of Cleveland is conducting almost single-handed, his battle against plutocracy and reaction. The following extracts from dispatches from leading cities of Ohio give the views of experts:

His opponents here make no secret of their plans to help him nominate the most obnoxious legislative and county candidates possible, with the expectation that defeat will be so crushing that Johnson will be eliminated from Democratic politics.

The best indication of sentiment in this section is the fact that Democratic leaders in Butler county, always regarded as a rock-ribbed Democratic stronghold, now concede that the Republicans will carry it by a

substantial majority. The situation is simply that every influence not identified with Johnson has tacitly combined to load him down with every burden, and that every effort will be made to crush him under the most signal disaster ever known in the state.

Old-time politicians contend that Johnson will be defeated by 100,000. The conservative Democrats are against Johnson, while the free silver element is sulking because of the indorsement of Clarke, a pronounced gold man, for United States Senator. With the farmers, the free silverites and the conservative members of the party against Johnson, or indifferent, it seems absolutely settled that he is doomed to overwhelming defeat.

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Johnson is carrying on his campaign unaided. His organization in Cleveland is doing all the work. No eastern Democrats are making speeches for him, Bryan and Henry George, Jr., being the extent of the outside talent.

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Conservative Democrats are not in line with the party in Ohio, this year, and men who before '96 were leaders this year predict an overwhelming Republican majority for Herrick, estimated at from 100,000 to 110,000.

When nominated Mayor Johnson declared that he had no expectation of election, but he accepted the post to prevent the party passing into the hands of plutocratic, reactionary, and undemocratic influences, and because he thought there was a possibility of carrying the legislature so that the carnival of high-handed, unrepugnant, and capitalistic legislation that has recently marked the politics of Ohio under the mastery of the corporations, directed by Senator Hanna and Boss Cox, might be checked. If Mr. Johnson is defeated by more than one hundred and ten thousand votes—which is the minimum of what the opposition expects, it will afford another striking illustration of how powerfully the plutocracy is entrenched in our government. If he is defeated by less than one hundred thousand majority, he will have secured a great moral victory.

Every possible effort has been made by the plutocratic press to obscure the political issues in this campaign. Formerly these hirelings of reaction and predatory wealth denounced Mr. Bryan because he represented free silver. Mr. Johnson never was a free silver man, but he is opposed to government of the corporations, by the corporations, for the exploitation of the people. He is opposed to corrupt politics and to unjust taxation. Hence he has been slandered and misrepresented in every conceivable manner. The truth is, and this fact should be insisted upon by every friend of republican institutions, the subsidized press no less than the plutocracy that owns it body and

soul, opposed Mr. Bryan, not because of free silver, but because he stood for popular rule against the government of classes; he represented democracy as opposed to plutocracy. They oppose Mr. Johnson for precisely the same reasons. In Massachusetts the same elements in all parties united against the Hon. George Fred Williams. They sneered at and sought to destroy the influence of Governor Pingree, for no other reason than because he sought to maintain self-respecting manhood in a period of great economic depression by furnishing work to those who sought employment, and also because he antagonized the aggressions of the railroads and other corrupt public service corporations. And to-day this same element, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is openly or tacitly opposing and sneering at the brave and fearless statesman who occupies the executive chair in Wisconsin, simply because Governor La Follette has bravely and determinedly stood by the people against the shameful and unjust oppression of the railroad corporations. Governor La Follette has shown that the people of Wisconsin are being robbed of millions of dollars a year that they should enjoy through the railroads. He has behind him the railroad commissioners of the State; yet so powerful has been the influence of the corrupt railroad lobby in Wisconsin that it has been impossible for the people to secure relief, on account of the perfidy of their own representatives and because they do not yet possess those most imperative present-day demands of republican government—the Initiative and Referendum.

The arrogant plutocracy of to-day and its great and powerful press, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are seeking as they have sought for the past decade to utterly destroy the political life of every man who proves himself superior to the numerous direct and indirect forms of bribery, and who stands loyally at all times for the interests of the people against the unjust demands of predatory wealth.

On the other hand, the self-seeking politicians who are profuse in their promises to the voters and are voluble in glittering generalities, but who are ever ready to accept favors from the railroad corporations, in the form of free passes, special trains, wines, etc., and thereby obligate themselves to their real masters, can confidently count on enormous campaign funds to insure their elections.

If Jefferson or Lincoln were in the political arena to-day; every one of the hirelings of plutocracy, every Wall Street voice, every public service magnate, every trust beneficiary or

attorney for predatory wealth, every political boss and grafter, would join with the subsidized press in the most brazen and infamous misrepresentations, slanders, and ridicule, such as in recent years has been heaped upon Mr. Bryan, Governor Pin-gree, Mayor Johnson, Governor La Follette, and other incorruptible friends of the people.

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## JUSTICE THE DIVINE WORD OF OUR EPOCH.

Republicanism is at the parting of the ways; democracy is in the balance. Its supremacy or eclipse is dependent on its prompt and unreserved allegiance to the call of Justice—that wholesome justice that demands for all others the same equality of opportunities and of rights that we demand for ourselves.

Every great epoch is dominated by some ideal or word, concisely epitomizing the imperative demand of progress, if the civilization or nation to which it comes is to move forward and to grow in true greatness. The last great epoch sounded many charmed words, but its dominating or most imperative demand was Freedom. It proclaimed liberty in the sphere of politics, religion, and the mind, and this liberty was absolutely necessary to precede the broader and truer conception of justice which the recognition of the solidarity of the race and the common rights of the common children of the common Father render logical and, indeed, imperative.

The last revolutionary movement only partially realized the dream of the prophets; for after the triumph of freedom came a reactionary movement dominated by egoism. The old hydra of Oppression began to rear again its heads. In one place the idea of the divine right of kings began to again assert itself. In other places that of birth and caste assumed superiority. Here the ancient religious dogmas and superstitions became increasingly arrogant, and in the more democratic lands wealth assumed prerogatives that in other days and nations had been arrogated by the throne, the aristocracy, and the priesthood. All these influences were alike reactionary. All aimed in various subtle ways to turn back the hand on the dial plate, to gain for the few, for classes or special sects, superior power and rights based on privilege, and thus to defeat the fundamental demand of freedom and democracy—the equality of op-

portunities and of rights. All were prompted either by egoism, reaction, or fanaticism. All sought to evade or push aside the new and supreme demand—that of justice—even-handed justice for all God's children. And how industriously to-day are the reactionaries seeking at once to make democracy a cloak for class rule or despotism, and to bind to the wheels of reaction and privilege the church, the college, and the press, while diverting the mind of the people from the fundamental issues at stake!

Never in the history of the world have there been more amazing examples of lavish expenditure on the part of predatory wealth for purposes apparently progressive and philanthropic than have marked the past generation. On every side representatives of classes who have acquired untold millions through privilege, gambling, oppression, or other forms of indirection are posing in the robes of philanthropy. Millions are given for educational institutions; millions to the church; millions for charitable purposes, and yet the sum total of all these lavish bids for perpetual mastership on the part of the few represents but a moiety of the wealth wrung unjustly from its creators. This ostentatious giving serves plutocracy the double purpose of blinding the mental vision of the thoughtless while making the church, the school, and other beneficiaries a part of plutocracy's retinue—the servants of reaction—used to defeat the ends of justice and render possible the continuance of the social and commercial anarchy that has reigned and ever will reign while egoism is more powerful than altruism in the public consciousness or national life.

The divine word of the present epoch is Justice, and only Justice can save our civilization from disintegrating and going the way of all past civilizations, or from violent cataclysms such as marked the most bloody period of the French Revolution.

John Ruskin, one of the greatest moral leaders of the nineteenth century, never uttered truer or more timely words than the following in which he arraigns the pseudo-charity of present-day wealth, and unmasks the sophistry of its apologists:

It is the law of heaven that you shall not be able to judge what is wise or easy, unless you are first resolved to judge what is just, and to do it. That is the one thing constantly reiterated by our master—the order of all others that is given oftenest: "Do justice and judgment." That's your Bible order; that's the "service of God." The one divine work—the one ordered sacrifice—is to do justice; and it is the

last we are ever inclined to do. Anything rather than that. As much charity as you choose, but no justice. "Nay," you will say, "charity is greater than justice." Yes, it is greater; it is the summit of justice; it is the temple of which justice is the foundation. But you can't have the top without the bottom; you cannot build upon charity? You must build upon justice, for this main reason, that you have not, at first, charity to build with. It is the last reward of good work. It is all very fine to think you can build upon charity to begin with; but you will find all you have got to begin with begins at home, and is essentially love of yourself.

You well-to-do people will go to "Divine Service" next Sunday, all nice and tidy, and your little children will have their tight little Sunday boots on, and lovely little Sunday feathers in their hats; and you'll think, complacently and piously, how lovely they look! and you love them heartily, and you like sticking feathers in their hats. That's all right; that is charity; but it is charity beginning at home. Then you will come to the poor little crossing-sweeper got up also in its Sunday dress—the dirtiest rags it has, that it may beg the better; we shall give it a penny, and think how good we are. That's charity going abroad. But what does justice say, walking and watching near us? Christian justice has been strangely mute, and seemingly blind; and, if not blind, decrepit, this many a day; she keeps her accounts still, however—quite steadily—doing them at nights, carefully, with her bandage off, and through acutest spectacles (the only modern scientific invention she cares about). You must put your ear down ever so close to her lips to hear her speak; and then you will start at what she first whispers, for it will certainly be, "Why shouldn't that little crossing-sweeper have a feather on its head, as well as your own child?" Then you may ask justice, in an amazed manner, how she can possibly be so foolish as to think children could sweep crossings with feathers on their heads? Then you stoop again, and justice says, still in her dull, stupid way: "Then, why don't you, every other Sunday, leave your child to sweep the crossing, and take the little sweeper to church in a hat and feather?" Mercy on us (you think), what will she say next? And you answer, of course, that you don't, because everybody ought to remain content in the position in which Providence has placed them.

Ah, my friends, that's the gist of the whole question. Did Providence put them in that position, or did you? You knock a man into a ditch, and then you tell him to remain content in the "position in which Providence has placed him." That's modern Christianity. You say, "We did not knock him into the ditch." How do you know what you have done or are doing? That's just what we have all got to know, and what we shall never know until the question with us every morning is, not how to do the gainful thing, but how to do the just thing.

These words should sink into the consciousness of every man, woman, and child who to-day is echoing the pernicious plati-



tudes put into the mouths of the people by editors and others in the service of privilege and reaction, and which ignore the underlying demands of democracy, of religion, and of human rights in the attempt to bolster up a reactionary class movement based on privilege and destructive to the very genius of free government. *Justice first*, then charity for the few who need it; Justice, broad, even-handed Justice, that demands nothing less than equality of opportunities and rights for all the children of God, and which insists that the church shall take Jesus seriously and stand or fall by the Golden Rule.

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### WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING.

The special pleaders for corporations and trusts have made a great deal of capital out of the fact that between 1897 and 1901 the wages in New York City have in sixteen trades risen from an average of \$2.78 to \$2.91 a day, and this fact has been broadly heralded throughout Great Britain as an argument in favor of protection and monopoly. But these special pleaders for plutocracy fail to mention another fact, and one which entirely changes the nature of the case. They fail to state that during this period the cost of living in the Empire city increased ten per cent. above the increase in wages, while since 1901 the cost of living has steadily risen. Dunn's agency places the increase at over thirty-three per cent.

# BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.\*

THE INFLUENCE OF EMERSON. By Edwin D. Mead. Cloth. Pp. 304. Price \$1.20 net. Boston, The American Unitarian Association.

## A BOOK STUDY.

Mr. Mead is one of the most tireless and efficient servants of true civilization. His influence is always felt on the side of justice, freedom, and the larger life that the truest prophets and leaders are seeking to instill into the brain and soul of our people. He writes much and speaks frequently, and always to the purpose. Seldom, if ever, does his thought fail to ring clear and true. But nowhere, we think, do his fine scholarship and broad, wholesome ethical concepts appear to such advantage as in this new work, "The Influence of Emerson."

Here in the compass of over three hundred pages, the philosophy of the Concord sage is luminously examined and epitomized, after which in two lengthy discussions, one on "Emerson and Theodore Parker," and the other on "Emerson and Carlyle," the thought of the greatest of American philosophers is further examined. The work is the result of years of study and represents the ripe fruition of the thought of a sympathetic and philosophical critic. Mr. Mead holds that Emerson is "our greatest philosopher, perhaps our only great philosopher . . . ever approaching the problem of the universe, both from the soul side and the nature side, ever standing confident and patient in the presence of the Sphinx."

Yet he clearly points out that the great masters of philosophy, from Plato down, are at heart one. "There is," he tells us, "almost nothing new in Emerson's philosophy. We are everywhere in the same philosophic atmosphere which we breathe with Plato and Plotinus, and with the post-Kantian idealists. Everything easily falls into harmony with the great Greeks and the great Germans."

The universe, according to Emerson, was an embodiment of God. "There seems to be a necessity in spirit," he observes, "to manifest itself in material forms; and day and night, river and storm, beast and bird, acid and alkali, pre-exist in necessary Ideas in the mind of God, and are what they are by virtue of preceding affections in the world of spirit. . . . Intellect is primary; nature, secondary; it is the memory of the mind. That which once existed in intellect as pure law has now taken body in Nature. It existed already in the mind in solution; now it has been precipitated, and the bright sediment is the world."

\*Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

This, as Mr. Mead points out, is pure Plato. Again, the idea that "everything in the phenomenal world takes place at once mechanically and metaphysically" is shown by our author to be a reflex of the thought of the great German transcendentalists. "A perfect parallelism," Emerson says, almost in the words of Leibnitz, and in the precise thought of Hegel, "exists between nature and the laws of thought." "The whole of nature agrees with the whole of thought."

If, however, Emerson was in perfect accord with the world's greatest philosophers and metaphysicians, he was thoroughly out of tune with the religious concepts of his day. How heterodox to the literalists who enjoyed Watts's hymns, Milton's "Paradise Lost," and Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom," must these words have sounded: "Beauty in its largest and profoundest sense, is one expression for the universe. God is the All-fair. Truth and goodness and beauty are but different faces of the same All."

Our author in discussing Emerson's ideals eloquently answers the narrow visionaries and crass materialists of the day who sneer at idealism as something impractical. He well observes:

"The positivist's appeal to the idealist to leave his idealism to strengthen the ranks of reform and regenerate society is irony *ne plus ultra*. Its answer is Moses and the prophets; its answer is Christ and the church; its answer is Luther and Calvin and John Knox; its answer is Cromwell and Milton and Vane, Plymouth Rock, and Bunker Hill; its answer is Rousseau and Turgot, the voice of Fichte amid Napoleon's drums, Cobden and the Corn-law Rhymers, Mazzini and Gladstone; its answer is Garrison, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the scaffold of John Brown; its answer is the Transcendental Movement in New England."

From twelve to twenty years before the "Origin of Species" appeared, Emerson in a striking way anticipated, often in similar phrase, Darwinism. On this point Mr. Mead says:

"But nothing could so strikingly illustrate the truth that the method of thought is the method of nature as what is called the 'Darwinism' of Emerson himself—the anticipations and clear expression everywhere of that view of development which our science has adopted and made so cardinal. Of this Darwinism in Emerson much has been made, yet not too much. Darwinism, as we have already noticed, was made the very motto of 'Nature' twenty years before 'The Origin of Species' was written. 'Nature' is full of Darwinism.

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"Half a dozen years later he says: 'We can point nowhere to anything final, but tendency appears on all hands; planet, system, constellation, total nature is growing like a field of maize in July, is becoming somewhat else. The embryo does not more strive to be man than yonder burr of light we call a nebula tends to be a ring, a comet, a globe, and a parent of new suns.' This process of evolution, he says, 'publishes itself in creatures, reaching from particles to spicula, through transformation on transformation, to the highest symmetries, arriving at consummate results without a shock or a leap. \* \* \* How far off is the trilobite, how far the quadruped! All duly arrive, and then race after race of men. It is a long way from granite to oyster; farther yet to Plato, and the preaching of the immortality of the soul. Yet all must come, as surely as the first atom has two sides.'

This, note, twenty years before men heard of Darwinism. 'In ignorant ages,' says Emerson, 'it was common to vaunt the human superiority by underrating the instinct of other animals. Better discernment finds that the only difference is of less and more.' Again, 'Tis a long scale from the gorilla to the gentleman—from the gorilla to Plato, Newton, Shakespeare—to the sanctities of religion, to the refinements of legislation, to the summits of science, art, and poetry. The beginnings are slow and infirm, but 'tis an always accelerated march.'

"Passages of this sort could of course be multiplied indefinitely. The reference in 'Bacchus' to the ascent of life from form to form still remains incomparable, as Mr. Stedman has observed, for terseness and poetic illumination:

"I, drinking this,  
Shall hear far Chaos talk with me;  
Kings unborn shall walk with me;  
And the poor grass shall plot and plan  
What it will do when it is man."

Very luminous and interesting is our author's discussion of Darwinism in Emerson's essay on "Nature," which appeared twenty years before "The Origin of Species" was published. Though he agrees with John Morley that evolution as a positive explanation of the order of the universe is a great deal older than either Emerson or Darwin, yet he shows that the point of interest is that "Emerson spoke about evolution in entirely new phrase; and it was no mere 'good fortune' by which his strong propositions harmonize with 'the new and most memorable drift of science which set in by his side,' as Mr. Morley clearly recognizes they do. It was the 'fatal gift of penetration' which enabled him to see and to proclaim early and in universals that which was in the air and which Darwin presently should avouch in particulars."

Emerson's large faith, grounded in sane and sound philosophy, was absolutely necessary to stem the growing current of skepticism and essential materialism that had long been manifest in the church no less than throughout society at large. No graver mistake can be made than to regard the great transcendentalists as the authors of the widespread skepticism of the nineteenth century. The doom of the old religious concepts was sounded even before the demonstrations of Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler, Newton's discovery of the law of gravitation, and the successive and dazzling revelations in physical science, astronomy, and archæology, that have progressed with accelerating rapidity since the dawn of Modern Times. These great discoveries and revelations gave to humanity a new heaven and a new earth and rendered forever untenable to the ordinary enlightened intellect the crude and often absurd dogmas and wonder stories which were born of the unlimited credulity of childhood ages, but which, nevertheless, were shot with golden threads of truth to such an extent that they had helped the race in many ways to higher intellectual altitudes—had been, in fact, schoolmasters preparing the children of the great Father for a recognition of the large, sane, and more exalting revelations of divine Beauty, Wisdom and Love, which are even now purpling the mental horizon of all those who dare to fearlessly face life's problems and think for themselves.

In referring to the services of Emerson to the cause of sound ethics and the demands of reason in the presence of the larger life of to-day, Mr. Mead says:

"I know of no other thinker who so luminously points out the way to the solution of the sundry antinomies, their reconciliation in a higher synthesis, as Emerson. Freedom and necessity, unity and personality, individualism and commonwealth, transcendence and immanence—as we come into 'intimater intimacy' with the mind of Emerson, the old puzzles puzzle less and less, and we learn to verify and chart what he discovers and declares. Nowhere is the reconciling synthesis more impressive or more useful, more necessary for these times, than in the field of ethics. The reconciliation is between the evolution of institutions and the categorical imperative, between, if we please, Herbert Spencer and Immanuel Kant. Emerson fronts a kinder and more co-operant universe than Kant. Morals he said, while yet a mere boy, and in ever firmer accent with the years, constitute the 'health integrity' of the universe; and morals is the health of the soul, the activity befitting and commanding its nature.

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"The first principles of the Kantian ethics, the three cardinal doctrines of the *Kritik of Practical Reason*, never received such powerful summary statement as in Emerson's famous lines:

"So nigh is grandeur to our dust,  
So near is God to man,  
When Duty whispers low, *Thou must*,  
The youth replies, *I can*."

"Here is the categorical imperative; and here the assurance, *Thou canst, because thou shalt—because thou oughtest*. Obligation measures and defines capacity and freedom; and the absoluteness of the obligation illumines and defines the two great presuppositions—the grandeur of the eternal nature thus commanded, and the completeness of the divine support and guarantee."

And again:

"As soon as every man is apprised of the Divine presence within his own mind—is apprised that the perfect law of duty corresponds with the laws of chemistry, of vegetation, of astronomy, as face to face in a glass; that the basis of duty, the order of society, the power of character, the wealth of culture, the perfection of taste, all draw their essence from this moral sentiment, then we have a religion that exalts, that commands all the social and all the private action.' 'There is a fear,' he says elsewhere, 'that pure truth, pure morals, will not make a religion for the affections.' This fear was foolish, because, as he saw well, biography and history and poetry ever wait on inspiration and in good time bring the ivy. 'Whenever the sublimities of character shall be incarnated in a man, we may rely that law and love and insatiable curiosity will follow his steps.' The history of all in the past which makes just appeal to reverence and devotion is secure, a permanent possession; and new canonizations can only make us richer, and not poorer. No true divinity or saint can ever become less; but no universal truth of God can ever be long dependent, and it can never be contingent, upon any individual bearer or embodiment of it. 'There was a time when Christianity existed in one child; but, if the child had been killed by Herod, would the element have been lost? God sends his message, if not by one, then quite as well by another. When the Master of the Universe has ends to fulfil, he impresses his will on the structure of minds.' There are those who think that but for Jesus

the cardinal truths and influences of what we call, and properly call, Christianity, would not be present among men. The rejection of **this** view, as concerns not only Christianity, but every great movement in history, in no way derogates from the praise or merit of the thinker or the doer who stands at the forefront of the movement, or from the charm and inspiration of the heroic and prophetic life. It simply affirms that universal truths of God and the supply of humanity's cardinal demands are superior to contingency."

We can easily see how such concepts aroused the savage hostility of creedists and dogmatists. The gospel proclaimed by Jesus in like manner aroused the same class in the old time, because it was thought to destroy or at least to antagonize the teachings of Moses and the prophets. The old order always wars against the larger truth born of the broader vision. Mr. Mead thus refers to the opposition of the church to the philosophical ideals of Emerson:

"With the churches of his time, Emerson came into opposition; but the ground of his opposition concerned what was accidental and extrinsic. 'I object to the claim of miraculous dispensation—certainly not to the *doctrine* of Christianity.' The miraculous claim, to his mind, 'impaired the soundness of him who makes it, . . . it is contrary to that law of nature which all wise men recognize, never to require a larger cause than is necessary to the effect.' It confounded Christianity with 'the fables of every popular religion.' We know divine things only by the like spirit in ourselves, and are repelled by any effort to enforce acceptance of them by wonders or anything extraneous or official instead of by pure sympathy. The attempt to elevate Christ out of humanity 'takes his teachings out of logic and out of nature,' and distrust of the story prompts distrust of the doctrine."

Space forbids our referring to more than one other point taken by our author in this most valuable contribution to present-day vital religious and philosophical thought, and that is the reference to the result of the acceptance by the public of the materialistic evolutionary philosophy as elucidated by the great working naturalists. Emerson viewed the ascent of life from the lofty altitude of a cosmic philosopher. He saw the rise, but also saw behind the physical phenomenon the spiritual potency no less than the constantly increasing illumination of life. He saw the ideal ever urging life upward, and realized that "the fiend that man harries is love of the best." His evolutionary concept was inspiring and lofty, being broad-visioned, wholesome and sane. But the working naturalists depended chiefly upon the phenomenon of life in its lower forms, where egoism is greater than altruism, where the struggle for self is the dominant note. Their vision failed to follow up the gamut of life. Hence they failed to appreciate the steady rise of the spiritual or altruistic elements of existence, which culminate in the struggle for the life and happiness of others overshadowing the struggle for self. Confining their studies to the lower forms of life, their conclusions were necessarily partial and largely erroneous, especially as they related to ethics. One result of this unhappy acceptance by the public of the new theories of life as promulgated by the materialistic naturalists, Mr. Mead points out in the following:

"The prostitution of political ideals which America and England witnessed as the century closed would never have been possible but

for the subtle and pervasive poisoning of the popular consciousness by partial and false doctrines of the principle and character of evolution. Catch-words about 'survival of the fittest,' and notions that the fittest are the strongest and that science had put its imprimatur upon the history of evolution as a history of remorseless competition and chartered dominion by the 'select,'—these have done, and will continue to do, their fatal work. But this is not the true philosophy of evolution. That philosophy comprehends altruism also, and gives its scientific exhibition the larger place, even as it holds the larger and ever-increasing place in life."

The limits of our space render it impossible to further extend our notice of this extremely valuable discussion; but of the essays that fill over two hundred pages and are devoted to a study of the points of agreement and contrast between Emerson and Theodore Parker and between Emerson and Carlyle, we would say that they are quite as pregnant with vital thought as is the first discussion, which we have briefly examined, while for many readers they will hold an additional charm on account of the personal equations that are here presented. They help in a most satisfying and complete way to round out the study of Emerson's thought and its influence on the world.

The work is so rich in virile spiritual truths that we can only wish that it might be placed in every public library in America as well as find a place in the homes of all readers who are not afraid to think.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CENTURY. By John R. Dos Passos. Cloth. Pp. 242. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This is a thoughtful discussion of an extremely important subject by a scholar well qualified for the work, being a leading metropolitan lawyer and possessing the happy faculty of treating his subject in a lucid and interesting manner. Mr. Dos Passos holds that the government of the United States and those of England and her colonies represent the greatest progressive and democratic currents or influences in the world's national life to-day; that Russia and other more reactionary governments will sooner or later, in all probability, oppose reaction and absolutism against the more progressive and radical powers; that the cause of human emancipation, of true progress and democracy demands the union of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. He does not advocate a defensive and offensive alliance, but he finds a strong sentiment among far-seeing and statesmanlike thinkers on both sides of the Atlantic favorable to a closer relationship between our people and those of the British Empire. Few, however, who have written or discussed the subject have attempted to set forth a working plan for the realization of this union. His discussion is therefore unhackneyed and well calculated to appeal to the imagination and larger patriotism of thoughtful men and women. The work contains seven chapters, in which the subject is ably canvassed and a very definite outline for the proposed union is set forth. The author finds the sympathetic causes or natural reasons for such a union exceedingly strong. First, the Anglo-Saxons are one people, enjoying the same language, literature,

religious thought, laws, legal customs, and general modes of judicial procedure, and in a large way possess similar political institutions, both being permeated by the democratic ideal, while their tastes in regard to habits of living, national sports and pastimes are all similar. The more material or selfish reasons for such a union are equally strong. Commercial and financial relations demand coöperation, while considerations of self-preservation imperatively call for such alliances as will make these democratic peoples impregnable in the presence of reaction.

After a concise survey of the evolution of the English-speaking peoples and a well-considered argument in favor of closer union, Mr. Dos Passos proceeds to consider the practical means of its realization. He believes that Canada would probably be the greatest obstacle to the realization of such an alliance as he conceives to be imperatively demanded, and he argues eloquently for her voluntary incorporation into the American republic, at the same time urging "the establishment of a common interchangeable citizenship between all English-speaking nations and colonies by the abrogation of the naturalization laws of the United States and the British Empire, so that the citizens of each can, at will, upon landing in the other's territory, become citizens of any of the countries dominated by these governments."

He advocates the establishment of an international Supreme Court for the adjudication of all questions that may arise between the different Anglo-Saxon peoples. He would introduce Free Trade between all divisions of the British Empire and the United States, and urges a uniform system of money, differing in designs and mottoes, and interchangeable everywhere within the limits covered by the treaty. In this way, he holds, "a real and permanent consolidation of the Anglo-Saxon peoples will be accomplished, without the destruction or impairment in the least degree of the political autonomy of the individual governments of the United States or of the British Empire, and without departing from any maxims of the international policy of either."

Every point taken by the author is ably sustained with clear and usually convincing reasoning, if one is prepared to accept the author's premises.

On the question of the right of England to wage a war of conquest against the Boers, and that of our republic to carry on a war of subjugation against the Filipinos, Mr. Dos Passos's usually clear mental vision seems to us clouded. The governing principle of justice and the fundamental demands of pure democracy, which in both these instances were so grossly outraged and disregarded, seem to be accepted after the manner of the reactionists and imperialists. Holding as we do that any crime against the fundamentals of free institutions committed by peoples to whom the ark of the covenant of freedom has been confided, must sooner or later bring inevitable punishment, we are not prepared to accept any cry of expediency or to believe that any great question of this character can be settled until it is settled right. Hence this seeming acquiescence of the author in things as they are is disappoint-



ing: nor does it seem to us in harmony with the general temper and spirit of his work. He sees, and even though he is a metropolitan lawyer, has the courage to point out some of the deadly perils of the present, as for example in the following:

We are to-day, and not without some truth, called a purely "dollar nation." Our people are struggling for money, as if that were the only desideratum of life. We forget that religion in its broad sense, liberty, justice, equality, and virtue are more important than money; they are the chains of steel which bind a free people together; mere wealth without these qualities has no preserving power; and if we lose our institutions, in their form or in their spirit, of what use will money be to us, or how will it be protected? . . . Remember that a government based upon gold, wealth, sordidness, must end unhappily. We must have other and higher ideals for our people.

Again, speaking of wealth, he observes:

When, however, it is used to corrupt or influence the judiciary, when it seeks to interfere with or affect legislation; when it subsidises or controls the press; when it severs, instead of combines society; in fine, when it is used as a *substitute for character*, the people must beware; they must quickly intervene and crush it; for the pillars of all free government will then be attacked, and they will experience an oligarchy of wealth—the worst of all oligarchies, and the most destructive of individual liberty.

The volume is an important contribution to a discussion of a possible alliance which, now that England under her present ruler seems disposed to grant justice to Ireland, will probably become more and more widely discussed as the years pass. It is a book for the libraries of thoughtful people interested in the larger questions of contemporaneous life.

THE FORTUNES OF FIFI. By Molly Elliot Seawell. Six full-page illustrations in colors. Cloth. Pp. 240. Price \$1.50. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

This is a charming little romance of humble life under the first Empire. The story concerns a little Italian girl who was found by a French soldier after one of the great battles in the Italian campaign. Her mother was dead, and no relatives could be found. The soldier adopted her and being disabled by a broken leg was compelled to leave the army. He subsequently obtained a position as general utility man in a third-rate theatre known as the Imperial. This soldier, Cartouche by name, watched over the little child with all the love and sympathy of a mother and father, taught her to read, and made many sacrifices for her. She was fifteen years younger than he, but very beautiful, while he was extremely homely of countenance and possessed of a stiff leg. Hence, though he passionately loved the child, who, in time blossomed into beautiful womanhood, he banished all thought of ever marrying her. At length he secured her a position in the company at the Imperial, where she was known as Fifi, she proved to have much histrionic ability and soon became leading lady, but on a pitiful pittance.

The struggles of these two with poverty and the cold are simply but touchingly described. At length the tide turns. The Emperor meets the old soldier, who chanced to be the first to cross the bridge at Lodi. He attends the theatre, becomes interested in Fifi, who, it is learned, is the granddaughter of a cousin of the reigning Pope, then in Paris, where he has come to crown the Emperor. Fifi also draws the grand prize of one hundred thousand francs in a lottery, and at the suggestion of the Pope and the Emperor is placed with a highly respectable and rather prudish maiden lady who undertakes to prepare her to enter society. Cartouche, although the separation takes all the sunshine from his own life, resolutely insists that the lives of the two must lie apart; that Fifi with her fortune will be in a position to marry some person possessing good social standing, but that his presence would be detrimental to her success. He therefore denies himself the pleasure of meeting the girl or even writing her.

To Fifi the new life is intolerable. She has always been in the habit of working, and working hard. Now she has nothing to do. The monotony of existence, however, is relieved by a visit to the Pope, and a touchingly beautiful chapter describes her interview with the elderly prelate, in which the latter recounts his boyhood spent with her grandfather.

A nephew of the chaperone, a young advocate, a pink of propriety—a veritable prig, in fact, appears on the scene as a suitor, the one hundred thousand francs being the real lodestone. He is an insufferable bore, but things so conspire against Fifi that she is swept onward until she finds herself engaged to the young advocate, whom she does not love. Then she rebels. She instinctively knows that the one hundred thousand francs is the attraction that has drawn her lover to her side, and she determines to get rid of the money and force the suitor to renounce his claims. Some deliciously humorous occurrences mark the initial attempts to dissipate her hated fortune, shock her lover and make it possible for her to again return to her beloved attic on the Street of the Black Cat, where Cartouche, the only man she has ever really loved, and her pet dog, Toto, are living lonely lives.

The story ends happily for all in whom the interest of the reader has been aroused, and this is as it should be in a novel written primarily to amuse and entertain. The author's style is graceful and full of charm. There are many epigrams that admirably epitomize facts and philosophy connected with life; and barring the rose-colored picture of the Emperor, the tone and atmosphere of the story are excellent.

In one important respect "The Fortunes of Fifi" is unique among novels. We imagine that at least ninety out of every hundred popular romances that deal with love and beauty hold out wealth and a life of ease and pleasure incident to high social station as a desideratum to be striven for, and for the realization of which much may be surrendered. Here, however, the heroine, beautiful, talented, well born, is always true to the sane and simple life, and is faithful as the magnet to the pole to her benefactor, who, though so much older, so very plain, and

afflicted with a stiff leg, is nevertheless the incarnation of nobility of soul—a man to whom love and duty, honesty and faithfulness are a second nature. Fifi sees these excellencies through the defects that garment the spirit, and loves the beautiful soul with a great and touching affection. She is an altogether charming creation, wholesome and fine, loyal to the ideal of duty, and true to the higher ideal of love. At a time when an overmastering desire on the part of so many of our young people is to get money so that they can evade work and enjoy luxury, it is refreshing to find a bright, simple, fascinating and beautiful heroine deliberately turning from these things to a life of hard work and a far simpler home existence, and refusing the hand of the rising young advocate to wed the homely but noble protector whose unselfishness and loyalty to duty are touchingly set forth.

A JAPANESE GARLAND. By Florence Peltier. Illustrated by Genjiro Yeto. Cloth. Pp. 201. Boston, Lothrop Publishing Company.

The author of this book possesses the rare and happy faculty of being able to fascinate and interest children while informing the youthful mind and filling the mental horizon with wholesome and inspiring imagery. In old times absurdities and puerilities on the one hand and ponderous homilies on the other were considered the proper mental food for children. Naturally enough the juvenile mind inclined to Mother Goose rhymes rather than to the prosy preachments of those who seemed to have forgotten that they had ever been children.

This story deals with a little Japanese boy, Yone, by name, who, being an orphan when four years of age, was adopted by a wealthy American and later brought to the United States. Here he formed some strong child attachments, and at the opening of the tale he has just completed painting in water colors a garland, into which he has woven twelve plants and flowers, which he presents to Marian—a little girl who with her brother David is a great friend of Yone. Marian with the alertness and curiosity of childhood at once desires to know why Yone has incorporated so many different plants and flowers into his garland, and the boy explains that each plant or flower represents one of the months and that there are many interesting facts and legends connected with these different plants. This leads to a demand for stories from Yone, who is a famous little story-teller, as well as an artist. It is arranged that each Saturday afternoon, when the children and their playmates of the neighborhood are tired of their games, Yone shall describe to them some one plant or flower which he has incorporated in his garland and give them the stories and legends connected with it. Then follow some delightful descriptions of the pine, the bamboo, the plum, the cherry, the wisteria, the iris, the lotus, the chrysanthemum, and the maple, together with habits and customs of the Japanese, their love of nature, and their delight in the matchless paintings of the Great Artist as seen in the cherry-robed hillsides, in the plum tree by the homes, in which the

nightingale loves to sing, and in the various flowers so dear to the simple childlike minds of this wonderful people of the Far East.

Here, too, are found some interesting descriptions of how the Japanese arrange their cut flowers artistically, and so that the beauty of the bloom is seen to the best possible advantage; and these fine lessons in nature study and in true art culture are delightfully interspersed with Japanese legends and poetic concepts.

The book has a double interest in that it relates a chapter in the history of a happy group of real children whose play and pastimes form a sweet and simple story in themselves, and also because it contains a cluster of fascinating legends and stories relating to Japanese life that cannot fail to appeal to the imagination of every normal child.

Above and beyond all, there is the practical utility of the work. It inculcates in a most subtle but effective manner a love of the beauty of nature and in a true and wholesome way educates and cultivates the opening intellect and imagination, making it a volume that merits the favor of all thoughtful parents. It is a good book to include among the Christmas presents for the little people.

#### CONSUMPTION A CURABLE AND PREVENTABLE DISEASE.

By Lawrence F. Flick, M. D. Cloth. Pp. 295. Price \$1.00 net.  
Philadelphia, David McKay.

This work is in our judgment by far the best practical and popular treatise on tuberculosis or consumption of the lungs that has appeared on this side of the Atlantic. The author is a scholarly physician, who, as medical director of the Henry Phipps Institute for the Study, Treatment, and Prevention of Tuberculosis, and as president of the Free Hospital for Poor Consumptives of Pennsylvania, has had large practical experience in the investigation and treatment of this all-dreaded scourge. He is also a man of large sympathies. The work therefore possesses the three vital requisites for such a treatise: the theoretical familiarity with the subject; intimate practical knowledge gained by personal experience, and the tender compassion that feels with and for the afflicted.

The book is intended to be a popular handbook and the discussions are free from technical terms or anything that might prove obscure or confusing to the general reader. The discussion is introduced by a presentation of the results following Pasteur's momentous discovery that fermentation is due to life, and the next step, that disease is due to living organisms. The author holds as an established fact that consumption of the lungs results from the presence of three micro-organisms—the tubercle bacillus, the streptococcus, and the staphylococcus, and that these organisms can be and are transmitted through the expectorations of the consumptive, but that there is little danger of the spread of the disease from other sources. Therefore, where proper care is taken, such as he suggests, and which has always proved

effective where employed, there is practically no danger of contagion from consumption.

The nature, character and symptoms of the disease are clearly explained, and the importance of popular knowledge about the best way to prevent its spread is emphasized. Consumption, according to our author, is "probably the direct cause of the death of one-seventh of the human species. . . . In our country it annually carries off one hundred thousand people."

After discussing the subject in a general way, Dr. Flick enters upon the proper treatment of the disease. He holds that consumption is curable—in fact, that people are all the time being cured. In certain cases medicines are valuable, but the chief factors in its cure are found in food, air, sunshine, rest, and exercise. Very reasonable and practical are the chapters devoted to the cure. The food must be such as the system will appropriate with the least effort and which will best nourish the patient. Milk, eggs, and meat he places first in value. He advises one hearty meal a day, preferably at noon, and the taking of milk and raw eggs, with other lighter foods at intervals in the morning and afternoon. Nothing is so destructive to the micro-organisms that produce consumption as fresh air and sunshine. Hence the importance of the patient being in the open air as much as possible. Day and night he should be as nearly as possible in the fresh open air. Rest in many cases is absolutely essential. Exercise during critical stages in the disease is often fatal; yet as the patient improves it is extremely important that he indulge in light exercises, increasing them with great caution.

The work is divided into forty-six short chapters and contains a thorough popular discussion of the subject. It is a book that should be given the widest possible consideration, as the facts contained in it, if generally understood, would tend to greatly lessen the scourge and save many thousands of lives annually.

## PROSPECTUS OF THE ARENA FOR 1904.

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Arrangements that are already perfected warrant us in announcing as our conviction that in the year 1904 the ARENA will reach the highest point in general excellence that has yet been attained in subject matter and method of treating the same, and in the wide diversity of topics.

**STRENGTH, BOLDNESS AND CONSPICUOUS ABILITY WILL MARK ITS CONTRIBUTIONS.**—We hold that there never was a moment in the history of our republic when bold, fearless and authoritative discussions of political, economic and social subjects were so urgently demanded as to-day, and the ARENA for next year will be found in the very fore-front in its defence of the fundamental principles of free institutions and in unmasking the evils that are threatening freedom and defeating the ends of justice in America. Several papers of a startling character will be strong features of this review and will, it is believed, do much to arouse thinking men and women everywhere to the real perils and imperative duties of the hour. In addition to the important *Political, Social and Economic* discussions which will be so strong a feature of this magazine, each issue will contain essays of special value from foremost thinkers, on *Ethical, Educational, Religious* and *Philosophical* subjects; and it will be the constant aim to have the discussions such as to awaken life on the higher plane of being and to stimulate vigorous thinking—intellectual courage and moral heroism.

### LITERARY FEATURES OF EXCEPTIONAL INTEREST.

I. THE POEMS OF EMERSON, interpreted by Charles Malloy, the greatest living authority on the poetry of Ralph Waldo Emerson. A series of twelve papers which, while embodying a luminous exposition of the philosophy of life as impearled in these wonderful poems, are also enlivened and enriched with numerous charming anecdotes and personal reminiscences relating to the life and writings of America's greatest ethical philosopher. These papers alone will be worth far more than the subscription price to the ARENA.

II. TWELVE SHORT STORIES BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE HEART OF OLD HICKORY." A most popular feature of the ARENA for next year will be twelve short stories, one appearing each month, by the most popular short story writer in the south and the greatest favorite among those who have contributed fiction to the pages of the ARENA. This new series of short stories, written expressly for this magazine by Miss Will Allen Dromgoole, when bound in book form will cost \$1.25, or exactly one-half the annual subscription to the ARENA.

III. **DISTINCTIVE AMERICAN AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS.** A series of bright and entertaining pen pictures of the younger and most promising authors who are distinctly American, and who are in intimate and sympathetic touch with the larger life of the twentieth century.

IV. **BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES OF GREAT MEN AND WOMEN.** A strong feature will also be some critical biographical studies of the master spirits, who, in the realm of conscience and intellect, have left an indelible impress on the world. This series of papers was opened in our October issue by Rev. H. Heber Newton's masterly essay on Emerson the Man. The second paper of the series appears this month from the pen of one of our rising young Harvard men—Walter Leighton, A. M., and deals with the life of Henry D. Thoreau.

#### SOME NOTABLE SERIES OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PAPERS.

There are certain great reformatory or progressive measures that are urgently demanded to meet the changed conditions of the present, all of which are in perfect alignment with the underlying principles of democracy, which must be secured by the people at an early date if the republic is to be saved without the shock of force. Principal among these are (1) the optional initiative; (2) the referendum; (3) proportional representation; (4) public ownership and control of public utilities; (5) courts of conciliation, or peaceful adjustment of internal strife; (6) the election of United States Senators by direct vote; (7) the election of the judiciary by the people. The first two democratic reforms would at once deal a death blow to political corruption and restore the republic to the people, making it again a government of, for, and by the people, instead of a government of the corporations, for the enrichment of class interests by the exploitation of the people. The third would give the minority a voice in public councils—something vitally needed in a free state, for the advance guard is ever in the minority, and only by being accorded a fair hearing can the demands of progress be brought home to the consciousness of the masses.

I. **PERILS AND PROMISE OF THE PRESENT.** Presidential years are the most important periods in the general current of a republic's life, because they are characterized by universal political educational agitation. Then as at no other time the rank and file of the people become deeply interested in popular government and vital issues. The *ARENA* will publish several series of papers of special interest to all close students of current political history who appreciate the fact that we are in the midst of a political crisis of the gravest character. One essay of this series appears in this number—"Is the Republic Passing?" It will be followed by a striking contribution by Eltwed Pomeroy, A.M., President of the National Direct Legislation League,

on "The Failure of Representative Government," and an equally graphic and thought-stimulating discussion entitled, "The Republic in 1904," by William J. Hendrick, of the New York City bar. These papers will be typical of the discussions in this series. Some of the papers that are being prepared will, we believe, produce a profound impression on the conscience element throughout the republic.

II. CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. The opening paper of this series has been prepared expressly for the ARENA by R. H. Halstead, Secretary of the Coöperative Productive Federation of Great Britain and deals with the coöperative movement in Great Britain and Ireland from its inception to the present time. It will be followed by a very thoughtful paper on "Coöperation Among Western Farmers," prepared for the ARENA by the editor of the *Farmers' Advocate*, of Topeka, Kansas. Other papers dealing with co-operative movements in all parts of the world will make the ARENA invaluable to friends of this great advance movement on the line of "All for all," which is destined to become one of the most victorious altruistic and yet eminently practical revolutionary steps of the twentieth century.

III. THE JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT OF LABOR DISPUTES. A series of authoritative papers carefully prepared expressly for the ARENA by Prof. Frank Parsons, Ph.D., in which all the more notable recent achievements along this line in America, Europe and Australasia will be described.

IV. DIRECT LEGISLATION AND PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. President Eltwed Pomeroy, A.M., will open our series of papers on Majority Rule, to be followed by other distinguished contributors and recognized authorities on this all-important measure. The subject of Proportional Representation will be luminously treated in a series of papers by Robert Tyson, long the editor of the *Proportional Representation Review*. One of the earliest of this series of papers will deal with the results of Proportional Representation in Belgium.

#### THE OTHER SIDE.

While we recognize the fact that predatory wealth and reactionary agencies have scores of liberally sustained magazines which monthly voice the plutocratic, imperialistic and reactionary thought, and while the ARENA stands for "All the world for all the people," or social, political and economic justice born of equality of opportunities and rights, we shall always be ready to give space to able discussions of the other side prepared by recognized authorities and defenders of the present capitalistic regime and reactionary views; for the cause of justice, freedom and equality has nothing whatever to fear from free discussion.

In a magazine like the ARENA it is obviously impossible to more than hint at the nature and character of papers which will constitute the majority of its essays. But below we give the titles of a few con-



tributions, which, in addition to the papers mentioned in the above prospectus, are awaiting publication. They are all carefully prepared, able and authoritative, yet are interesting and striking presentations of important subjects by careful and representative thinkers:

### POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC.

The Supreme Economic Evil.	The Coming Exodus.
Industrial Pensions.	Has the 15th Amendment Been Justified?
The Failure of Representative Government.	Militarism at Home.
The Single Vote in Large Districts.	The Problem of Poverty.
The Problem of the Tramp.	Amos, a Prophet of Social Righteousness.

### EDUCATIONAL, ETHICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL.

The Sane and Simple Life.	The Woman's Club Movement.
Progressive Methods in Education.	The Passing of the Home.
Music as a Moral Force.	The Heroines of Robert Burns.
The First Cause of Divorce.	The Philosophy of Mental Right Living.
Haeckel's Riddle of the Universe.	

### EDITORIAL.

The "Topics of the Times" will continue to fearlessly expose iniquity and succinctly present the hopeful and encouraging signs of the times. Every effort possible will be made to strengthen this already popular department.

### BOOKS OF THE DAY.

Great pains will be taken to make this department invaluable to our thoughtful readers. The book studies which will appear from month to month will in many instance prove a digest of the thought which the volume contains; and the short reviews will be so written as to convey clearly to the reader the character of the contents and the method of presenting the same in the work noticed.

It will be our constant and determined effort to make the coming twelve months the red letter year in the history of the people's great liberal, progressive and reformative review.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

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**THE THOUGHT SIDE OF THE SOCIAL ORDER:—**This is the fourth paper of our series of distinctly fundamental discussions of present-day social and political subjects, of which Judge Samuel C. Parks' "Defense of the Declaration of Independence," President George McA. Miller's "The Bible versus Plutocracy," and Chief Justice Walter Clark's "Old Foes with New Faces" were the opening contributions. The superficial and artificial are the deadly foes of all that is healthy, virile and lastingly good. A civilization under the spell of superficiality and artificiality rapidly deteriorates. Progress and civilization, as well as justice and freedom wait on the recognition and acceptance of the basic ethical verities or underlying principles of moral order; and I know of no essay or single volume, for that matter, that so luminously and convincingly presents the true essential basis of enduring growth, happiness and progress as does Dr. Thomas's masterpiece, which appears in this number. Whether you read any other essay or not, we earnestly urge you to carefully peruse this remarkable contribution from the pen of one of the most distinguished divines in America. Dr. Thomas, as most of our readers well know, has for many years been the pastor of the People's Church of Chicago, and his place among the highest thinkers and most religious progressive clergymen is second to that of no other minister in the Christian church in the New World.

**IS THE REPUBLIC PASSING?—**This paper opens a series of discussions dealing with contemporaneous history and aiming to further arouse the consciousness of our people to a realization of the significance of recent happenings. Mr. Pomeroy's paper on "The Failure of Representative Government," which will probably be the second contribution in this series, will complement this paper. It deals chiefly with recent revelations of the corruption of government through corporate and plutocratic influence. Mr. Hendrick's paper on "The Republic in 1904" will further emphasize facts that every serious American should consider.

**THE TARIFF ISSUE IN ENGLAND:—**In Professor Maxey's very bright and timely paper we have a succinct discussion of the overshadowing political question in England, in which the imperialist and reactionary, Mr. Chamberlain, has dragged the Conservative party to the brink of the precipice over which it will be thrown in the next election unless we greatly misinterpret the trend of English public opinion.

**THE RISING TIDE OF SOCIAL RIGHTEOUSNESS:—**Prof. John Ward Stimson, the distinguished author of "The Gate Beautiful," while writing in an optimistic key of the slow but general advance of man, utters a timely warning which should, aye, and which must be heeded by our civilization if we are to escape a tragic cataclysm in the near future.

**ART AND AMERICAN STUDENTS:**—This is the second of our series of practical art papers whose primary object is to further the movement for a great original American art. Mr. Dabo is exceptionally well qualified to write on this subject, as he has studied in Paris and elsewhere, and has traveled widely over Europe. His outlook is broad, progressive, and breathes the spirit of a twentieth century scholar.

**THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT BETWEEN MAN AND MONEY:**—The Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Mount Vernon, New York, and general secretary of the New York State Conference of Religion, contributes a timely paper of exceptional value on one of the burning questions of the hour, the question upon which the very issue of democracy hinges—the master-ship of man or of money. Taking last winter's coal strike as an object lesson, this thoughtful clergyman presents the great issues involved in the struggle between capital and the laborer in a lucid and convincing manner.

**HENRY D. THOREAU, ICONOCLAST, NATURE LOVER AND TRANSCENDENTAL PHILOSOPHER:**—A special feature of the *ARENA* for the ensuing year will be a number of carefully prepared biographical sketches of eminent thinkers. This series was opened last month by Rev. R. Heber Newton, in a masterly paper on "Emerson, the Man." This month we publish the second paper of the series. It is from the pen of Walter Leighton, A.M., and deals with the life and thought of one of the most unique figures in American literature. The author possesses a pleasing style, is fair and judicial in spirit, and is also on the whole far more sympathetic than most present day writers who discuss nature lovers or transcendental philosophers: for our age is too largely given over to a mad craze for gold to properly appreciate the idealists who in all ages have borne aloft the Ark of the Covenant of Civilization.

**REPLY TO MR. ADAMS' ATTACK ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP:**—We publish this month a brief but able reply to the recent attack made against public ownership by Mr. Charles Francis Adams. Mr. Adams' critic is one of the most careful and well-informed authorities on municipal ownership of public utilities in the English speaking world, a man who has made the most painstaking and exhaustive study of the whole question of public ownership of natural monopolies in Europe and America. Unlike Mr. Adams, his conclusions, therefore, are not based on superficial observation; furthermore, our contributor's judgment is in no way biased by his being financially interested in any public service corporations.

The net earnings of the Boston Elevated R. R. Company last year ran up into the millions, and it is safe to say that the stockholders who are realizing such princely revenue through our immensely valuable street franchises will with one accord shout Amen to Mr. Adams' wild and absurd statements. The city of Liverpool, on the other hand, has during the same period saved an enormous sum to the municipality while greatly improving its service, through public ownership. It is

not strange, therefore, that the electorate share the views of our contributor. During next year the ARENA will in so far as space permits present replies from reliable authorities to the numerous glaringly false or misleading statements constantly being put forth by beneficiaries of Public Service Corporations or their hired agents.

THE ABSENCE OF WOMAN IN LITERATURE:—The title of Alma A. Rogers' very able paper may impress many readers as strange before they understand that the author refers to the great masterpieces of permanent literature. The subject is an intensely interesting theme, and in the hands of Mrs. Rogers it receives that broad philosophical and logical treatment that so important a subject merits.

## PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

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In assuming the business management of the Alliance Publishing Company, and of its two magazines *THE ARENA* and *MIND*, it may be well to say a few words regarding some changes of policy and methods which have already been, or will be adopted.

Beginning with the present issues, both magazines appear in covers of new design, in which strength and simplicity are combined, in which their distinctive characteristics are more clearly defined, and which can be more readily seen when exposed for sale upon the news-stands. Some other typographical improvements have also been made; but that the issues of the present volumes might be uniform, certain contemplated changes in size and typography have been postponed until the new volumes begin.

The present volume of *MIND* (Vol. XII) will be continued until the end of the present year—thus making nine numbers in it instead of six as in the previous volumes. This will enable us to start the New Year with new volumes of both magazines, and to make them uniform in size and appearance. To effect this, the number of pages in *MIND* will be increased from eighty to one hundred and twelve in each issue; and the price will be raised from twenty to twenty-five cents a copy, and from two dollars to two dollars and a half for yearly subscriptions. The size of the pages will also be slightly enlarged. Certain other typographical changes are being planned, which will, we hope, greatly improve the appearance of both magazines, and make them as attractive, typographically, as our Editors make them from a literary standpoint.

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Our advertising columns will also receive careful supervision, and all objectionable advertising will be excluded. Efforts will be made to improve the typography and general

appearance of these pages, as well; and those advertisers who favor us with their announcements will find themselves in the best of company, only. (Our new advertising rate-cards are now ready, and can be had upon application.)

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Some complaints have just reached us that THE ARENA cannot always be procured upon the news-stands. This matter has received prompt attention, and arrangements have been made whereby THE ARENA and MIND can always be obtained on the stands, in the future; but the best way to be sure of obtaining the magazines regularly, is to hand your subscriptions to your newsdealer (or send them to us direct) and thus avoid the trouble of buying copies every month. (Subscriptions to MIND will be taken at the rate of Two Dollars per annum until Dec. 31st; after that date Two Dollars and Fifty Cents. Subscriptions to THE ARENA are Two Dollars and Fifty Cents, yearly.)

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That THE ARENA and MIND, during the coming year, will reach the highest point in general literary excellence which has yet been attained, is assured by the plans already perfected by the Editors; and, with the hearty support of our Contributors and of our Readers, the magazines will undoubtedly continue to grow in interest and power as the two great leaders of the THOUGHT of the XXTH CENTURY.

I take up the practical business management of their publication with enthusiasm, determined that they shall have as large and wide a circulation throughout the World as they deserve.

CHARLES A. MONTGOMERY.

New York, Oct. 10, 1903.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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# THE ARENA

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No. 6.

## THE PARSIFAL OF RICHARD WAGNER AND ITS SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICANCE.

### I.

“**P**ARSIFAL” has been fittingly termed the swan-song of Richard Wagner. It is a stately and solemn religious music-drama, in some respects the noblest creation of the master; and the story of its composition is at once interesting to the general reader and necessary to a right understanding of Wagner’s position from a religious and ethical view-point. Into the rich fabric of this creation is woven much material that the master intended to use in two great works which at different times he contemplated creating.

As far back as 1848 Wagner conceived the idea of weaving the life of Jesus into a music-drama. For ten years he brooded upon this colossal theme. It was his intention to represent the Great Nazarene as he conceived him—a splendid type of perfected manhood, the crown and blossom of the human family, the ideal man, filled with the divine afflatus to such an extent that for very love he is driven on, through cities, villages, hamlets, and along the highways, searching for the suffering ones of earth, that he may bless, help and restore. He intended to give the world the superb picture of love in-

carnate—a man who shadowed forth the coming man, when love shall rule in every heart.

We do not know whether Wagner ever wholly abandoned the cherished plan of writing this drama depicting the life of the Great Nazarene; but it is probable that when he composed "Parsifal" he had decided that the time was not yet ripe for so radical a work as he had contemplated. On one occasion, many years after he had conceived the idea of creating a music-drama dealing with the life of Jesus, he asked one of his most tried friends what she would say to his introducing on the stage a representation of the Magdalen washing the feet of the Master and wiping them with the hairs of her head. The lady remonstrated very strenuously with him against such an innovation, and it is highly probable that many of his friends sought to dissuade him from composing a work which would represent the historical Jesus as Wagner conceived him, and it is also probable that the musician himself at last realized that should he compose such a work, it would be practically impossible to get it performed, as he would be flying in the face of the strong religious prejudices of Europe, and thereby the hostility of conventional musicians would be reinforced by orthodox Protestantism no less than by Roman Catholicism.

Later in his career Wagner became deeply interested in the legends, myths, wonder-stories, and mysticism of the Far East. The philosophy and religious teachings of India possessed a certain fascination for a mind so tinged with transcendentalism as that of the composer; and while enthusiastically devouring the wealth of Indian literature, he conceived the idea of producing a great religious drama illustrating the life and teachings of Buddha. In his work on Jesus he proposed to illustrate the triumph of life through loving service—service which led the Master to go forth in tireless search for earth's miserales. In his second drama he intended to illustrate another great religious idea which has influenced the mind of millions—namely, triumph or self-mastery through renunciation of the sensuous life—the seeking and finding God through withdrawing from the world, and in exalted contemplation and intro-



spection. This music-drama was to be entitled "The Victors," and it was to deal primarily with the victory of the soul over the illusions or transient joys born of the sense perceptions. Still later, however, while engaged in the Ring cycle, Wagner's mind reverted more and more to a play, the outline of which came to him while he was composing "Lohengrin," and which should concern itself with the central figure in the multitudinous legends pertaining to the Holy Grail. Lohengrin, it will be remembered, was the son of Parsifal, or Percival as it appears in most of the older poems. The latter was the noblest concept of the Christian knight in medieval poetry and was the hero of unnumbered poems, legends, myths, and wonder-stories which flourished during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The composition of "Tristan and Isolde," the Ring dramas, and the "Meistersinger," compelled Wagner to hold "Parsifal" in abeyance; and it was not until after the splendid production of the Ring dramas, in 1876, that he took up his last great work in an earnest and serious way.

In selecting Parsifal Wagner was compelled to present a music-drama in which not only the myth of the Grail was brought prominently to the front, but also the doctrine of the Atonement was necessarily presented as a fundamental fact. This has led to some controversy among the friends of the great composer, who seem at a loss to understand why Wagner, holding the views he held in regard to the Great Nazarene, should apparently accept without reservation the doctrine of the Atonement. It is, however, only necessary, I think, for us to bear in mind the fact that Wagner's great ethical and religious lessons are not found in the local color, in the superficial thoughts or ideas of his characters, which in many cases merely reflect the opinions, superstitions or concepts dominant at certain periods. They are to be found rather in the profound symbolism illustrating vital ethical truths which concern man in his relation to man, as a child of the Infinite, and as an interdependent unit in the vast ocean of life.

It is a fact worthy to be remembered that the legends, myths

and wonder-stories, which in some form or another are present in the literature of all the great peoples of earth, and which persist in essence, though frequently changed in form, through successive civilizations, are no less vibrant with fundamental ethical truths than they are rich in illustrations of the great passions, virtues, and vices which are the glory or the destruction of individuals, nations, and races.

It was the recognition of these facts which led Wagner in the creation of his masterpieces to draw his material almost exclusively from myths and legends. Hence, when he selects Parsifal, he is compelled, in order to be artistically true, to reflect the dominant thought and ideal of medieval knight-hood as exemplified in the Grail legends, just as he reflects the local color and is true to the story of the Flying Dutchman and his other works drawn from myth and legend.

With this fact in view we can readily see how Wagner, with his conception of Jesus being diametrically opposed to that entertained by the authors of the Grail legends, nevertheless employed the great and fascinating medieval romance to illustrate the cardinal lessons for man to learn in his upward progress, such as the supreme need of compassion in the human heart (that loving pity so beautifully illustrated in Lowell's "Vision of Sir Launfal"), the need of service and the mastery of the lower self, or the victory of the spiritual over the sensual.

The legends ascribing talismanic or life-giving power to certain objects by the presence of which a king mortally wounded was restored to health, seem to have been of Celtic origin. Gradually the pagan wonder-stories and legends were transformed into Christian tales, and so far back as the eighth century some of these were sung by wandering minstrels. Later the troubadours entertained the courtly knights and great ladies with songs bolder in conception, sweeter in melody, and more finished withal than the meager tales of the minstrels. But it was not until the twelfth century that the Grail poems were well developed and elaborated. In this century two groups of romantic legends appeared in poetic form. One

deals with Percival, or Parsifal, as the heroic central figure, and the other with Galahad. Kyot's poem dealing with the former, and Walter Map's dealing with the latter, seem to have gained the greatest currency during the early part of the twelfth century; but after these creations came the "Percival" of Chrestiens de Troyes, and the really great "Parcival" of Wolfram von Eschenbach. In the fifteenth century Sir Thomas Mallory translated "The Quest" into English prose, and this formed the basis of Tennyson's popular "Idylls of the King."

Of all the Grail poems of the Middle Ages that of Wolfram von Eschenbach was incomparably the greatest. It was highly poetic and revealed a rich imagination, while its religious spirit was broad and fine. It was vibrant with living truths and vital lessons. A noble mysticism pervaded it, not marred, as in the work of Walter Map, by a servile worship of sacerdotalism. Wagner drew largely from this poem in the creation of his "Parsifal;" but the great composer took liberties, as did the minstrels, troubadours, and poets, with the legends that preceded them. Especially is this true of the places where Wagner introduced matter that had long lived in his imagination and which he had proposed to employ in the two religious music-dramas which he had previously conceived.

As early as the time when "Lohengrin" was composed, its author had been impressed with the wealth of truth and helpful inspiration to be found in the religious legendary romances of the Middle Ages; but it was not until much later that he came under their influence in a compelling way. As he advanced in years, however, he came to feel how little and empirical are the triumphs of the outer life—triumphs which do not deepen, enrich or move the higher nature. He came to feel that spiritual supremacy, or the losing of the little life that sees nothing larger than a sensuous existence offers, was to gain life in its large, true, and essential meaning. His years of suffering had brought him very near the heart of the Infinite and had taught him the value of service and sacrifice, and it had also awakened the sleeping God within until his heart

went out in that yearning sympathetic compassion born of love alone.

The Grail legends, in spite of the exaggerations and superstitions which are characteristic of wonder-stories born in childhood and credulous ages, like the myths of all peoples who possess a positive ideal, were pregnant with vital and inspiring lessons; while moving through the medieval romances of "Parsifal" was the colossal living central figure, the type at once of the human soul and humanity in the rise from darkness, ignorance, and savagery into light, knowledge, and love.

Richard Wagner saw in the Grail legends that clustered around Parsifal foundation material for a work which, while appealing with great force to the imagination and emotions, would stir and move the deep moral and religious sensibilities of the healthy mind. He also saw how into the web and woof of this work he could weave many of the messages he had hoped to carry to the conscience of the world in the more ambitious creations he had once contemplated. The great composer was nothing if not a teacher; but he was too much of the mystic and philosopher to make the common mistake of schoolmen and educators, and imagine that intellectual training alone could make man either virtuous or happy. He knew that the soul had to be moved, that the deep well-springs of the emotional life must be stirred, before the real self realizes life's august lessons and realities. He knew that the severe school of experience is usually necessary to develop a high, fine and robust character or to make man loving and deeply compassionate for others; but he also believed that the necessity for man spending a great portion of life in the hard school of experience was largely due to the fact that all our educational systems of the past had chiefly sought to train or school the intellect. He believed that by appealing to the imagination, the reason, and the heart in a compelling way, the sleeping Divinity in man could be awakened, and that hand in hand with the growing intellect would go the ripening and developing soul—the only union which can insure greatness and goodness, that can make man a help and a blessing to all, or that can bring into the in-

dividual soul the deep content that transcends words and sounds the depths of joy. This supreme fact, which alone can rescue man or society from the sordid materialism of the market, grew upon Wagner's consciousness during the last half of his life and led to its ripest expression in his last and in some respects greatest creation.

## II.

The story of "Parsifal" as told by our composer is briefly as follows :

In the mountains of Southern Spain stood the noble castle of Monsalvat, where dwelt the knights of the Holy Grail. The Grail cup, according to the Christian version of the legend, was the one which Jesus used at the Last Supper. It came into the hands of Joseph of Arimathea, who caught in it the blood which flowed from the pierced side of Jesus on the Mount of Crucifixion. Joseph also, according to the Christian version, obtained the spear of the centurion who pierced the Saviour. These treasures later came into the keeping of the pure and consecrated knights of Monsalvat.

The Grail possessed miraculous powers, one of which was to sustain life; and as its fame was noised abroad many knights journeyed to Monsalvat. Only the pure in heart, however, might enter. Among the pilgrims who were turned away was one Klingsor. He had sought admittance from selfish and ambitious motives, and when the door of the castle closed against him he vowed to make war upon the holy brotherhood until he had overcome the knights and gained possession of the Sacred Spear and the Holy Grail. To further his base designs he leagued himself with the evil powers of the universe, and against the exalted love and pure aspirations of the knights he pitted the seductive influence of sensuality, aided and reinforced by black magic.

Klingsor was assisted in his evil work by a wonderful woman named Kundry, who in an evil moment had committed a grievous sin which rendered her vulnerable to his spells. She

was, however, under his influence during certain periods **only**, and when free from the thralldom which was revolting to **her** she spent her time serving the Knights of the Grail and in **seek-**ing to atone for the evil she had wrought.

(It should be observed here that Wagner in his characterization of Kundry departed radically from Wolfram von Eschenbach's rendering, as the poet represented her simply as a messenger used by the Grail Brotherhood to communicate with the outer world.)

From time to time the Knights of the Grail were lured into the enchanted garden of Klingsor. Here every witching influence that could appeal to the animal appetites and desires was brought to bear upon the new comers. Beautiful maidens, garlanded with rare and fragrant flowers, appeared in the gorgeous gardens. The air was soft and heavy with perfume. Sensuous music worked its spell, and a hundred things conspired to seduce those who entered to lay aside their weapons and dally with the sensuous life around them. If the lesser temptations failed, however, Klingsor summoned Kundry, who under his magic influence appeared as a maiden, fairer than eye had ever seen before, and who knew as did no other one how to lead men into the thralldom of passion.

One day Amfortas, the king or head of the Holy Brotherhood, determined to attack and vanquish Klingsor, who was overpowering so many of his noble knights; and in order to be invincible, even against the magic of Klingsor, he armed himself with the Sacred Spear. On arriving at the magic garden Amfortas was assailed by the maidens, but resisted their influence and advanced toward the tower in which his adversary dwelt.

Suddenly Kundry appeared before him, a phantom of unearthly beauty. She arrested his steps, wooing him with words that awakened a thousand tender memories, that thrilled his being as enchanted music, and that fired his blood as liquor from the flagons of Bacchus.

Instead of pressing forward to a knightly encounter which must have destroyed the evil one, Amfortas tarried with the

sorceress, though he knew full well that she was sent there to compass his undoing. At length the sensuous charms of the enchantress proved irresistible, and the king threw aside the Spear to embrace the temptress. Klingsor, who had glided toward them during the parley, instantly leaped forward and seizing the Sacred Spear thrust it into the side of the king, who fell in a swoon.

His knightly companions dragged him from the garden and bore him to the castle, where remorse for the loss of the Spear through his fall, and a terrible and unceasing burning in the wound henceforth filled the days and nights of Amfortas's life with unutterable agony—an agony which was greatly intensified whenever he uncovered the Grail, as it was his duty to do at intervals. One ray of hope was given to the wounded king. This heavenly message came in answer to his prayer:

“Wait for my chosen one,  
Guileless and innocent,  
Pity-enlightened.”

This hope sustained the wretched sufferer through many weary months which slowly passed without the appearance of the “guileless one.”

Before the curtain rises on the opening scene of “Parsifal” let us call to mind some things connected with the fascinating legend as given by Wolfram von Eschenbach and his predecessors; for in the best constructed dramas it is possible only to group certain facts and present a few crucial episodes in a life or a passage of history.

Parsifal, according to the Grail legends, was the son of King Gahmuret and Queen Herzeleide. The king had been a brave knight of the Crusades, but he was slain in battle. The Queen determined that her son should not share the fate of her husband and so many of her kindred who had fallen in knightly encounter on the battlefield. She therefore fled with him to a little frequented forest, far removed from lordly castles. Her only neighbors were humble, simple folk, and here in comparative seclusion the boy grew to youth. He

became expert with bow and spear. In the deep recesses of the forest he brooded over the mystery of life. The beauty of the flowers and of nature in her manifold moods were sources of unfailing joy to him, for he possessed the soul of a poet. The songs of the birds constantly excited his wonder, and one day he killed some feathered songsters; but when he found them inert and no longer possessing the power of song, he burst into tears and brought them to his mother.

One day some knights with shining armour journeyed through the wood. Parsifal saw them with strange emotions welling in his breast. He thought they were gods, and kneeling in the roadway asked their blessing. The strangers explained that they were not gods, but simply knights. They told him something of knighthood and dwelt at length on King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.

When they passed the youth hastened home to his mother, his whole being thrilling with new and strange emotions. "Mother," he cried, "give me a horse and armour; I am going away to be a knight."

In vain she sought to dissuade him, but at length she resolved to deck him in motley garb and so to mount him that he would be derided by any knights he met. "Perchance," she said, "his reception will be such as to lead him to return to his home for rest and comfort."

Vain hope! The youth, clad in a meal-sack, with calf-skin leggings, and mounted on a disreputable-looking old horse, went forth. So absorbed was he in dreams of feats of valor that he forgot to say good-bye to his mother, whose whole life was centered in her son. The shock occasioned by the boy's thoughtlessness caused the death of Queen Herzeleide.

It will be noticed that the early picture of Parsifal represented a youth guileless but thoughtless. Hence he was often called the Guileless Fool. He was not heartless, and in him were no cruel instincts, which did not, however, save him from doing much harm.

At length Parsifal approached Camelot, where dwelt Arthur and his court. Near its gates he was accosted by the Red



Knight, Ither, who prayed the youth to carry his challenge to King Arthur. This Parsifal gladly did, and entering the hall of the king he threw the Red Knight's gauntlet at Arthur's feet. Then kneeling, he prayed for armour and weapons such as befitted a knight.

The advent of the youth clad in motley raiment was the occasion of much merriment and some scorn and indignation on the part of the knights and ladies. The noble king bade the youth wait until the morrow, when he would provide for him; but this Parsifal was not willing to do. "Let me," he cried, "go forth and attack the Red Knight, and I will take his armor from him." The king demurred, but he persisted and at length Arthur consented.

Knights and ladies crowded to the window to see the rash and simple fool go forth to his destruction. Among the ladies was Lady Kunneware, who had never been known to smile. Now she laughed outright, at which some present started, for they remembered a prediction that the lady would never smile or laugh until she beheld the greatest knight in all the world.

Parsifal, like David when he went against Goliath, upset all predictions. He slew the Red Knight. Later he rescued the Lady Kondwiramur from great peril, and winning her heart became her husband. To the love of this devoted and beautiful lady Parsifal was ever constant in an age and at a court where fidelity to the marriage vow was lightly held. His purity of heart and loyalty to the woman of his soul's choice in the midst of the greatest temptation is one of the things which make the character of Parsifal so attractive to all high-born souls.

Galahad was pure; but Galahad stood apart, passionless, or at least lacking in the mighty passions and emotions which move and sway the human heart. Parsifal, on the other hand, was intensely human. His life is the gradual unfoldment, the slow and steady evolution of the thoughtless and innocent youth into the wise, pure and pity-enlightened type of normal manhood, whose victories have only been won and whose

supreme attainments reached after a stormy life, marked by many failures before the God within was awakened, but in whom there was never treason to the divine voice after its promptings were recognized.

From the ideal union of Parsifal with Kondwiramur sprang Lohengrin.

This brings us to the opening scene of "Parsifal" as given by Wagner; and it is only necessary to observe that from the time when the "guileless one" failed to show solicitude for the wounded king, because he was not yet "pity-enlightened," until he returned many years later, the intervening space had been filled with a life of conflict as well as wanderings. Many had been the terrible encounters, but never had he been false to his high ideals. He was "greater for every yesterday," and in the hard and bitter experiences of life he had steadily grown Godward, because his eyes had been riveted on the heights.

### III.

Wagner's "Parsifal" opens at dawn. The rising curtain discloses a beautiful landscape. It is summer in the subtropics. The eastern sky is streaked with gold, and each moment the brightening scene warns us of the coming of the sun. Under a stately tree is seated Gurnemanz, one of the noblest of the Grail Knights. He it was who rescued Amfortas when he fell under the spear-thrust of Klingsor, and among all the knights of Monsalvat he is accounted the wisest. Gurnemanz is engaged in conversation with two youthful companions.

Suddenly the solemn reveille sounds from the tower of Monsalvat, while the sun steals over the mountain and floods the landscape with added splendor. After a few moments of silent prayer the knight and his companions resume the conversation in which they were engaged when the reveille sounded. They are talking of the wounded king and of the pall-like influence that his unremitting sufferings throw over all within the holy retreat. Suddenly the galloping of a steed is heard, and a

strange, weird woman enters with balsams from far-away Eastern lands. It is Kundry, who being released from the spell has engaged, as is her wont when free, in service for the Grail fellowship.

Now, however, the attention of the auditor is attracted to Amfortas, who enters borne on a litter. He is *en route* for his morning bath. The suffering of the king seems all the more poignant to the spectator from its contrast with the free and joyous carol of birds, bees and insects in field and forest. Scarcely have the king and his suite disappeared before a wounded swan floats down and falls dead at the feet of Gurnemanz. It has been pierced by an arrow, and the slayer is soon brought in. He is a handsome youth, though clad in strange attire. He knows not that he has committed a great wrong until Gurnemanz upbraids him. Then in remorse he breaks his bow and spear and casts them from him.

Kundry knows the youth, and she recites facts about his life and his mother of which Parsifal—for it is he—knows nothing. Here for the first time also the youth learns of the death of his mother. Beside himself with grief and love for the parent who is no more, Parsifal suddenly turns upon Kundry, but is restrained from doing her violence by Gurnemanz and his companions.

There is something about the youth which leads the wise old knight to believe that Parsifal may be the fool or "guileless one" who is to save Amfortas. He takes him to the castle, when, amid solemn and splendid ceremonies, the Grail is uncovered. The spectacle is very impressive, but the acute suffering of the king pierces the hearts of the knights, and old Gurnemanz is well-nigh distracted when Parsifal wonderingly views the scene, but is not moved by the agony of Amfortas. He is not yet "pity-enlightened," and the old knight drives him forth with scant ceremony.

The experiences of Parsifal immediately after he has been ejected from the Grail castle and before he visits the magician do not appear in Wagner's drama. Yet it is well to call to mind the fact that on leaving the castle Parsifal encounters

one Sigune. She has often counselled and instructed him before, and he has come to regard her in a certain sense as incarnate wisdom. She tells him the story of Amfortas's fall and his terrible sufferings, and of the message which came to the king as when praying he gazed on the Grail.

"Many noble knights have sought Monsalvat," says Sigune, "in the hope of delivering the king, but unless one is pure in heart the castle is invisible, for the first requisite of one who is to save Amfortas is guilelessness. That, however, is not enough; the heart must be enlightened by pity or divine compassion, which goes out in love for every suffering one. This pity-enlightenment will lead the guileless one to think first of the suffering king and to ask the nature of the wound, in the hope that he may find means to cure it; and this asking will open the door for Amfortas's recovery."

Humiliated and abashed, Parsifal tells his friend that he has been admitted to the castle, but that the wonder of the externals so absorbed him that he did not think to inquire the cause of the human anguish that was before his eyes. Sigune in turn tells him to depart. While he lacks in love he cannot hope to tread the royal highway.

But her words have served to enlighten Parsifal to a certain degree. His soul is filled with grief and humiliation. Henceforth he determines to seek the restoration of the king, but on turning toward the castle nothing is visible to his eyes. Monsalvat has disappeared. What then remains? Klingsor, the enemy of goodness, still possesses the Sacred Spear with which he had wounded Amfortas. Parsifal determines to carry forward the work which Amfortas sought to accomplish. This at least will make him more worthy. He will also seek the Sacred Spear, for it is said that the touch of its point will heal the wound.

The second act of "Parsifal" reveals Klingsor consulting his magic mirror. He sees Parsifal approaching, and divines his purpose. He determines to overpower him as he overcame Amfortas.

Kundry is summoned and informed of the young knight's

approach. She is commanded to seek and accomplish his fall by appeals to his sensual nature; but Kundry, though only half awakened, for a time resists the magician's spell. She struggles to free herself from a thralldom hateful to her soul, but in vain. Soon she sinks into a profound trance.

Parsifal on reaching the outworks of the castle encounters the magician's retainers, whom he beats back. Then all is changed. A marvelous transformation scene ensues. The battlements and towers sink from view, disclosing a garden of more than tropical beauty and luxuriance, through which flit garlanded, nymph-like maidens. They surround Parsifal and exhaust their wiles in efforts to lure him from his purpose. The beauty of the scene strikes the youthful knight with wonder and admiration; but it is soon apparent that it will take far stronger fascinations than the maidens have at their command to draw him into sensuous snares.

While he stands lost in wonder at the bewitching beauty of the garden, he suddenly hears his own name called in a voice that awakens the tenderest memories: "Parsifal! Parsifal!" How often in the vanished years he had heard that voice, when as a careless woodland boy he ran to his mother with every trouble and perplexing doubt.

The screen of roses disappears, and before the youth on a flower-decked bank is a woman of unearthly beauty—a woman that calls to the imagination the form and features of fabled Venus as she might have appeared on Olympus. She it is who is calling his name in the voice of his mother; and now she seeks to win the youth by first telling him of his mother's love for him and of her death.

Nothing could have so moved Parsifal at this time as this story, ending with the death of the devoted and broken-hearted parent, caused by his apparent lack of love. But nothing could be more fatal to the purpose of the enchantress—or rather to that of her master—than calling to Parsifal's mind his innocent boyhood with his mother, whom he should never more behold on earth; and when Kundry reaches the dramatic climax with the announcement, "And Herzeleide died," the

stricken knight cries out, "Blessed Mother, could I forget thee?"

The storm of passion which now shakes the form of Parsifal is born of mingled love and remorse. The infinite love and tenderness of his mother in by-gone years is remembered, her mingled amazement and grief at his lack of love, her death through his indifference; and this bitter thought reminds him of his lack of love in the Grail Castle. He might have saved Amfortas had he been less absorbed in self. Had his eyes been open to human sorrow instead of engrossed with the beauty of sensuous objects around him, the supreme opportunity to bless and heal the king would have been improved. The remembrance of Amfortas calls to Parsifal's mind also how and where the king fell.

Thus while the deepest and noblest emotions of the youthful knight are being stirred, Kundry is proceeding from describing the love of the mother for the son, which she introduced in order to gain Parsifal's attention, to the love which his father bore Herzeleide. And now she offers to console the grief-stricken youth with love which she falsely describes as like that which Gahmuret bore his wife. She kisses Parsifal, but the embrace serves to warn him of his danger. Even the strong and tumultuous feeling awakened reminds him of Amfortas's wound. He recoils, and, when the enchantress places her second kiss on his lips, he springs up and flings her from him.

"The might of sensuality, which lost Amfortas the Sacred Spear, has been met and defeated."

In this strange life of ours there come at times, and frequently when least expected, great crises or crucial moments when the choice means the shaping of life—means, in a word, victory or defeat; and at such times, unless the soul has been well trained and disciplined, unless conscience has been treated as a royal guest, the individual is either blind to the opportunities offered, or too completely under the thralldom of the senses to rise superior to temptation.

One of these great crucial moments has now come to Parsifal, and this time he heeds the divine voice in his soul. The

choice is made between the light and the darkness, between the upper and the lower pathway. The moment Parsifal flings Kundry from him and boldly meets temptation with the determination that brooks no parleying, he feels the supreme joy that ever comes to the soul when the spiritual triumphs over the animal in a crucial moment of life. The peace of God is his. Nor is this all; for before him Parsifal seems to see the Great Nazarene Himself. "I see Him!" he exclaims.

Kundry feels her power is broken, and she now launches at him a curse, or rather may we not say, having the clairvoyant vision she sees Parsifal wandering and vainly seeking Monsalvat that he may save the king? Be that as it may, she utters a prediction that he shall wander forth, vainly seeking the castle of the Grail; and seeing that he does not heed her she calls her master, who now appears and hurls the Sacred Spear at Parsifal. The knight, however, has not sinned. The Spear remains suspended over him. Quickly seizing it he makes the sign of the cross, and instantly, as by an earthquake shock, the walls and battlements are shattered and wrecked; the flowers are blasted, and where were beauty and life, now only desolation and death appear. Holding aloft the Spear, Parsifal turns to Kundry, and exclaiming, "Thou knowest where we shall meet again," disappears over the shattered battlements.

The third act of "Parsifal" discloses a beautiful summer scene near the castle of Monsalvat. It is Good Friday morning, and nature seems in joyous mood. Not so with man. The musical prelude which so strikingly emphasizes the dominating notes in Wagner's dramas, speaks of pain and of hope long deferred.

Many weary years have slowly waned since Parsifal rescued the Spear. Gurnemanz, who is now discovered, has become an old man. Time, sorrow and disappointment have crowned his head with snow and have furrowed his thoughtful face; for the day has long passed since he and the other knights have drawn inspiration from the Holy Grail. So great was the suffering of Amfortas each time it was uncovered, that he at

length refused to administer his holy office. And with the inspiration and sustenance which were the life and strength and power of the brotherhood withdrawn, the knights lost their old-time fire, enthusiasm, and courage. They no longer sallied forth to right the wrong, revenge injustice, and succor the defenceless. Many of their number had left the castle, and a profound inertia seemed to have settled over the rest.

Gurnemanz, no longer able to bear the anguish of Amfortas, has withdrawn to a little hut not far removed from the palace. This cottage appears in the background of the stage. The aged Titurel, no longer sustained by the Grail, has succumbed. His funeral is to take place on this Good Friday morning, and Amfortas has at length consented to once more unveil the Grail.

A moan is heard behind the cottage of Gurnemanz, and from a thicket Kundry emerges. She has just awakened from a trance. During these weary years she has been engaged in tireless service for the Grail brotherhood, seeking so far as lay in her power to atone for the evil she has done. The keynote of her life is service, and no sooner does she appear upon the stage than she emphasizes this thought by her action. Taking a pitcher, she goes to the sacred well, fills it with water, returns, and then busies herself about the cottage.

The quiet of the scene is suddenly disturbed by the entrance of a knight of commanding mien, clad in dark armour and bearing a long spear. Gurnemanz reminds him that it is not fitting that he should wear his armour in the precincts of Monsalvat, and especially on the most holy of all days—Good Friday. The knight meekly heeds the old man's counsel, after which he plants his spear in the earth and devoutly kneels before it. Gurnemanz and Kundry eye him closely. Soon the old knight recognizes the spear, and Kundry sees in the stranger the "guileless one" of the old time.

Parsifal has grown into well-rounded manhood. His face resembles Leonardi's Jesus, revealing a great soul perfected by much suffering and mighty temptations overcome, and in whose eyes the peace of Heaven and a deathless love for all that live are mirrored.



Gurnemanz is overjoyed at the return of the knight with the Sacred Spear, for now he feels that the long night-time for them is past, that his royal master will be restored; and in pathetic tones he informs Parsifal of the sad changes which have come to pass, describing at length the sufferings of the king, the death of Titurel, and the departure of the strength and glory of the old days from the knights of Monsalvat. Again Parsifal feels the sting of remorse which has gnawed into his heart these many years, and so profoundly does the recital take hold upon his emotions that he almost swoons. Kundry brings water in a basin and washes the travel stain from his feet.

Then follows the bold and striking scene which Richard Wagner had long years before determined to introduce as a stage tableau in his contemplated music-drama dealing with the life of Jesus. Kundry pours oil from a golden flask over the feet of Parsifal and wipes them with the hairs of her head, while the aged Gurnemanz anoints his head with oil, as the order has been given that he who rescues the Sacred Spear shall reign as king over the Grail brotherhood.

This splendid opportunity for a striking and impressive stage picture naturally appealed to the artistic soul of Richard Wagner; and it is difficult to imagine a more beautiful scene or one better calculated to live in the memory than is here presented. Parsifal is clothed in white, typifying the victor. His long, wavy auburn hair falls lightly on his shoulders. The aged knight is clad in the rich templar robes of red and blue; Kundry is weeping at the feet of the newly anointed king, while the background of the tableau reveals nature in peaceful glory.

Parsifal now proceeds to baptize Kundry, and then he simply and with infinite tenderness impresses a kiss on her brow. Ah! how different from the burning kiss of passion given him, when in the magician's garden she strove to lure him from the path of virtue. Even then, though so completely under the spell of Klingsor, Kundry dimly felt that Parsifal was to be her saviour, and when she pleaded with him she urged that his love would release her from the curse. Then Parsifal had

promised to help her if she would aid him to restore Amfortas. "But," said he, "not in thy way, but in the Lord God's way."

And now the promise is fulfilled. For the first time in her long, long life, since she came under the baleful influence of the curse, Kundry is able to weep, and her tears are those of joy rather than of sadness. Now, too, for the first time tranquility is stamped upon her countenance, showing the presence in the heart of that peace which lifts the soul above the storm and stress of mundane life.

In low and reverent tones the group converse, until the solemn booming of the great bell in the tower of Monsalvat announces that the hour of Titurel's funeral has arrived. In obedience to the urgent request of the knights, Amfortas has promised to now uncover the Grail for the last time. He has also determined to beg the knights to slay him, and if they refuse he has resolved to tear open his side and die, as the pain has grown insufferable.

Parsifal, Gurnemanz, and Kundry start to the castle. The lights grow dim. They move before the spectators as scarcely discernible phantoms until they enter the Alhambra-like hall of the Grail. Here the funeral procession enters to the music of a solemn and impressive dirge. At length the moment arrives for the uncovering of the Grail, when the agony of the king becomes insupportable. In a wild burst of anguish he pleads with the knights to slay him. They start back in horror.

Then Parsifal, who has not been observed before, steps forward and with the Sacred Spear touches the wound, which as by magic is healed. He then takes up the Grail, and lo! the dark blood grows bright; the hall is suffused with a wonderful radiance. All present fall upon their knees, while music of unearthly sweetness fills the hall. Kundry, with a beatific expression and with eyes riveted on the Grail, slowly sinks upon the floor. For her the battle of life is past. She is saved. A white dove descends from the high dome and hovers over Parsifal's head, while the angel chorus from above sings:

"Wondrous work of mercy;  
Salvation to the Saviour."

"Of the religious solemnity of the closing scene of this act and the last," say Mr. Henry Finck,\* "printers' ink can convey no shadow of an idea. The solemn pealing of the bell, the devout chant of the knights, taken up by an invisible chorus of youths half-way up the cupola, and finally by boys' voices at the extreme end of the cupola; then the unveiling and glowing of the Grail amid a halo of exquisite orchestral harmonies. All this cannot be described."

The late Rev. H. R. Haweis thus closes his graphic pen picture of "Parsifal."

"Words can add nothing to the completeness of the drama, and no word can give any idea of the splendor and complexity of that sound ocean upon which the drama floats from beginning to end."

#### IV.

Throughout the play of "Parsifal," as I have indicated, Wagner has striven to be absolutely true to the spirit and prevailing religious belief of the age which produced the Grail legends. Indeed, he has outwardly conformed to the dominant religious dogmas of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries so faithfully that I imagine that had his music-drama been produced during that period, its orthodoxy would not have been seriously questioned, even if the audience had missed its deeper lessons and true significance.

It is exoterically theological and esoterically religious. The fundamental demand of art, that the spirit, belief, and dominating thought of the age be preserved, is here met. But the work is far more than a great art piece. Below the shell, the form, the dogma, and superstition, which the great majority of intelligent Christians have long since outgrown, are found the fundamental religious and ethical lessons which are as eternal as life itself, and the presence of which measures the vitality of and gives potentiality for good to any religion or philosophy.

This is why no class of persons has been more profoundly impressed with the strength and religious power of "Parsifal"

\*"Wagner and His Work," by Henry Finck.

than the deeply religious minds among the distinctly liberal thinkers who have witnessed its performance. They have not only seen but have been compelled to feel the force of the lessons it teaches and how pregnant is this drama with truths upon the acceptance or realization of which civilization itself depends.

Take, for example, the life of Parsifal. Here we have a splendid illustration of the evolution of a life from self-absorption to selflessness; from negative good, or guilelessness, to the positive virtue which can come only with knowledge and the victory born of triumph over multitudinous temptations which beset the pathway of life. Here, too, we see indifference to the sufferings, needs, and yearnings of others give place to that intense concern for the happiness, peace and welfare of the most hopeless and despairing ones, which found its supreme expression in the life of the Great Nazarene.

Parsifal emphasizes the fact that "Heaven is not gained with a single bound." After Parsifal had won the great victory and gained the Sacred Spear, still he had not grown enough to be worthy to rule in the council chambers of Monsalvat. He had to grow to new heights. Thus many years yet of struggle, temptation and trial awaited him. Self-mastery and spiritual supremacy are attained, not by one victory, but by many. They come only as the rich fruition of a life of strenuous endeavor, a life of loyalty to duty and to love.

"Parsifal" teaches the lesson which is the luminous soul of the noblest religions. It tells us that not only is love—pure, exalted love—the greatest thing in the world, but that it is the only light that leads the wanderer to the throne of the Infinite.

Turning from Parsifal, we see in Kundry a typical character, rich in suggestive lessons. She represents the aspiring soul, chained by passion and desire. The world is full of Kundrys. The young man who a few years ago indulged in liquor and laughed at the possibility of its mastering him, but who to-day vainly strives to break from the thralldom of appetite, and who in his better moments resolves and strives to

obey the higher voices in his soul, is but one manifestation of the many slaves of passion, appetite and desire who are under Klingsor's spell, who worship at the shrine of the gross and the material, even while the soul revolts at its bondage and strives to break its fetters.

In the magician's realm we see the world of pseudo-pleasures, bright, glittering and attractive, but ephemeral. Here true love, which is the crown and glory of parenthood and which in its broader manifestation reaches out in divine helpfulness to all, is not known; but in its stead we find gross sensual gratification; lust for love, satiety of the passions for spiritual exaltation, and absorption in the lower self instead of concern for others. Here the passions, appetites and desires are lords and masters. Here all is counterfeit and all is transitory. At any moment the fatal hour may come, as come sooner or later it always does, when the illusions disappear, the sweets are turned to bitter, beauty vanishes, and the one-time music is changed into harsh and guttural tones, ending in groans of anguish or moans of despair. Here the splendid garden, palpitating with sensuous life, may at any time become a bleak and barren waste.

Parsifal is colossal, he is typical. His evolution is that which must be taken by every individual who attains to the spiritual supremacy which brings to the soul peace on earth and an immortality of felicity. Parsifal points the way to the heights, not merely for the individual, but for society as well. All nations and civilizations which are not destined to suffer eclipse must tread the royal pathway over which he passed. No more solemn truth confronts mankind to-day than is taught by the struggle and victory of Parsifal.

A people, nationality, or civilization may seem to flourish for a season through might of force, as did Babylon of old, as did the empire of the Medes and Persians, as did Rome as she approached the summit of her world-wide rule, and as did Spain in the fifteenth century. But all triumphs based on force and injustice, on victories not won by love, are ephemeral in character. If history teaches any lesson in clear and unmis-

takable language, it is that whatsoever is sown shall be reaped ; and the nation or civilization which disregards the eternal demands of justice, freedom and fraternity will sooner or later follow the pathway trodden by Egypt, Assyria, Greece, Rome and Spain. Victory, to be permanent, must depend on the cohesion of love, which is ever creative and constructive, and not on the disintegrative influence of force and hate. It must also ever bear in mind the good of all, not the interest of self. It must strike its keynote on the plane of the spiritual instead of the animal. It must do right because it is right. It must imitate the sun, which bathes the world in light and warmth ; the violet, the lily and the rose, whose fragrance and beauty delight the senses and bring into the human heart a message from the Infinite. It must be like the bird, which, careless of danger and without thought of fame or applause, fills the woods and meadows with a melody that makes all life thrill with joy.

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## THE RELATION OF RECIPROCITY TO PROTECTION.

A DISCUSSION of the tariff question, will, to a greater or less extent, be forced upon the Fifty-eighth Congress. This discussion will begin with the opening of the extra session, when the Cuban Reciprocity Treaty is brought up for consideration by the House, and it is reasonably certain that the discussion thus started will be renewed several times during the life of each succeeding session.

It is not difficult to foresee that there will be a division of opinion amounting almost to a schism among the Generals, Lieutenants and Privates in both camps. The charge of inconsistency will be flaunted in the face of both parties. Nor will this charge be without foundation. For, in the army which has fought for years under the banner of "Tariff for revenue only," there will be found regulars from the old home of the cane and volunteers from the new homes of the beet who have become so inoculated with the saccharine virus that they will foam at the mouth in their mad howl against any reduction in the tariff on sugar. While others who are veterans in the same army, claiming inspiration from the same fountain-head, will rally around the "old guard" and fall, if needs be, in the last ditch, with face to the foe, martyrs to what they hold to be the sacred cause of a reduction of tariff rates, sugar or no sugar. And in the opposite camp we find the Generals and their Staffs, and nearly all the commissioned officers occupying the inconsistent position of claiming to be true and loyal followers of the policy of McKinley and yet as "stand patters" they would make of reciprocity a "dead issue" instead of, as he would, a living, breathing creature, clothed in the flesh and blood of agreement between nation and nation and standing upon the solid ground of their mutual interests.

The difference of opinion among the Democrats of the Fifty-eighth Congress we need not discuss in the present article,

for whatever is done in said Congress will be done by the Republicans. And what is done by the Republicans in modifying the present tariff rates will depend very largely upon their conviction as to the relationship which exists between reciprocity and protection, for we need not expect from this Congress any modification by direct tariff legislation. Nor need we hope for much to be accomplished by means of reciprocity treaties if the Republican leaders hold the view that reciprocity is either antagonistic or dangerous to the principle of protection. It is, therefore, pertinent and timely to inquire into the possibility of harmonizing these two methods of furthering American trade and at the same time promoting the general welfare.

The relation which exists between the two can perhaps be best ascertained by an examination of the fundamental principle which underlies each. And first as to protection. Upon what fundamental principle does a protective tariff policy rest? Clearly this: that by using the power to levy customs duties as a means for directing the productive energy of the nation along the lines which according to the collective judgment of the majority seem most advantageous and, hence, most promotive of the public welfare, our development as a nation will be better secured than by leaving entirely to the judgment of the individual the decision of the question as to how his productive energies can be best expended.

Therefore, when a majority of the nation renders a decision at the polls in favor of a protective tariff on iron its verdict means that, according to its judgment, the giving of an advantage in the home market to our own as against foreign producers of iron, a larger share of capital and labor will be expended in the iron industries of this country than would otherwise be the case, and that this change will result in an increase in the sum total of national production and thereby render possible a more rapid increase in our progress as a nation, in our prosperity and happiness as a people. True, the majority may err in its judgment; but I insist that if the majority is not less likely to err than is the minority, it follows as



a natural corollary that a Republic is inferior to an Oligarchy. This corollary need not be argued to American readers, we answered that question at the very beginning of our national existence and have since discovered no adequate reason for changing our answer. Neither is it necessary to argue so plain a proposition as that whether or not a protective tariff should be placed or retained upon given commodities is one of fact and hence must be determined upon the basis of facts, not theories. That the facts warrant a continuance by us of the protective policy is unquestionably the opinion of the great majority in this country. There are, however, not a few among this majority who recognize the difficulty of changing it by legislation so as to adjust it to changing conditions and hence would gladly welcome the application of a method of change which would render the policy more flexible.

Before discussing this question further, it will be well to inquire into the basic principle underlying reciprocity and also its practicability for the purpose of meeting our present and future needs as the leading nation in the world of trade. Fundamentally commercial reciprocity rests upon the fact that the exports of a country can be more advantageously marketed when the government coöperates with the individual in securing a market than where the individual is left entirely to his own resources.

It is, therefore, clear that reciprocity readily lends itself to use by the nation as a means for directing the energies of its individuals along the lines of greatest advantage. For by securing in foreign markets a reduction in their tariff upon certain products rather than others an increased amount of capital and labor would naturally be expended in the producing of the commodities thus favored. It rests, then, upon precisely the same principle as does a protective tariff. The fact that one accomplishes the purpose by securing an advantage in the home market while the other secures an advantage in a foreign market, alters the general principle not one whit.

Hence, if reciprocity is to be attacked, it must be upon some other ground than that it is antagonistic in principle to the

policy of a protective tariff. Far from being irreconcilable with a protective tariff it is supplemental to it, for whereas one leads to an increase in production, the other aids in marketing the surplus product. While, therefore, it modifies, it is still a helpmate. Reciprocity can coexist with a protective tariff but not with free trade. Though it necessitates changes in some of the tariff schedules it does not endanger the life of the protective system, but like equity "is a correction of that wherein the law by reason of its universality is inadequate." The extent to which it is expedient to apply the policy of reciprocity is dependent upon economic conditions, *i.e.*, upon the size and character of the surplus for which foreign markets must be found and the competition which has to be met in them. While our surplus consisted almost entirely of agricultural products which were not raised elsewhere in sufficient quantities to supply the wants of the European markets, the demand for our surplus was such that no reciprocity treaties were necessary in order to market it. But when under a wise protective policy our country has become the workshop as well as the granary of the world, more than 30 per cent. of our surplus consists of manufactured articles which there is not unnaturally a strong desire upon the part of Europe to exclude, the problem of marketing this surplus becomes vastly more difficult and the need for reciprocity correspondingly greater.

That reciprocity treaties, not intended to be a farce, would increase the market for our exports is a proposition which must be tested not merely by theory but by facts. Our own experience, though very limited, furnishes us many illuminating facts. In 1854 we entered into a reciprocity treaty with Canada, and during the first five years of its operation our exports to Canada increased 130 per cent. It is true that they did not increase as rapidly during the remaining life of the treaty (which came to an end in 1866), but as this latter period included the four years of our civil war, the decreased productive powers of the nation due to this diverting of its energies from productive lines and the high prices in the home market, a decrease in exports was entirely natural. There is

little doubt but that this treaty would have been renewed in 1865, though perchance with some modifications, had it not been for the bitterness of feeling engendered between the two countries during the war.

Under the provisions of the McKinley bill, reciprocity treaties were entered into with several of the Latin-American States, but as they were repealed by the Wilson bill they were in force for but three years, yet during this short-period the value of our exports to those countries increased from \$90,000,000 to \$103,000,000, or about 15 per cent. And as evidence that this increase was not merely coincident with the existence of the treaties but due to them, I would cite the fact that in 1895, the year after the repeal of the treaties, our exports to those same countries fell back to \$88,000,000.

During this same period we had a reciprocity treaty with Spain concerning Cuba, and our exports to the island increased from \$12,200,000 to \$24,150,000, or just about 100 per cent. and in 1895, thanks to the Wilson bill, they fell back to \$12,800,000.

Our reciprocity treaty with Hawaii continued in force for twenty-three years, and under it our exports to those islands increased in value from \$621,974 to \$4,622,581, or considerably over 600 per cent. The operation of this treaty illustrates that agreements of this sort increase the market for exports and that the closer trade relations beget a community of feeling which, though more difficult to measure, is a not less important consideration than the financial gain. For both these reasons a reciprocity treaty with Canada to take the place of the one which, unfortunately for both of us, was dropped in 1866 would be an appropriate means to attain very desirable ends. In general it is safe to say that trade is a great civilizer, and hence the means which promote trade promote civilization. It is equally true to say that such are our natural resources and the efficiency of our labor that we have greater reason to fear a choking of the home market by reason of a failure to market our surplus than of its being swamped by a deluge of foreign products. Neither does it need any argument to make it clear

that while a protective tariff furnishes a sufficient guarantee against the latter it is not equally effective as a means for preventing the former, hence, when one argues in behalf of supplementing a protective tariff with reciprocity treaties he is simply arguing in favor of a use of means best adapted to the attaining of wise and necessary ends.

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## THE BELGIUM SYSTEM OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

BEFORE giving an account of the practical working and beneficial results of proportional representation in Belgium, it occurs to me that a brief description of the system which differs in some respects from that in operation in Switzerland may be interesting and valuable to the thinking Americans who are seeking to adjust and perfect electoral methods and provisions so as to best conserve and more effectually maintain the principles of Democratic government.

The issue of the *Moniteur Belge*\* for December 30, 1899, contains the full Act of Parliament printed in both Dutch and French. A complete translation of the act has been made for me but as it is both too long and too technical for a magazine article, I will give the salient points in a descriptive way.

There are thirty electoral districts or "Arrondissements," as they are called in Belgium, from which are elected varying numbers of representatives and senators. The great city of Brussels comprises the largest district and returns eighteen representatives and nine senators. The numbers then go downwards—eleven representatives, ten, eight, six, five, four, three, two; no district electing less than two, and very few being as small as that. Each district elects about twice as many representatives as senators. Those districts which return only two or three representatives are united with their neighbors for senatorial purposes, so as to avoid electing senators singly.

\*The value of an article of this character depends on the direct and authoritative character of the data, and for the benefit of the readers I will say that my principal sources of information are: (1) The issues of the *Moniteur Belge* which contain the full report of the Act of Parliament amending the Belgium electoral code so as to provide for proportional representation. (2) Letters and papers received direct from M. le Comte Goblet d'Alviella of Court St. Etienne, Belgium, who is a senator for the Province of Brabant. (3) Count d'Alviella's able work in French entitled "La Representation Proportionnelle: Histoire d'une Reforme."

The totals are one hundred and fifty-two members of the house of representatives, and seventy-six senators. From the varying character of the districts, I presume that the old division lines have been largely retained.

Belgium has adopted a modification of the "free list" system of proportional representation that is in operation in several of the cantons or states of Switzerland.

Two features are common to both the Swiss and the Belgian systems: Namely, (1) large electoral districts returning several members; and (2) the use of the "quota," which is usually obtained by dividing the total vote cast by the number of members to be elected. Indeed, these two features are found in all really effective proportional systems.

Briefly the Swiss or Belgian system is this: Each political party nominates a list of candidates, and these lists of names are printed on a ballot and voted for according to some prescribed method. The votes are counted and the quota is ascertained. Each party's total vote is in turn divided by the quota, which shows how many seats each party is entitled to. One quota of votes gives one seat; two quotas, two seats, and so on. Then the seats of each party are allotted among the individual candidates of that party in a manner hereafter indicated.

In Belgium nominations are made by a "presentation paper," which must be signed by at least one hundred electors. Each party nominates a list of candidates, probably in proportion to the number that its estimated voting strength would enable it to elect. There are two classes of candidates—"effectives" and "substitutes;" the latter being intended chiefly to fill vacancies that may occur in the ranks of the effective or actual members during parliamentary term. For this purpose the substitutes are classed as first, second, third, etc., and are drawn upon in that order if needed. There is also another use to which they are put; namely, if any party has not nominated enough effectives to fill the seats it gets in the elections, then the substitutes are drawn upon.

If the various parties have estimated their strength at the polls so moderately that the effective candidates on all the lists

just equal the seats to be filled, then these candidates are declared elected, and no polling is needed.

If, however, more effectives are nominated than there are seats to be filled, the polling takes place as described later.

All the party lists of candidates are printed on one large ballot paper, lots being drawn to decide the order in which the lists appear. Each party list is in a column by itself; the effectives first, and then the substitutes, with a head-line to distinguish the latter.

If an independent candidate runs outside of the parties, he is regarded as being a little party all by himself, and his name is accordingly printed as a separate list, along with the substitute candidate whom he may have, or without the substitute if none be nominated. The last column on the ballot is reserved for these small independent lists.

Every list on the ballot is numbered with a large distinguishing figure above it.

The names of the candidates in the various parties are not printed alphabetically, but follow the order in which the candidates appear on the party nomination paper. There is a special reason for this, as follows:

In counting the votes, after ascertaining the seats each party is entitled to, the next question is, to which individual candidates of each party do the seats of that party go? Here is where the order of the names on the party lists come in; because the candidates highest up on the list of effectives are the elected ones, unless the voters decide otherwise by the way in which they cast their votes. Similarly, the order of precedence of the elected substitutes is decided by the order in which their names appear on the party list, unless the voters by their ballots change that order.

This arrangement would appear to place considerable power in the hands of the party chiefs, who probably have a good deal to say in deciding the order of the names on the nomination papers and consequently in the lists on the ballots.

The official journal contains an illustration of the form of ballot. This shows at the head of each list a black square

with a white spot in the center. A similar square and spot are put opposite every name on each list. The elector votes by blackening the spot, which is about an eighth of an inch in diameter, using a pencil or crayon for the purpose.

Electors are admitted to vote from eight o'clock a.m., to one o'clock p.m. This seems to be a very short time for polling; but such is the provision of the act. Each elector produces his "Lettre de convocation" (letter of summons), and receives one, two, or three ballots. This is because there is plural voting in Belgium. Citizens of twenty-five years of age and over are entitled to one vote. Then there are certain qualifications of property, age, higher education, tax paying, etc., which give either one or two additional votes; so that some citizens go to the poll and cast as many as three votes, but never more than three.

Of course this vicious system of plural voting is no part of proportional representation. On the contrary, it was in force before the present act was passed. It does not affect in any way the method of voting or counting votes. I shall, therefore, use for my description a voter who is entitled to cast one ballot only.

Having received his ballot, the voter retires to an isolated compartment, marks his ballot, folds it with the presiding officer's stamp outside, comes out of the compartment, shows his folded ballot to the officer, puts it in the "urn"—or ballot box, as we call it—gets his letter of summons stamped by the officer, and leaves the booth.

In marking his ballot, this is what the voter does:

1. If he is content with the order of presentation of all the names on the list of his party, he simply blackens the dot at the head of the list. This is called giving a "vote by list."

2. If he is content with the order of presentation of the effectives, but not of the substitutes, he gives a "vote by name;" that is, he votes for one of the substitutes by blackening the white dot opposite the name of the one he prefers. This "vote by name" counts one vote for the party whose list the name is on.



3. If the voter is content with the order of the substitutes, but not of the effectives, then he gives "vote by name" for one effective by blackening the proper spot. This counts also one for the party.

4. If he wishes to change the order of both effectives and substitutes he blackens the spots opposite one effective and one substitute. In this case one vote is counted for the party, not two votes.

Manifestly the intention of the law is that the voter must stick to one party. He spoils his ballot if he marks more than one list. He may not even vote for an effective in one list and a substitute in another. A ballot is also null if the voter marks both a "vote by list," and a "vote by name;" that is to say, he must not blacken a spot both at the head of the list and opposite a name. This seems to be unnecessary strictness, but is probably designed to prevent votes by name being overlooked in the counting.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the Belgium system is based on the Single Vote. In most of the Swiss cantons the multiple vote prevails; that is, each elector is allowed an absolute vote for several distinct candidates. But the Single Vote is more and more coming to be recognized as the true proportional principle, and it is a distinct step in advance that the Belgium form of the Free List allows to each elector only one vote that finally counts. I will not attempt a detailed description of the Belgium method of counting. It is based on the principles of the Swiss "free list" with a difference of method.

In Switzerland, the general method may be thus summarized:

(1) The totals of the votes cast for the various lists are added together and the grand total ascertained.

(2) This grand total is divided by the number of seats to be filled and this gives the "quota," or number of votes which elect one representative.

(3) The vote for each party list is divided in turn by the quota, thus showing the number of representatives to which each party is entitled. The quota is therefore called also the "electoral divisor."

(4) As the quota does not of course divide exactly into the electoral total of each list, there may be some seats to spare. These seats are allotted to the party or parties having the largest "remainder" or "unfilled quota" after the division has taken place.

In Belgium the general principle is the same, but is more complex as to details, and that is why I have first described the more simple Swiss plan. The Belgians use what is called "The d'Hondt quota," which gives a result more mathematically accurate. To show just how it works would take a great deal of space. I will therefore simply give a translation of a clause of the Belgian act relating to it: premising that to get the electoral total of a list, its "votes by list" and its "votes by name" are added together, as already indicated.

"Article 263. The head office divides successively by one, two, three, four, five, etc., the electoral total of each of the lists, and arranges the quotients in the order of their importance, up to the amount of a total number of quotients equal to that of members to be elected. The last quotient serves as Electoral Divisor.

"The division (distribution) among the lists is effected by assigning to each of them as many seats as its electoral total 'comprises of times the divisor.'"

In other words, you divide the votes of a list by the electoral divisor, and that gives the number of representatives to which that list is entitled.

Having ascertained how many seats each party has got, the next thing is to decide which of its candidates are the chosen ones. In doing this, the Belgian plan uses the quota or "electoral divisor" again. Any candidate who has a quota is elected. The quotas are ascertained by crediting each candidate with the "votes by name" and "votes by list," to which he is entitled, beginning with the first man on the list. The mere fact of his name being printed first on his party list gives him a right to all the "list" votes he can use, and there are usually enough of these to give him his required quota. If not, all his votes go to the next man. If he is elected, and has a surplus over

and above the quota, his surplus votes are credited to the next man on the list. This number of representatives is elected. As already stated, the order in which the names are printed in the various lists on the ballot paper is the order of the names as presented by the party organizations.

The chief defects of the Belgian system are the unequal size of the districts and the power given to the party organizations by the operation of the "vote by list" and its concomitant of following the "order of presentation" in choosing the individuals to represent the party. At the first general election under the new plan, I think that in only one case did the operation of the "votes by name" disturb the order of election by party presentation. I speak from memory as to this, but the cases were in any event very rare.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the system is an excellent one, and is an immense improvement on the old plans of the "block vote" or the "one member district." Its influence on Belgian politics has demonstrated this. What that influence has been will be shown in my next paper.

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## THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND REACTION.

### I. THE REPUBLIC AND 1904.

**F**ROM the signing of the Declaration of Independence to this hour the American people have not faced a greater crisis than that presented in the contest for President in 1904. Hitherto our struggles have been with open foes in the open field. And the foes, outside the great republic, have been vanquished or cowed into submission. But all the labor and sweat and blood and treasure thus expended will have been spent in vain, unless the fruits of it all be preserved as the basis of future achievement.

To each generation is given its own task. To our own falls the duty of guarding the ark of the covenant of liberty as it was handed us by our fathers. The struggle now on is the one which philosophers and sages have foretold from the beginning. Right ahead lies the rock on which the enemies of the republic have predicted our ship of state would strike and founder.

It is no longer the rifle of the pioneer against the tomahawk of the savage, nor the flint lock of the Continentals against British red coats, nor yet the steed of the Rough Rider against the files of Spain.

There now comes the deadlier strife of liberty against licence; of law against lawlessness; of man against money; of simplicity and honesty against luxury and corruption; of Constitutional Democracy against Aristocracy and Privilege.

The Declaration of Independence holds these truths to be self-evident: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The part of the Declaration which I have quoted contains the essence of Democracy. It was carried into the Constitu-

tion, there crystalized and received a luminous exposition in Jefferson's first inaugural.

The equality declared is between "Men."

And there are no exceptions.

"All men are created equal."

This equality regards no accident of birth, no difference in capacity, no possession, no poverty, no learning, no ignorance. These are the things that make inequality, difference in kind or degree, classes, castes, and ranks. But the ideal of the fathers was *Man—Men*.

These they started "equal" for the first time in the history of the human race. Man was the unit in the new scheme of government. And at a single stroke he was stripped of all gear, all title, all outside of himself, and ordered to stand forth the peer and equal of all other men. Poets and philosophers had dreamed it for three thousand years, but the fathers at Philadelphia woke the world to the fact.

Having placed them on the level, these men, so created, are declared to be "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

This "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" of the Declaration is no other than the blood-bought trinity of "life, liberty and property" wrought out of six hundred years of struggle in Anglo-Saxon life.

This idea of equality was carried, soul and spirit, into the Constitution. It does not involve equality in getting or keeping of any precious thing outside the sacred trinity of life, liberty, and property. But for these sacred three, absolute equality between men, under the Stars and Stripes is eternally decreed.

The Constitution in its first breath declares the purpose of "we the people" to be "to form a more perfect union."

Its second breath, is the purpose to "establish justice."

The "more perfect union" has been "formed" and cemented by a century and a quarter of trial and blood and love. An indissoluble union of indestructible States is an accomplished fact, seen and read of all men in twentieth century light.

The second purpose "to establish justice," is now the matrix of patriotic thought by those to whom the destiny of the republic is the hope of all time.

The "justice" to be "established" by the Constitution, was not exhausted nor its ends accomplished by the machinery of the Federal Courts, properly created and provided for the administration of the law. That was obviously part of the plan by which the purpose to "establish justice" was to be effected.

The "justice" meant was the enforcement of the idea of equality between men touching Life, Liberty and Property which the Declaration had set up. It included, of course, the abstract idea of justice, the justice of which Carlyle speaks, when he says:

"In this world, with its wild whirling eddies and mad foam oceans, where men and nations perish as if without law, and judgment for an unjust thing is delayed: dost thou think that there is therefore no justice? It is what the wise, in all times, were wise because they denied and knew forever not to be. I tell thee again there is nothing else but justice. One strong thing I find here below, the just thing, the true thing.

"My friend, if thou hadst all the artillery of Woolwich trundling at thy back in support of an unjust thing, and infinite bonfires visibly waiting ahead of thee, to blaze centuries long for thy victory on behalf of it, I would advise thee to call halt, to fling down thy baton, and say, 'In God's name, No!'"

But it meant more. It was an expression of the time-tried ideals of English "justice" to the new relation of *Man* to Life, Liberty, and Property, created by the Declaration.

It was "justice" in England for the first born son to take the inheritance and perpetuate a name and a title.

The "justice" of our Constitution recognizes no title but Man, and our laws equalize the inheritance with the blood and the half blood of the *Man*.

Aristocracy and Privilege rear high their heads in England, under the ægis of "justice," but the "justice" of our Constitution abhors and detests both.

One man, under the title of King, is the fountain of English

"justice," but our fathers fought and bled and died that the hateful title might never pollute the land of the free.

Henry Ward Beecher's "Reign of the Common People" stood over against Ruskin's "Iscariot in Modern England" as the people's conception of the government they had, as against that they had escaped.

The land of the free, where man only was enthroned, where equality before the law meant an equal chance with every other man in every field of human endeavor, where justice came pure and fresh from an untainted fountain, where simple worth had its reward and virtue its meed without respect of persons, this was the proud thought of sons sprung from the loins of Cavaliers, Covenanters, and Pilgrims to whom faith and honor were dearer than life.

And these ideals are the standards by which men and measures have been judged, until very recently in our national life.

Beginning about thirty years ago an oil dealer in Cleveland conceived and taught and fought and fastened on the common carriers of America the idea that it was better to carry for one than for many.

The fact that this theory made shipwreck of the law weighed not a feather.

Fraud, perjury, oppression, deceit, inversion of the laws of trade and commerce, violations of charter covenants, sinister threats, covert breaches of contracts, and the entire armory of the robber and brigand was exhausted in the subjugation of the carriers. But they were thoroughly conquered.

On this foundation, conceived in utter hostility to the very heart of our laws and constitution, has been erected a colossal structure, which has not only dominated the business interests of America, but by its proud eminence has bred a brood whose thought is not to keep the law, but to invent methods by which it may be violated with impunity.

As a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, so this leaven of covert disobedience, of apparent respect but real contempt for the law, has permeated the whole body politic.

In the room of the Democracy, known to our fathers, sits

an arrogant plutocracy which has seized the sources of Federal power, and not content with polluting these fountains, has, by direct attack and the contagious power of example, injected the venom of corruption into state legislatures and municipal assemblies, until bribery has become a trade and the lobbyist a necessity to even honest legislation.

The President, personally clean, a type of the best in the young blood of America, finds himself, in the tainted atmosphere of political ambition, bound as a strong man with many cords. With the velvet glove of predatory capital but ill concealing its steel claws menacing him on one side, and "the courtesy of the Senate" hampering him on the other, every generous aspiration of his higher self is either sandbagged on sight or soothed to fateful slumber by the siren song of expediency.

The Governor of the Empire State forces the passage of favored bills by threats of exposure of legislative corruption in the ranks of his own party.

Pennsylvania, the second state in the union, under the domination of Senator Quay, with unblushing forehead, distributes millions in franchises as largess to faithful henchmen of the boss, against the protest of her best citizens.

The Lieutenant Governor of Missouri tenders his resignation in terms confessing guilty knowledge of bribery in the Missouri Senate, and the city of St. Louis draws only partly back the curtains behind which municipal corruption stalks, as we are told it walks in the municipal assemblies of many of our large cities.

The Governor of Indiana, against the mandate of the law, hides, under his executive cloak, the crouching form of a fugitive from justice, demanded by justice in Kentucky, on the charge of complicity in the foulest assassination since that of Lincoln. These are fair samples of present-day phenomena in our political life.

The public conscience has been seared as with a hot iron and the lethargy of death benumbs civic virtue.

The existence of such startling facts arouses only languid



interest or is received with absolute indifference by those charged with the execution of the law.

One of the leading lawyers of the plundering outlaws has been selected and retained as the Attorney General of the United States. That office is the keystone of the whole arch. With a genuine friend of the people, there, the law-breaking and defying corporations could be brought to the criminal bar, and a beginning made for justice. As it is we are edified with the spectacle of an artist who enacts the double role of the ass in the lion's skin to the trusts, and the wolf playing shepherd of the flock, to the people.

But reaching beyond official spheres, the leaven has wrought in the daily life of the people. The learned college professor who was once the revered sage and prophet has become a hired man in a cage. The lawyer who once stood as the high priest of liberty and the champion of the poor and oppressed is reduced to the degrading office of body guard to professional law breakers. The preacher and the priest are being taught the gospel of greed and the litany of grace. And the butcher and the baker and the candle-stick maker, as all other small dealers outside the charmed circle of the new aristocracy, are reminded by their daily bread of the dreadful consequences of disloyalty to the new Oligarchy.

The man of the Declaration is reduced to the segment of a circle in a maze of whirring wheels, his independence spit upon, his equality in Life, Liberty, and Property made a living lie, and the "justice" he was taught to revere, turned into a hideous engine of oppression.

Learning, dignity, culture, grace, gentleness, and worth are either crushed under the hoofs or borne madly along with the herd, in the general stampede for gold.

In the place of Man stands Money. In the room of Equality Privilege is enthroned. In the seat of Justice sits Monopoly, and the heritage of the people is seized by a new fledged Aristocracy.

And it is interesting to note the genesis of this new American aristocracy. The plundering, pilfering pirate, who found

wealth in his country's peril and social recognition in society's upheaval, in due time buds and blossoms into the sniveling sycophant, who sneers at the people and a government of the people, by the people, for the people, and shudders at the tide of immigration steadily flowing into the body of American citizenship. Arrived at this stage it is not a far cry to the expatriated scion of an American fur trader, dazzled with visions of stars and garters and titles of nobility. Under the inspiration of this sort has occurred the silk petticoat invasion of flunkeydom, by which already seventeen glittering coronets, very dazzling but very short of cash, have been added to the treasures of those who dearly love a lord. With their eyes fixed on the court of Edward VII and their backs turned on the graves of their fathers, the precept and example of this grafted fruit would hasten the time when, with the Boer warrior, we may dedicate our reminiscences to "our fellow subjects of the British Empire." To them the story of Lexington and Yorktown, of Washington and Cornwallis is an old wife's fable, as misty as a Norse saga, as dreamy as an Indian legend.

From contemplation of such a set I think any sane American would turn with mingled feelings of relief and renewed hope for our institutions to the Hebrew children of the Educational Alliance in New York City, who, on every Friday at noon, thus salute the flag:

"Flag of our great Republic, inspirer in battle, guardian of our homes, whose stars and stripes stand for Bravery, Purity, Truth and Union, we salute thee! We, the natives of distant lands, who find rest under thy folds, do pledge our hearts, our lives, and our sacred honor, to love and protect thee, OUR COUNTRY, and the LIBERTY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE forever."

In answer to all this we are soothed with the assurance that the few really do it better than the many. And as the cap sheaf of this comfortable theory our attention is called to the munificent gifts made in recent years to libraries, hospitals, and colleges.

I would not impugn the motives of any man, high or low,

rich or poor, who finds it in his heart to do a noble thing and does it.

But from an economic and political standpoint, it is well to remember that if all the benefactions from plutocracy for a hundred years were added together, they would not equal a tithe of the vast sums annually wrung from the American people by legalized robbery and covert disobedience of the law as it is written.

And even the master of Skibo castle, if he expects to realize his ambition of dying a poor man, must mend his gait in giving, unless, perchance, the oil king should cast his standard eye on the Scotchman's hoard and apply his infallible remedy of "benevolent assimilation." In that event, the great philanthropist, except for the treasure he has laid up in heaven, might contemplate, in a full assurance of faith, the vision of a mule and a cart bearing a pine box to the potters field.

And, after all, the average American likes to earn what he gets and to keep his earnings large enough to go into the giving business himself, in a modest way. He has heard that it is more blessed to give than to receive. And it is written, "obedience is better than sacrifice and to hearken than to the fat of rams."

The American idea of government is *not* the rule of one or of a chosen few, not the recognition of the right of any one man or set of men to give laws to a greater number of men, not the lodging of power in any form, without limitation, in the hands of man or men.

Our ideal is that of the Declaration and the Constitution as we have been taught it—a government of the people. Not of the rich people, not of the poor people, not of the good people, not of the bad people, not of the learned people, not of the ignorant people, but of all these, fused in the crucible of public safety and happiness into one single mass—The People.

Their agents and representatives, under constitutional forms, for limited periods, exercise on behalf of the people the full powers of government. And this united voice of all the people

is majesty. The individual voices are hushed, but the voice heard is the voice of all. As if one, floating down a river, should round a headland

"And behold the many sounding sea.  
 Silent the rivers now, but the great tide  
 Beats on the shore. And where the rivers sang  
 Shrilly, alone, they now, in choral notes,  
 Roll a great, vibrant organ symphony."

That is American Democracy.

From 1856 to 1865 Lincoln demonstrated his proposition that the Government could not continue half slave and half free. No hybrid government can long exist anywhere.

This government is either a Constitutional Democracy or an Aristocracy of wealth. It cannot be both at one and the same time. If the American people are slipping, imperceptibly and unconsciously, out of Democracy into Aristocracy, the duty of the hour is to acquaint them with the fact.

If the people have a mind to preserve their liberties and the government of the Constitution then these things must be done.

1. The law *must be* kept. Those who love and keep the law must be protected by it. Those who break it must not invoke its protection, but bend the neck to its penalty.

2. Justice *must be* established.

3. Equality in Life, Liberty and Property *must be* restored, as it will be when the people, under the Constitution, fully "establish justice."

WM. J. HENDRICK.

*New York City.*



## II. THE FAILURE OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

WHAT have been the results of a century of representative government? Do our legislatures and common councils stand as high in popular estimation to-day as they did a century ago? To ask that question is to answer it. They do not. The Boston *Herald*, of March 21st, said in speaking of Addick's buying of voters at the polls:

"In larger states than Delaware, the operation has to be more scientific. Quay looks upon Addicks with the calm superiority of a skilful operator who has got beyond the rudiments of corruption. Quay goes to the legislature or to the man on his way to the legislature and, in purchasing him, commands a support of which Addicks has no conception. It is a great deal slicker to buy your voting strength in one operation than it is to make it depend on a matter of detail."

How it has been done in New York State is told thus by W. A. White in a sketch of United States Senator T. C. Platt in *McClure's* magazine: "Every interest that might, should, would, or could be affected by State legislation needed a lobby at Albany. The result was a large and expensive third house." He then goes on to tell how Platt organized this lobby into a system and centralized its power into his own hands, and the writer says: "The necessity of an expensive lobby at Albany is avoided, and, if the matter is not too culpable, the wishes of the people in the matter have merely an academic interest. What we call popular government is abrogated by the purchase of privileges."

The recent revelations made in Rhode Island largely through the exposure of her able and statesmanlike governor further emphasizes the extent to which bribery and corruption are being carried on under our representative system manipulated as it now is by political rings and bosses largely under the direction of organized wealth. The *New York Nation*, of July 16th, in an editorial dealing with bribery in Senator Addick's bailiwick said:

The case of Rhode Island continues to attract public attention. At first people were shocked to learn of the extensive bribery by which a corrupt oligarchy owns the government and sells legislation to the highest bidder; now they are even more shocked to observe that the system is not merely tolerated, but is actually defended by some of the "best" people of the State, leaders of opinion. The daily press of the country is still echoing the defiance of the Aldrich-Brayton ring, uttered in the editorial columns of the *Providence Journal*. The argument for bribery rests on three contentions:

(1) Bribery in Rhode Island is no more serious than elsewhere.

(2) If it were not for bribery, Rhode Island might go Democratic.

(3) Talk about government by majorities is shallow hypocrisy, for "there is not a State in the Union which is not now ruled by an oligarchy."

The most recent and startling exposure of the essential rottenness of municipal and State government has been made through the tireless labors of the Hon. Joseph W. Folk, in Missouri.

The story of some of this corruption was told by Mr. Folk in a public address, delivered on August 4th of the present year, at Florence, Missouri, and as the subject is of such interest to all friends of Democracy and because it affords another striking illustration of the failure of representative government, we quote at length from this notable address.

There are many honest public servants in Missouri; there are many who have come through the fiery ordeal of investigation unharmed and unashamed. There are also many officials in Missouri who have been conscienceless, and their cupidity has been such as to shock the civilized world. These and their allies have fastened themselves like vampires on the State, and it will require the best efforts of good citizens to dislodge them. These conditions are the outgrowth of the commercialism of our times. The revelations of official corruption in St. Louis and Missouri read like a tale from the "Arabian Nights." Officials elected to represent the interests of the city betrayed their trust and sold themselves for gain. Combines were formed in the House of Delegates and City Council. These combines held regular meetings in due parliamentary form. Prices were fixed on all ordinances of any value; prices not for the city, but to go into the itching palms of these public pilferers. There is to-day locked up in two safe deposit boxes in the city of St. Louis one corruption fund of \$135,000, which has been used as evidence in court. This was put up by the legislative agent of a street railroad company, in response to a demand from members of the municipal assembly as bribes for their votes in passing a franchise ordinance. For another franchise \$250,000 in bribes was paid to the members of the preceding assembly. This franchise was afterward sold for \$1,250,-

ooo, but the city received not a cent. Twenty-three of the twenty-eight members of the House of Delegates took bribes of \$3,000 each for this franchise. Seven members of the council obtained from \$10,000 to \$17,500 each for their votes. One councilman was given \$25,000 to vote against the franchise and afterward accepted \$50,000 to vote in favor of it. He returned the \$25,000 to the man who gave it to him, saying he did not believe he could "honestly" keep it without "earning" it by giving his vote in accordance with the terms of purchase. Upon reflection he likewise sent the \$50,000 back, with the hope of getting more. He finally voted for the ordinance with the expectation and under promise of obtaining \$100,000 for his vote. His friend, the promoter, disappointed him by leaving the city early the next day without paying him. More in sorrow than in anger the official tracked the promoter to New York, and after much difficulty succeeded in obtaining \$5,000, but not until the promoter had him sign a certificate of character saying, "I have heard rumors in St. Louis that you paid members of the assembly for their votes. I want to say that I am in a position to know, and I do know that you are as far above offering a bribe as I am above receiving one." This was literally true, as the official had taken bribes right and left, and the promoter had boodled on a gigantic scale in getting his bill through the municipal assembly. Seven members of the council, elected to serve the people at a salary of \$300 a year, were paid a regular salary of \$5,000 yearly to represent corporate interests. A lighting bill was bribed through the House of Delegates for \$47,500. The bargain was made right on the floor of the House. The money was given to one of the members, and after the meeting they met in the home of one of their number, where the "pie" was cut and the money divided. . . . Nineteen members of another House of Delegates obtained \$2,000 each as bribes for their votes on still another franchise.

Men would run for a seat in the municipal assembly with the sole object of making money by the prostitution of their position. The scheme of corruption was systematic and far-reaching. The people were careless; the public conscience was asleep. These city legislators went on without hindrance. They devised a scheme of selling the water works, which belonged to the city, for \$15,000,000, the works being worth about \$40,000,000. They planned to get \$100,000 apiece for their votes on this. The proposed sale failed, because of a wise provision of the city charter forbidding unconditional aliena-

tion. Then their gloating eyes fell on the old court house with the gilded dome. They thought of selling that. They hoped to obtain \$100,000 apiece for their votes on this. Then they concluded to sell the Union Market, but the market men had considerable political influence. With this and the sum of \$20,000 they raised and paid the members they succeeded in stopping the sale. Then came the exposure. Now some of these representatives are fugitives from justice in foreign countries: others have turned State's evidence; the remainder have faced juries, and eighteen of these givers and takers of bribes have received sentences ranging from two years to seven years in the penitentiary.

The lieutenant governor of the State has confessed to more boodling than it was thought possible for one man to commit. The honor of the State has been peddled around by the seekers of bribes in return for official influence. The lieutenant governor himself distributed bribe money amongst certain senators. Thousand-dollar bills have been caught sight of here and there with senators in hot pursuit. It is related of a senator that he sold his vote on a pending measure for \$500, receiving the bribe in one bill. He took the train on his way home. Having to ride all night, he engaged a sleeping car. While he was asleep the porter stole his purse containing the \$500 bribe money. When the senator awoke the next morning and discovered his loss he was indignant. Suspecting the porter, he had that person called before him, and accused of the larceny. The porter became frightened, confessed and returned the money. The senator handed the porter a \$5 bill, saying, "I could send you to the penitentiary for this, but I will not do so. Instead I give you this advice, which you should keep in mind the rest of your life, wherever you may be, under any and all circumstances, remember that honesty is the best policy."

An ex-member of the Massachusetts General Court said publicly recently: "My experience taught me that the great abuse is the large number of measures introduced every year for improper purposes. I refer to what are known as 'strike' bills. These bills are intended to threaten corporations and their promoters stand ready to agree to their rejection for a consideration. Every member knows that this condition exists and yet it meets with no official condemnation."

Hundreds of other evidence of the degeneracy of our legis-



latures could be given by anyone at all conversant with the press and thought of our time. Only one more will be cited. A recent issue of the *Banker's Magazine* said: "More and more legislatures and executive powers of government are compelled to listen to the demands of organized business interests. That they are not entirely controlled by these interests is due to the fact that business organization has not reached its full perfection. Eventually the government of a country, when the productive forces are all mustered and drilled under the control of a few leaders, must become the tool of those forces. There are many indications in the control of legislatures that such is the tendency at the present time in the United States." Here is a plain, straight declaration not by a reform paper but by the organ of the bankers in the United States, that, following the methods already begun and well under way, our representative system is to be turned into a tyranny by a few, and under the cover of its forms the rule of the people is to be done away with completely.

Formerly anyone could get a measure introduced and discussed. Now, it is often the rule that important bills are referred to committees and never come from them. In the lower house of congress a measure cannot be brought up for discussion without the consent of the speaker and the committee on rules, and even when some measure is under discussion a member cannot be recognized to speak on it without first getting the consent of the speaker, and often the speaker will ask him what he wants to say and whether the speaker agrees to recognize the member depends on the speaker's opinion of what the member proposes to say. So completely is the power of initiating or starting any law centralized and taken not from the people but from the people's representatives.

Jefferson, in 1783, said: "If the present congress errs in too much talking, how can it be otherwise in a body to which the people send one hundred and fifty lawyers whose trade it is to question everything, yield nothing, and talk by the hour. That a hundred and fifty lawyers should do business, should not be expected." And we cannot help remembering Beecher's

prayer: "O Lord! keep us from despising our legislators but O Lord! keep them from behaving so that we cannot help it."

The most precious power that a people possess is the power of initiating, of starting, of creating. That power is being crushed out in our legislative work. Direct Legislation would restore it. This is the great argument that I would make for Direct Legislation. It gives to the people the freedom to begin. They can really make their wants and wishes known unhampered save by a few, simple conditions necessary for the orderly exercises of that power.

Freedom is the greatest blessing we can have in our public and organic life. We claim it as the greatest blessing for the individual but we are coming to a new, a greater and an infinitely finer idea of freedom, the freedom of each community to act for itself, the freedom of the city in the affairs which only concern itself to act for itself, for the commonwealth to act for itself in purely state affairs, for the nation to act for itself in national affairs. We are coming to the birth of the social consciousness, to the feeling that each city is an organic whole, has a character and life of its own different from that of others. The Initiative will be the means by which the organic community will say what it wants and the Referendum the means by which it will finally determine what it wants. There may be stumbling, halting steps at first. There may be mistakes made, but give me the mistakes of freedom rather than the peace of rulership. As our American poet, Sidney Lanier, has well said:

"For Weakness, in freedom, grows stronger than strength with a chain;  
And Error, in freedom, will come to lamenting his stain,  
Till freely repenting he whiten his spirit again;  
And Friendship, in freedom, will blot out the bounding of race;  
And straight Law, in freedom, will curve to the rounding of grace;  
And Fashion, in freedom, will die of the lie in her face. \* \* \*  
And Science be known as the sense making love to the All,  
And Art be known as the soul making love to the All—  
And Love be known as the marriage of man with the All—  
Till Science to knowing the Highest shall lovingly turn,  
Till Art to loving the Highest shall consciously burn,  
Till Science to Art as a man to a woman shall yearn,

—Then morn!

When Faith from the wedding of Knowing and Loving shall purely be  
born,  
And the Child shall smile in the West and the West to the East give  
morn.  
And the Time in that ultimate Prime shall forget old regretting and  
scorn,  
Yea, the stream of the light shall give off in a shimmer, the dream of  
the night forlorn."

ELTWEED POMEROY.

*Newark, N. J.*



### III. JUDGES ATTACK OREGON AMENDMENT FOR MAJORITY RULE.

**M**ACHINE rule is the political evil of our times. This rule of the few is terminated where the people take to themselves a veto power through the optional referendum, and the power to direct initiative legislation. The final power is in the voters and the result is a termination of private monopolies and other special interests, a readjustment of taxation, and a general advance to a higher civilization. Switzerland has benefited by this system for over a quarter of a century. South Dakota has had the system since 1899, and Oregon during one session of its legislature. One of the remarkable things is that not a bill has been ordered to a direct vote in South Dakota or Oregon, and not a bad bill has become law under the optional referendum. The mere existence of the system has been effective; and such has been the case with the power to directly propose measures and have them put to a direct vote.

Of course such a great change calls forth the opposition of the special interests whose very existence is at stake—monopoly, especially and the liquor interests. The opening gun in the courts has sounded.

Recently it has been decided by four judges of the circuit court in Oregon that the referendum and initiative amendment to the state constitution is invalid. The opinion was given on a demurrer to the complaint of land owners against the city of Portland in a street assessment case.

The reason assigned is irregularities on the part of the legislative assembly in dealing with the amendment. The case is to go to the Supreme Court of the State, "with a probability," writes Hon. W. S. U'ren, a lawyer at Oregon City and father of the amendment, "that the decision of the lower court will not be sustained."

But should it be decided that all the constitutional amendments for the referendum and initiative are invalid it will simply advertise the fact that monopoly and certain other special interests are opposed to more power in the people, *while the system objected to will be immediately installed again by pledging all candidates for the legislature to vote for rules of procedure whereby the people may instruct their representatives.* This system is practically the same as that provided for by the constitutional amendment and is not open to attack.

That the voters in the states will install rules of procedure for majority rule, should the constitutional amendment be annulled, is borne out by what has taken place in Detroit and other cities. Some two years ago the aldermen of Detroit were elected while a state law conferred on the voters of the city a veto as to street railway franchises. Later the supreme court declared the law invalid and the aldermen started in to extend the life of private monopoly in street railways. But a halt was called by a Citizen's Committee, headed by Frederick Ingham, assisted by G. R. Weikert. This committee consulted with the committee on street railway franchises and proposed a rule of procedure to be adopted by the common council, providing that all franchises for public utility should, before final passage, lie on the table for sixty days, and if five per cent. of the voters should demand a direct ballot, it should be so ordered.

The practicability of the proposal was certified to by the corporation counsel and other lawyers. The aldermen had to admit that there existed a means whereby their pledges for the referendum could be fulfilled and they at once dropped the proposal to extend the street railway franchises, and a few months before the next election of aldermen a rule of pro-

cedure along the lines above specified was proposed in the common council and unanimously adopted. In the campaign the candidates for aldermen were pledged to continue the system.

This rule of procedure system, which originated at Winnetka, Illinois, has been adopted also in Geneva, Illinois. In Chicago, a year ago last April, a majority of the aldermen elected were pledged to the rule of procedure system, and a year later a majority of those elected were also pledged; then the council by unanimous vote requested the legislature to enact a statute for the referendum of street railway franchises, which it did. Waco and San Antonio, Texas, have adopted the rule of procedure system, and through it the people of Waco have prevented an extension of the franchise for private waterworks and are securing public ownership.

At Toronto, Canada, last January, candidates for aldermen and mayor were pledged to vote for rules of procedure for a people's veto and direct initiative.

It is clear, then, that a majority rule system can be installed without a constitutional amendment or statute.

An attack on the constitutional amendments for majority rule in all the states has been made by corporation attorneys, through the columns of the *Central Law Journal*. It is claimed that an amendment to a state constitution providing for people's veto and a direct initiative is in conflict with the provision in the Federal constitution which guarantees to each state "a republican form of government."

The answer, in brief, is that "republican form of government" means *a government in which the sovereign power is in the people, as distinguished from sovereignty in a king or less than a majority.*

This is the meaning placed upon the word by all the writers of the Revolutionary period, and in *The Federalist*, letter XLIII expounds with indisputable clearness that the framers of the constitution aimed to prevent the establishment of monarchy or aristocracy. This construction is borne out by the provision that no State shall grant titles of nobility. Furthermore, in the report of Maryland's delegate, Attorney-General

Martin, he expressly states that nearly a majority in the convention wished to establish a Monarchy.

The decision as to what is a "republican form of government" is with Congress and not with the Supreme Court. Repeatedly it has been Congress or its agent, the Chief Executive, who has decided what constitutes a republican form of government. Several cases in the Supreme Court recognize this fact.

Congress has not been called upon to declare that majority rule as to questions of public policy is un-republican, nor is there any probability that it will so decide.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

*Washington, D. C.*

## THE CRIMINAL TREATMENT OF CRIME.

**I**N every large city, there is a class of minor offences against good order and municipal ordinances and regulations, which have been punished in a crude, unjust, and often cruel manner. The cases are hurried through the Police Courts, and the victims hauled off in wagon-loads for punishment in workhouses. Society has intermittent and senseless spasms of indignation against this class of offenders, but has really taken little practical interest in them and the problems which they present. They are poor, weak, morally defective, and very human. In many cases they are the victims of conditions and circumstances which would have wrecked the best of us. To know "the path up which the crime has come" would often substitute pity for punishment.

Having been called from the active ministry to a department of the city government, which included the care of the workhouse, or House of Correction, I found myself face to face with these offenders against the social order. With the support of Mayor Johnson, who gave to the movement his authority and his hearty approval, we pardoned and paroled, during the two years of his first administration, eleven hundred and sixty prisoners. The fact that, during the previous administration, only eighty-four were pardoned, indicates the departure from the established method. The traditional thought concerning these people has been that they are an outcast class by themselves. On seeing the prisoners together, some good friends have said with surprise: "They really look just like the people outside." They are like the rest of us. If they are injured by the machinery in the prison shop, they bleed. They are responsive to thoughtfulness and kindness.

Of the eleven hundred and sixty pardoned and paroled, one hundred and seventy-three have been returned. This is little more than one-half of the percentage of those who formerly

returned, after working out the full measurement of their punishment. This may indicate that a wise selection was made, or what is more probable, that the quality of mercy shown has added strength and virility to their resolutions.

Each case is considered, not as a part of an outcast class, but as an individual with a personal history of human interest. The mother of a family of small children comes, asking for the release of a drinking, neglectful husband. He is a carpenter, and can get work at good wages. If he stays his full time, he will come out in mid-winter, with his summer clothes and straw hat. There will be no opportunity for work. If the greatest sufferer, his wife, is willing to forgive him, and give him another chance to support his family, why should the city stand between them?

The pressure of necessity, and an unusual opportunity to do wrong, sometimes combine in an overpowering temptation. A man out of a job, with a needy, hungry family, is abnormally susceptible. Our local papers appeared one day with headlines "Greater love hath no man than this." A lineman had rushed to the rescue of his fellow workman, who had been caught by a live electric wire. Fifteen years of experience in this work had made him familiar with the risk and danger. He grasped the wire. The fatal shock passed through his own body. He had saved his comrade, but lost his own life. He was called a hero. He was one of our paroled prisoners from the Workhouse. His Police Court sentence was thirty days, \$50 and costs, for stealing. He had been out of a job, with a wife and a little child dependent upon him. This man was not a thief in his heart.

Thirty days, \$25 and costs is a sentence sometimes given for what the prisoners call "just an ordinary plain drunk." In so far as drunkenness is a disease, our methods of treating it are unreasonable. Jerry Donovan has been sent to the Workhouse eighty-eight times for intoxication, and he is not yet cured. He grew up as an English sailor boy, and drifted to the Great Lakes. He is about sixty years of age, has had a rough life, but when sober, is industrious and honest. He



has not the face of a criminal. Libby Kelly has been sent to the Workhouse seventy-nine times. During a period of twenty-four years she spent over sixteen years in prison. She said to me: "I don't think they have done me much good in sending me out here."

Three men have taken their own lives in the face of the desperate struggle with the drink habit. The hopelessness of the outlook led them to suicide. To send such to an ordinary Workhouse for thirty or ninety days is neither just nor humane.

There is an army of unfortunate and weak men who are sickly, defective, or crippled. In our modern industrial system there seems to be no place for them. In summer they are just able to make their way, but winter leads them to offenses for which they are put in prison. Under present conditions, for the weak and friendless to degenerate into the vagrant or tramp class is not surprising. Pathetic though it may seem, it is not at all uncommon for men to ask to be arrested and sent to the Workhouse.

The crowd and rush of the Police Court forbids thorough examination into the sanity and responsibility of the accused. A slightly demented grandmother, seventy-two years old, was sent out to the Workhouse. A German woman, insane and about to give birth to a child, received a severe sentence. The same condemnation fell upon an old negro, whose insanity appeared in the wearing of numberless badges on his coat. These were all transferred to other institutions where they received proper treatment.

Men are sent out for from sixty to ninety days on the ground of suspicion, without any further investigation, and without positive evidence of guilt.

The hasty judgments are sometimes not only unreasonable, but vicious. A ruddy, innocent country boy was given a long sentence for going out on his father's farm with a hired man, who shot at a crow. It was claimed that the boy was guilty of a technical violation of the game-law.

The custom of making confinement exchangeable into a fine results in what is really imprisonment for debt. Here are two

men sent to the House of Correction for ten days, \$10 and costs. After the ten days, one has money to pay his fine, but the other one cannot pay fine and costs, and, consequently, remains in prison for an additional twenty days. While technically not so, it is practically imprisoned for being poor. Two boys were implicated in the breaking of a window. One of them, who had a comfortable home, was released because his father paid his fine. The other boy, Henry Kirchner, had no home. His mother was dead, his father was a drunkard. The poor boy had no money, and was sent to the Workhouse for three weeks.

A notorious pick-pocket. Henry Jones, with many aliases, asked for a pardon and was refused, as it was evident that his only desire was to be free to prey on society. It was truly said that justice and the good of society demanded his confinement, but his friends paid his fine of \$56.50, and he went out a free man, and that too in the name of justice.

If the good of the offenders or of society demands that the prisoner should be held thirty days, he should be so held, regardless of his social and financial standing. Of the eleven hundred and sixty pardoned and paroled, over nine hundred had worked out the days of their sentences, and were confined on account of fines. In other words, if they could have paid the money, more than nine hundred of those paroled could have gone out free before we even considered their cases.

The crudeness and cruelty of our methods is most manifested in dealing with the women. The low wages paid in the stores and factories lead girls and women into sin and shame. A girl seventeen years old had been arrested for stealing to the amount of less than a dollar in value. Shut up in her iron cell, she was heartbroken. She did not understand how she could have yielded to temptation, and committed the theft. In speaking of her home life, she said she was working nine and a half hours a day for \$3.50 a week. She had worked over a year for \$2 per week. She was helping in the support of her widowed mother and two small children. The crime society was committing toward the girl was infinitely more than her

crime. Our social and industrial conditions are constantly crowding girls and women into lives of shame. These victims of social wrongs are brought in wagon-loads for punishment. The courts have been supported in part by the fines they pay.

In one of the local papers, a touching story appeared of one of these young women who was friendless, and who asked the privilege of making her home for the time in the Work-house. Her request was granted, and there were over twenty offers of help and friendship. Most of them were genuine, but one woman from the aristocratic part of the city, offered to give the girl "a good home" provided she would do all the work, washing and ironing, for \$1.50 a week. Another offered, on the same conditions, "a good home" and \$1 a week. One of these young women, when arrested, attempted suicide by cutting her own throat, and after the wound was dressed, she even tore off the bandages. One of the most hopeless cases is now an officer in the Salvation Army. Of the fifty-two women who were paroled in one year, and for whom places of employment were found, only four returned. The lack of opportunity to earn a comfortable living is the dead wall in life's path-way by which many are turned aside into the by-ways of misery, vice and crime.

The boys in their mischievousness and depredations have been driven downward by the same hard treatment. The children of the slums have a poor chance, and the wonder is that they do so well. Arrest these boys, call them criminals, send them to jail, is a short way, but the devil's way. Since the coming of the Juvenile Court, the sight of from eight to twelve boys in the Police Station is no more. Some of these boys were arrested and branded as jailbirds for stealing apples or pears. Some good men would have been lost to the State and even to the Church, if every boy who has taken apples, peaches, or watermelons had been branded as a criminal. One lad, twelve years old, hung himself in the county jail. A boy with the nerve to make a rope of his sheet, and put it around his neck, must have had in him the possibility of great power.

The future of society depends on the solution of the prob-

lems of the weak, the unprivileged, and the outcast. Thoughtfulness, service and ministry to "one of the least of these" is not merely a pleasing sentiment, but it indicates the only rational method of social progress. To open opportunities for the poorest and the weakest is to render the highest and most permanent social service. It is economy as well as justice for society to give more thoughtful attention to the unfortunate and the criminal, to the social wreckage of our modern life. To despair of these is to lose hope for the world. In 1900, the last years of the old regime, the average number of prisoners in the House of Correction in June, was four hundred and ninety-one. The average for June, 1903, was two hundred and twenty-four, at which time, according to our police officials, the city was unusually orderly and quiet. The men are apparently at work again, as useful members of society. We have the records of many who are occupying good positions and are doing faithful service. The kindlier treatment has not increased crime. What is equally important, it has added a little more of the humane spirit to our body social.

HARRIS R. COOLEY.

*Cleveland, Ohio.*

## FLORENTINE DAYS.

FLORENCE is a dream, an enchantment, an atmosphere, rather than a city in Italy. It is utterly unique, and has nothing in common with Rome, or Naples, or Venice, or Milan, or Genoa. One even forgets that it speaks the same language, so wholly is the Tuscan city a vision, a memory and a prophecy. Amid the stately sculpture of Santa Croce; the dim shadows of the Duomo with the blaze of scarlet light from pictured windows; the rich treasures of the Pitti and the Uffizi; the historic past of the Palazzo Vecchio, or in the cloisters of Santa Maria Novella—amid these are gathered impressions that lie in one's character, moulding and influencing all the after life, filling it with shapes of beauty and dreams of color. The richest in pictorial art of any city in Italy; the most enthralling in that marvelous past that lives again in the present; the most fascinating in its romance; the most enchanting in its amethyst atmosphere, Florence holds over her lovers a mysterious power. After leaving "la bella Firenze" one comes to wonder whether the fair city, set gem-like amid her mountains, is a dream or a reality, and approaching her again she seems mirage-like—a memory city only, and one is conscious of surprise when the vast dome of Santa Maria del Fiore is again in view silhouetted against the horizon. In the bewildering days of early May the dazzling blue of the skies gleams through luminous air over the rose-flushed amethyst of the mountains; the pale gold of the Marechal Niel roses contrasts on the hill-side with the eglantine and the masses of Florentine lilies that bloom at the foot of gray stone walls, filling the air with fragrance. Every nook and street is vocal with song from strolling musicians; and in the splendor of moonlit nights, while the stars hang over San Miniato, and the Arno reflects the myriad lights from the old palaces that line its banks, one feels all the indescribable spell that Florence lays upon her lovers.

Never were history and art interwoven in closer relations than in Florence. Florentine art is, indeed, simply consecrated by the nobility, the sacrifice, the loftiness of purpose out of which it springs, and the glory of its past still lives in every church and gallery. Loitering, one day, in the grim shadows of San Lorenzo, I looked down and found I was standing on the very slab of marble that covered the grave of Cosimo I. of the Medici; the man whose learning and whose enthusiasm for the arts and sciences made Florence, during his reign and, afterward, the metropolis of liberal arts. On this slab of porphyry was an inscription recording that Cosimo di Medici, "Pater Patrie," rested beneath, and that he died in the August of 1464. What a panorama of history has filled the five and a half centuries since that date. When Cosimo died America was not discovered. Europe was in its medieval darkness. The world has practically been created anew since that remote date.

Cosimo I. seems to have been a man of tremendous force and vast intellectual energy. Every gallery, and church, and piazza in Florence has traces of him, in statue, bust, portrait, tablet, or monument. When he came into power he annexed Sienna to his dukedom; he reopened and extended the University of Pisa; he enlarged the port of Leghorn, thus giving a great impulse to commerce, and he promoted learning and communicated a great impulse to art in Florence. Cosimo married the Duchessa Eleanora of Toledo and they set up their household gods in the Palazzo Vecchio. Here one may climb the long flights of stone stairs to the upper floor from whose windows there is one of the most beautiful and interesting views of Florence. One looks down on the piazza della Signoria where Savonarola was burned; on the loggia, filled with wonderful sculpture, and sees in the far horizon lines the blue line of the encircling mountains. In these rooms there is still remaining furniture used by Cosimo and Eleanora,—inlaid cabinets and tables, great vases, and sofas and chairs in tarnished gilt and faded brocade. In the mean time Luca Pitti had built the grand and spacious Palazzo Pitti, which his

profligate descendants were obliged to sell, and it was purchased by the Duchessa Eleanora and thus became the residence palace of the Medici. It was during its occupancy by Cosimo and Eleanora that the covered passage over the Arno, connecting the Pitti and the Uffizi galleries, was constructed—both to connect the palace with the seat of government (the council chamber in Palazzo Vecchio) and also as furnishing a means of escape in case of attempted assassinations which were events to be counted upon in those days.

It was a curious turn of destiny that the Palazzo Pitti, built by Luca Pitti out of enmity and rivalry to the Medici families, as a means of surpassing the grandeur of any of their houses, should finally come into possession of the Medici. It was in 1441 that Luca Pitti gave to Brunelleschi the order to design him a palace so vast "that the doors of the Medici should serve as models for the windows" of his own, and in 1599 this palace became one of the residences of the Medici family.

It is the Duchessa Eleanora who is the original of Titian's "La Bella." The picture represents a young and beautiful woman with a delicate patrician face, the luxuriant hair coiled in braids, the three-fourths length figure costumed in a rich, brocade gown, décolleté, with long, puffed sleeves. It is in the Pitti gallery, where mornings are rich in their study of the choice masterpieces collected there, and lend themselves to stand in memory as among the treasured experiences of Florentine Days.

LILIAN WHITING.

*Boston, Mass.*

# ONE FROM THE BEGINNING: A PSYCHOLOGICAL STORY.

BY CHARLES BRODIE PATTERSON.

## CHAPTER I.

I FIRST met Warren Clifford at one of the college clubs in New York, where he was introduced to me by a friend. I was impressed by the fact that I had been brought in contact with a most remarkable man. It was not so much what he said as a power that he seemed to exert over his listener. There was something so quiet, yet so magnetic, that you could not help being attracted to him. One felt that here was a man with reserve power great enough to accomplish almost anything. As time went on we grew to be fast friends, and the admiration and respect which I had for him in the beginning deepened into a strong, true affection, which was heartily reciprocated. I frequently was invited to his house to dine, and there met his wife and only son, a bright, manly boy of ten. His wife was very beautiful and extremely talented, being a fine linguist and also an excellent pianist. I enjoyed the evenings spent at Clifford's house more than at any other place I visited. There was something so refined and harmonious in the home atmosphere that I never left their home without having higher aspirations and a desire to live a truer life.

There was something, however, about Clifford that I never seemed to penetrate, an intangible something which made him different from any man I had ever known. I had often thought and reasoned about it, but could reach no solution as to what that something might be.

I met him at the club one night. We had smoked cigars together and I was about ready to leave when he said: "Say, old fellow, dine with Mollie and me to-morrow night. After dinner Mollie's aunt and uncle are going to call to take her to the opera,



and we can spend a nice quiet evening together." I readily accepted the invitation, and was on hand next evening at an early dinner. After dinner Mrs. Clifford, while waiting for her aunt and uncle to appear, sat down to the piano and played a Chopin Nocturne exquisitely. Clifford was sitting so that the light fell across his face, while I was somewhat in the shadow. I was listening intently to Mrs. Clifford's music, and could not help but see Clifford's face very distinctly. All at once it lighted up with a smile of recognition as though he had seen someone. I looked in the direction in which he was looking, but saw nothing but a vacant settee. In doing this I had moved my position very slightly, and the motion attracted Clifford's attention. He looked at me sharply, and there must have been a look of inquiry in my eyes, because I noticed for an instant that he seemed to be embarrassed. It was only for an instant, however; just then Mrs. Clifford ceased playing. There was a ring at the door-bell and the uncle and aunt were ushered in, and a few minutes later all three left for the opera. After their leaving I perceived a slight constraint in Clifford's conversation such as I had not noticed before. I could not think to what to attribute it. Our conversation drifted from one topic to another until I mentioned to him that I had lately joined the Society for Physical Research. The conversation, which had been lagging somewhat, changed, and I found my companion possessed of a fund of knowledge along psychical lines that was almost astounding to me. The subject had never come up in any of our discussions before. Up to a few months previous I had been a sceptic, but certain things coming under my observation had awakened an interest in my mind, and I had decided to make as thorough an investigation into psychic matters as I could.

Previous to this time I had been very much of a materialist, and when I took up this new investigation I said almost nothing about it to my friends. I suppose that was the reason why the subject had never been discussed before in our conversation. "Clifford," I said, "have you ever seen anything that would tend to convince you that people who have passed from this

body can appear again to their friends?" He looked at me intently, but said nothing. His silence was becoming embarrassing, and I felt that I must say something more to break it. Without hardly knowing why, I said: "Did you see someone to-night? Why did you smile while your wife was playing as though you had recognized someone and were glad to see him?" We were sitting on opposite sides of the table in the library to which we had retired to smoke after Mrs. Clifford had left for the opera. His eyes, that had been fixed on me so intently, dropped, and for a minute he sat looking at the floor; then, looking up, he said: "Phillip, I have a great mind to tell you something that no one else knows, not even my wife. It is a strange story, and one that few people would care to believe. Perhaps you may not believe it when I have told it to you." I assured him that so great was my confidence in him that anything he might tell me would never be questioned in my mind. I could see that there was some hesitation in his mind as to whether he should tell me the story or not but after a minute he began, and from this on I shall try to give the story as he told it to me.

He began: "As a boy I must have differed in many respects from other boys; I was never much interested in their plays or games and consequently I did not associate much with them. I loved to go into the woods and to roam about in the fields, to listen to the birds singing. All nature seemed to come very close to me and somehow I felt that I was part of it. My mind was filled with thoughts such as young boys seldom have. In a way I felt myself shut off from other children, and I lived a life very much in myself. Even as a boy I would see things weeks in advance of their coming. I made a confidante of my mother, and she seemed to understand me thoroughly, but she told me not to talk to others about it because they would not understand. One day she told me that it would not be long before she would have to leave me, but that sometimes she would come and see me again, and that she would be able to see and talk with me, but no one else would be able to see or hear her. I was nine years old then. A few weeks after-

ward my mother kissed me and bade me good-night, and the following morning I was told that she was dead; but she was not dead to me, for many times in the years that have come and gone she has come to me to cheer and comfort me.

"When I was ten years old my father moved to the city. Directly opposite our home was a large house with spacious grounds. I used to see a boy of about my own age and a girl perhaps two years younger, playing in the grounds. For quite a number of days I watched them; I was away from the woods and the fields, and for the first time, I think, I longed for the companionship of another boy. My father knew the people in the opposite house, and one day took me with him to call. I was shy and bashful at first, but that soon passed away, because Robert Hartley (that was the name of the boy) was a very social, happy, light-hearted boy, and it did not take me long to become thoroughly acquainted with him, as well as his little sister Mollie, as her father called her. We grew to be inseparable friends and companions. Robert was just as opposite from me as it was possible for two boys to be. He was always interested in games and sports of all kinds, and his interest grew as he grew older. He never cared much about his studies, although somehow he managed to keep up with them, but notwithstanding this we grew day by day to love one another more and more. When I wanted to leave the city and go into the country Hartley, while not caring much for the country, always wanted to go with me, and when he went to his games of baseball and football I was always an interested onlooker, not because I enjoyed the games, but because I wanted Hartley to win.

"He was the life of everything in which he took part, and no boy that went to school was more popular among his fellows than he. The years went by and our fathers decided, because it was our wish, that we should go to the same college. At college Hartley took the lead in all kinds of sports. He was an all-round athlete, rowed, played baseball and was quarterback on the university football team. He was a favorite with everyone. You might have thought that a young man would

have grown weary of a comrade who could not enter into life and enjoy it as he did, but year by year our friendship had cemented until the college boys called us Damon and Pythias. One day Hartley, blushing all over, told me that he had been to a party the night before and had met one of the most beautiful and interesting girls he had ever known. A feeling almost akin to jealousy came into my mind, but I tried to put it away by thinking that it was only a passing fancy of Hartley's, and it soon would be forgotten.

## CHAPTER II.

"As the weeks went by I saw less and less of Hartley. We had been in the habit of spending our nights together studying, but now Hartley, instead of studying, was usually out for the evening. When we were together he could talk of no one but Maude Brandon. Once he said: 'Warren, old boy, you must listen to me, you must see and know her. She is really anxious to meet you. I have talked about you so much that she went to Mrs. Perry herself and asked that you be invited to the ball to be given next Wednesday night; so there is no way out of it, old fellow; you have just got to go.' I had no desire to meet Maude, but I saw it was useless to protest, and, with the best grace I could muster, I consented, very much against my will, however, because I had a presentiment that my going would bring some very great change in my life. I did not see what it was going to be this time; I only felt it.

"The invitation came, and on the appointed evening I was at the ball. Mrs. Perry's ball was the great affair of the season and the rooms were crowded. Soon I caught a glimpse of Hartley talking with a lady on the opposite side of the room. Almost at the same instant he saw me and I could see him speak to the lady, and, making a detour to avoid the people in the middle of the room, he and his companion came toward me. A minute later he was introducing me to Miss Brandon. As we shook hands our eyes met and a thrill went through my whole being.

"In my conversation with her that night, which lasted for some few minutes, I was at my very best. I could see that she was interested. Somehow I was very glad that I had attended the ball. I met Hartley the next day and he said: 'Clifford, old fellow, you were deucedly clever last night; Maude said you were the most interesting conversationalist she had ever met.' I said nothing, but secretly in my heart felt glad. I set myself to work from that time on to get invitations to all the social functions that were going. The society that I had hated and detested in the past I now courted in every way. I tried to make myself agreeable to people, and succeeded to such a degree that invitations kept coming to me from every quarter. At many of the places I met Maude and we grew to be fast friends. At first Hartley looked upon our friendship with favor, but after a time I noticed that he showed a feeling at times almost of irritation, and I could feel that, little by little, we were drifting apart. In the meantime I had asked permission from Miss Brandon to call on her.

"It seems that Maude's father and Hartley's had been classmates at college many years before and the Brandons made as much of young Hartley as they would of an own son, he coming and going as it suited him. There had been no talk of an engagement between Hartley and their daughter, although many people thought it would end in that. I understood something of the circumstances. There was nothing of the flirt in Maude Brandon, but I do think there was something of an uncertainty in her mind as to which she cared for the more, and sometimes I seemed to be the favored one, and at others Hartley. I afterwards learned that Hartley made quite apparent his disapproval of my calling on her. This was our last year at college, so things drifted on until all intercourse between Hartley and myself had practically ceased. I believed that I was gaining in Miss Brandon's affections day by day. One reason for this was the change in Hartley's disposition, which had now become exceedingly irritable and critical. Miss Brandon resented his moods. The consequence was he grew more in disfavor and I grew more in favor.

"The closing days of college had come. We both graduated, Hartley just pulling through and I graduating with high honors.

"Hartley was stroke in the university crew that year and a large party of our friends was made up to go to witness the race. I was asked by the Brandons to be one of a party to go up two days before the race in a steam yacht. When we arrived at the place the Brandons were to stop at a hotel, but I asked permission to sleep on board the yacht. Hartley had gone to his boating quarters two weeks before.

"We left early in the afternoon and did not arrive at our destination until it was thought to be too late to go ashore. We cast anchor and some one proposed a game of whist. I had asked Maude to stay with me on the deck and so we begged to be excused.

"It was a wonderfully beautiful June night. At first we walked up and down the deck, enjoying the beauty of the scene. The harbor was filled with yachts and vessels of all descriptions. The little city with its lights aglare—the whole scene—was delightful beyond description to one who had been kept closely at his studies for a long eight months. After awhile we sat down in the bow of the yacht. Somehow I knew during the day that this night would settle my fate. I felt that I was desperately in love with Maude, and that I could not live without her, and I was vain enough to think that she cared something for me. So there in the bow of the boat, with the moon shining down upon us, I told her my love, and when we arose to go to the cabin she had consented to be my wife. I suppose we both should have been the happiest mortals on earth, but somehow an element of sadness slightly marred our happiness. I am quite sure we were both thinking of Hartley. After Maude had retired I went up to the bow again and sat down. As I sat looking over the water far out to sea, a spell seemed to be cast about me. My mind travelled back to my childhood hours; step by step I went over the whole history of my life. As I sat there Bobby Hartley, as

I used to call him, and Mollie seemed to be with me. I was very fond of Mollie in those far-away days, and she used to say that she loved me just as much as she did Bobby. For a time my mind dwelt on those happy childhood hours. Then came the time for leaving home for college and my mind reviewed the last four years. It was a mingled feeling of triumph and almost a sense of degradation. I felt that I had not played a manly part; that Hartley was really justified in his resentment to me; but as I sat there that all faded out and the very water about me seemed to be tossing in wild confusion. All at once I caught sight of a boat, a small boat with only one occupant, being tossed hither and thither by the waves. The occupant was a man, but I could not see his face for his back was toward me. Just then a great wave capsized the boat, and at that moment the man's face was turned toward me. It was the face of Hartley. There he was struggling in the water for his life, but to no avail. 'Great God!' I said, 'Is there no way to save him?' I sprang to my feet. In an instant everything changed. There was the water perfectly still and the moon shining brightly overhead, and I knew it was a vision such as I had seen many times before concerning things which would come to pass.

"I slept little that night, and early next day I made my way up to the clubhouse where the boat crew was stopping. They had just come in from a spin on the harbor. I knew most of the crew and I had spoken and shaken hands with them when I noticed Hartley standing a little to one side. I went up to him and holding out my hand said: 'Hartley, old fellow, I am glad to see you.' He did not offer to take my hand, but looking me straight in the eyes, said: 'I wish I could say the same thing to you.' Then he said: 'Clifford, may I speak with you for a minute?' I said: 'Certainly,' and so we walked outside the club. After we had gone a little way, he said: 'I have just a few words to say which will only take a minute or two, and then I am done forever.'

"'Very well,' I said, 'go ahead.' 'You know, Clifford, how I have loved Maude Brandon, and I think you know also that she cared something for me until you came between us, and in

her heart I believe that she loves me yet; that she is under your spell; that you exert a mesmeric or hypnotic influence upon her; that she is carried away by the glamour of it all.'

" 'Stop,' I cried. 'I will not allow you to speak of my intended wife in that way.'

" 'Great Heavens!' he exclaimed, 'your intended wife? Has it gone that far?'

" 'Yes,' I said, 'it has. We are engaged.'

"He grew white and pressed his hand to his heart and a tremor shook his body; then the blood came rushing back to his face and a look of anger and hate such as I had never seen before came into it.

" 'Clifford,' he said, 'by all that is true, she is mine, and there is no power in earth or heaven that can take her from me.'

"Trying to keep as cool as I could, I said: 'There is a greater power than you know anything about that will take her from you. In a few weeks, possibly days, you will be drowned.'

" 'What do you mean?'

" 'Only this,' I said. 'Last night in a vision I saw you in a boat. There was a storm, the boat was capsized, and you were drowned.'

" 'So this is more of your devilish black magic,' he said. 'I believed in you once. I believed you to be a true, straightforward man. I may be drowned as you say. You may marry Maude Brandon, but I will come back to earth and haunt you so long as you live, and at last I will claim Maude for my own because she is my own. *We were one from the beginning.*'

"Strange as it may appear, while Hartley was talking all sense of resentment passed away; his words only awakened an overwhelming sense of pity. I knew that he loved Maude. I felt that it was the one great desire of his life to marry her. My own conscience was not quite at rest in the matter. I asked myself, even as I stood there, whether I had acted in a straightforward, manly way, and I could feel no assurance that I had. 'Well, Hartley,' I said, 'I have always been your friend, and feel nothing other than friendship for you now. I am sorry you take the attitude you do, but I suppose there is no help for



it.' 'No,' he said, 'there is no help. Your way and mine part forever. Good day.' And he turned on his heel and walked away.

"That same afternoon Maude and her father called on Hartley only to be informed by an attendant that Hartley said he was going to rest, and did not care to see anyone."

### CHAPTER III.

"The next day was the day of the race and all the large and small craft were gay with bunting. Everything had a holiday appearance. The race was to be rowed at ten o'clock in the morning. A great race had been expected that year as it was thought that the two crews were very evenly matched. Hartley was stroke for his crew. Promptly at ten o'clock both crews were in readiness to start. All at once the starter fired his pistol and they were away. For the first hundred yards Hartley's crew was perhaps a quarter of a length ahead, then the other crew pushed up until they were even, then forged slightly ahead. And so it went, first one boat a little ahead, then both even, then the other a little ahead. It was such a race as had never before been seen. The excited people on the boats and yachts were shouting to encourage their favorite crews as though their very lives depended upon it. The pace was heart-breaking. No one could tell which crew was going to win. Now both boats were even. They were nearing the finish line, only fifty yards away, neither having the advantage. All at once Hartley's boat made a spurt; the other crew gamely responded, but it was too late. Hartley's crew crossed the line less than a quarter of a length ahead, but just as it did Hartley was seen to drop his oar; he fell side-ways, and, in the twinkling of an eye, was overboard. At once everything was in confusion. The boats hurried to the scene. Everyone was looking for him to come to the surface, but to no avail. The hours went by. Divers were sent down and at last the body was found. The man who did more than anyone in his boat to win the race had passed through victory into another life.

"That day was a sad one. The old town did not resound with the cheers of the conquering crew. The students of both colleges left for home at once.

"Mr. Brandon was active in prosecuting the search for the body, and when it was found it was sent to Hartley's home. The accident affected me profoundly. Somehow I associated with it a sense of responsibility, but as the weeks and months passed on it began to fade little by little from my memory. We were nearing the Christmas time, and Maude and I were to be married. We were both looking forward to it with the happiest expectation. At last the day came—that never to be forgotten Christmas day. The wedding was in church and the little building was crowded to overflowing. I felt very proud and happy that bright Christmas morning. At last Maude and I stood face to face with the kindly, old, gray-haired clergyman. The beautiful Episcopal marriage service was finished, and, as my wife and I turned to walk down the aisle, a man faced me. 'Merciful heavens!' I moaned, and fainted away. They carried me out in the cold air, but it took quite a time before I recovered consciousness. No one could understand it. I looked so strong and well. The man I had seen was Robert Hartley, just as he had looked the day I had last met him. I said nothing to my wife or anyone. This secret was locked up in my own breast. I was not the happy bridegroom that I had expected to be during our honeymoon. There was an indefinable dread and apprehension that the end was not yet.

"Our honeymoon was finished and we returned home. I to take up my professional work, and my wife the duties of our little home. We were both happy, but I do not think it was quite the happiness that we had expected. It would be very hard for me to define the intangible something which always seemed to keep us just a little apart, and as the weeks passed this, instead of lessening, seemed rather to grow. The spring-time had come and the earth was radiant in all its glory. The trees were in bloom, and the fragrance of the flowers filled the air. Ours was a delightful little home situated just outside of the city. There was a beautiful little arbor covered with

honeysuckle at one end of the house. I returned early one afternoon in order to take Maude for a drive. The doors of the house were open, but, after looking through some of the rooms and not finding Maude, I thought perhaps she might be in the arbor. As I wended my steps thither, I could catch a glimpse of her white dress through the opening. In a minute I was by her side. She did not see me as her head was bent very slightly forward, and at the same instant I noticed a man with his arms about her. I took a step forward, and by that movement the man's attention seemed to be attracted to me. He turned toward me and I recognized Hartley's face. A look of triumph was on it. Another step and he had vanished. My wife started up. 'Why, Clifford, is that you? I am so glad that you have come,' she said. 'But what's the matter? Your face is as pale as death. Has anything happened?' It was all I could do to retain my consciousness. I staggered to Maude's side and sat down.

"It was some time before I was able to speak. My whole body seemed benumbed, yet my mind was clear and active. The thought came to me, what should I say to my wife? Should I tell her the truth? No. I felt that she would not understand it. Besides Hartley's name had not passed the lips of either of us for months. Any conversation that might lead up to it would quickly be changed by one or the other. My wife was vigorously rubbing my head. When at last I was able to speak I said that I was faint, and if she would kindly bring me a glass of water I thought the faintness would soon pass away. 'How careless I have been,' she said, 'not to have thought of it before,' and she hurried off to get the water. By the time she had returned I had regained my composure to a great degree and turned my best attention to overcoming my wife's agitation. I told her that in all probability the faint was occasioned by my going without lunch. I did this in order to keep her from asking further questions. Within half an hour we went to drive, and by evening I was comparatively myself again. And so the days and weeks went by, and I had begun to think that I had seen the last of Hartley. I had business in

a neighboring city which would require my absence from home for a day or two, and my wife had invited a friend to come and stay with her while I was gone. It was the first time we had been separated since our marriage, so kissing her an affectionate good-by I said: 'Now, Maude, if you need me for anything, be sure you telegraph me to come home.' Promising me she would we parted. I could not help feeling, however, that something was impending. What it was I could not tell, but the fear was ever in my thoughts. At two o'clock on the next day I felt an irresistible impulse to return home. My business had not been completed but the impulse grew on me to such a degree that it absorbed my whole mind. I took the first train for home, arriving in the city late at night, and finding a street car that would take me to within half a mile of my house, I decided to walk the rest of the way.

"It was a beautiful moonlight night. The harvest moon was high in the heavens. It was so light that you could see things very distinctly. As I approached my home I noticed that the only light in the house was in my wife's boudoir. There was a little balcony with windows opening from this room. It was just large enough for two to be seated comfortably. Often during the summer nights had we sat out there and passed perhaps the pleasantest hours of our lives. The roadway which led to the house had trees on either side. Because of their great, overhanging branches one could not see the house distinctly. As I came nearer the house, however, I saw some one sitting on the balcony. I wondered why Maude should be up so late. Just then she arose from the chair. She was dressed in a flowing white gown. She had hardly done so when a man arose from another chair. I could see him put his arm about her waist and the two disappeared through the window and it closed after them. I cannot relate the sensations that crept over me. Anger, jealousy, hatred filled me with a perfect fury. I kept as much in the shadow of the trees as possible, and walking around the house let myself in by a side entrance, crept stealthily up the stairs and stood listening outside my wife's door. At first I could hear no sound, then I heard someone

moving in the room as though they were walking up and down. Every sense was alert. After a few minutes I heard a man's voice say: 'Maude, I love you. I love you with all my heart and soul. I have come for you. I want you to go with me. I want you to leave this very night. Come, my darling.' I could stand it no longer. My blood was on fire. I tried the knob of the door, but it was locked. I threw my whole weight against the door and it gave way. I rushed into the room. My wife had sprung from a couch upon which she was lying. I caught sight of her first. Just then my attention was attracted to the window which was open, and there standing in the doorway with his face toward me was Robert Hartley, the same triumphant look upon his face. I took a step forward and he vanished, just as I sank to the floor unconscious."

#### CHAPTER IV.

"When I returned to consciousness again my wife and the doctor were by my bedside. I looked from one to the other without understanding the meaning. Slowly the scene that I had passed through came to me. I put both hands to my head. Oh! the agony of it all. It seemed more than I could bear. After a little I let my hands fall by my side and opening my eyes I looked at my wife and the doctor. I could see that Maude had an anxious, worried look, and that she was very pale. The doctor bent over me and said a few words about his being glad that I was better, and that he would call again in the morning, and then left the room.

"My wife, drawing her chair close to my bedside, sat down beside me and took one of my hands in both of hers. For a minute we looked into each other's eyes. Then she said: 'Warren, tell me what is the matter? What happened to you? Why did you break through the door?' I could see that she felt there was something wrong and was determined to know what it was. 'Maude,' I said, 'did anything happen to you to-night before I came?' She said: 'Why, no, Warren, what makes you ask that question? When I retired to my room I locked the door and got ready to go to bed, but did not feel sleepy. I

looked out upon the beautiful moonlight night, and I was feeling very lonesome for you, and I decided to sit out on the balcony. It was very beautiful out there, and I sat there for a long time. Then I came back into my room and shut the window, but somehow I did not feel like going to bed, and I lay down on the lounge.' 'But you say, Maude, you shut the window?' 'Yes,' she answered, 'I did, but after a little the room seemed close and I got up and opened it again.' 'Maude,' I said, 'did you hear any voice speaking to you before I broke in the door?' 'No,' she said. 'Warren, what do you mean?' And a look of intense surprise came into her face. I was conscious then that she had known nothing of what had transpired. 'Maude,' I said, 'before I tell you what I mean, I wish to ask you one question. As you sat out there in the moonlight, did you think of Robert Hartley?' A shiver seemed to shake her whole body and she said: 'Yes, Warren, I did. It almost seemed to me as though he was there with me, and I was troubled by the thought of it, and I think that kept me awake.' 'Maude,' I said, 'I am not strong to-night. I feel that I cannot talk much more. Tomorrow I have something to tell you.' She bent over and kissed me, and in a few minutes I was fast asleep. The next day I was restless and nervous and did not feel strong enough to get up, and so I postponed what I had to tell my wife until the following day, when I was feeling much better. Then I unburdened my heart and told her everything. It made a profound impression upon her. After I was all through, she said: 'Warren, are you perfectly sure that all this you have told me is not imaginary?' 'No,' I said, 'it is all real, and now that you know it all we must see what can be done. I do not know what is right. I only know that if this continues I cannot stand it much longer.'

"From that time on there was a perfect freedom between Maude and me in our conversation. The constraint and embarrassment we had sometime felt entirely passed away. About a week later she said to me one evening, 'Warren, I have a brilliant idea. From what you have told me about the astral plane, clairvoyance and clairsaudience, I want to know about it all my-

self. I want my psychic senses developed. I want to see and meet Robert Hartley and tell him that it is really you I love, not him, and that he must not trouble you any more.' I tried in every way to dissuade her, but it was of no avail, and finally she received my unwilling consent to take up the investigation of psychic things and her own psychic development.

"It was not without misgivings that I gave my assent to Maude's plan, for I knew the dangers that lie in the way of any one who would become psychically developed along other than natural lines. It might be asked how one as young as I was could know and understand so much about such matters, but from childhood I had been psychic, and my attention was not only called to the phenomenal side of the question, but I had become familiar with the laws under which certain things take place. While at college I had met a man, an instructor in the college, who had spent years of his life in the investigation of all kinds of occult phenomena, and from him I had acquired much valuable knowledge. Every student of the occult knows of the danger that lies in abnormal development. It is not necessary, however, at this time to explain. I only refer to it to show how fearful I was of the result. Maude insisted that I must do everything in my power to help her, and so I became the unwilling master of a most willing student; not only a willing student, but an apt one, as from the first she made wonderful progress. I was surprised at her quick understanding and the perfectly normal way her development came. We took up together the psychic breathing of the Hindu; meditation, concentration and many phases of psychism. As we progressed I became as deeply interested as Maude. Coming home one night, she said: 'Warren, I have had such a strange experience. I had gone through all the breathing exercises and had lain down on the lounge, and I soon found that the life forces were leaving the extremities of my body, but I had no fear. In a little time it seemed to me as if I had no hands or arms or feet or legs; by and by I felt a pleasurable sensation of being lifted up and floating away. Then I lost all consciousness of body, and all worldly things faded away. There was not even

the consciousness of thinking, and only the most ecstatic state of feeling, which no word can describe.' I questioned her as to whether she was conscious of being on another plane, or if she had seen or heard anyone. No. She had neither seen nor heard anything, only felt perfectly blissful as she described it. From what she told me I knew she had entered into the trance state which comes to people who are almost ready to leave the body and travel in the astral, or the more sublimated body. I tried to impress on her the necessity of caution. I explained to her that if she became once separated from the physical body and became conscious of it that it might cause her mind to be filled with fear, which would make it very difficult for her to come back and control it again. She protested that she was perfectly fearless and that I must not be afraid.

"Just at this time we heard of a wonderful Hindu who was giving instruction in occultism and kindred subjects, and Maude and I went to him and took individual instruction. Under his guidance we acquired much new knowledge and he took a great liking to us both. One day he said to me while I was alone with him: 'Mr. Clifford, I hardly know whether to tell you this or not, but some great force is acting on your wife to loosen her hold on this life. You must use your thought and will to keep her here.' I questioned him closely, but he would say no more.

"One day I had a feeling that something was impending; that a great crisis of some kind was near at hand. What that crisis was I had not the remotest idea, but my mind was so absorbed that everything I did during the day was done in an abstracted way. I returned to my home at night and found my wife in a particularly happy mood, and to a degree her brightness helped to dispel my own despondency. There was an undercurrent at work, however, and every few minutes my mind would be trying to solve the problem as to what would occur next. Something was coming. Of that I was sure. What could it be?

"It had been our custom to go through the breathing and psychic exercises before retiring at night. This night I entered



into it in a very half-hearted way, but Maude seemed to thoroughly enjoy everything she did. Shortly after retiring I went to sleep. I had been asleep perhaps two hours when suddenly I was awakened with a start. I sprang up in the bed. My first thought was of Maude. I put my hand out and it touched hers. Merciful Father! It was as cold and clammy as the hand of the dead. I touched her face and forehead; I bent over her. Oh, the awful shock! She was dead. Just then it seemed as though a shadow was cast on the wall. When we retired the light had been left burning low. I turned quickly. There were Maude and Hartley standing at the other side of the bed, hand in hand. It was more than I could endure. I suppose I must have fainted away, but when I became conscious my hand was resting upon the hand of my wife and it seemed as though the hand was warm. I touched her face again, and it was warm. I bent over her, and the breath was coming. In a few minutes she opened her eyes, and, with a look of surprise, she said: 'Why, Warren, what is the matter? What has happened?' I said: 'Has anything happened to you, dear?' And she said: 'Why, no, I went to sleep right after going to bed. It does seem as though I had a beautiful dream, but I cannot recall it.'

"I slept little that night and was very nervous the next day. Within a day or two I noticed that Maude was not as strong. She did not seem to be as bright or happy as she had been before. Very often she would sit for minutes at a time looking into space as though she was trying to see something. She was losing interest in everything about her. I could feel that her interest in me had lessened. As the days went by this condition seemed to increase. Finally I proposed to her that she should go on a visit to her father and mother, and I would go with her. She acquiesced to my plan, and a day or two later we went. At first, after getting home, she seemed to rally, but it was only temporary. After we had been away a week I had a telegram calling me home on an important business matter that would require my presence for at least a day and a night. I cannot tell you how distressed I felt to leave her that morning. She clung to me and did not want me to go,

and yet the matter seemed so imperative that I could not well put it aside. Then she wanted to go with me, but her father and mother wished her so much to stay that it was decided that I should go and return at the earliest possible moment. And so with heavy hearts we kissed each other good-by. I was in a state of unrest all that day, and when night came I returned to my home—my home that seemed so lonely and deserted. I ate my dinner by myself, and then going into the library took up a book and sat down to read. I read for a time, then dozed off. I wakened from my slumber shivering. The lamp on the table burned low. The light in the room came mostly from the coal fire in the grate. I had a feeling that something was about to happen. What could it be? My attention was all at once attracted to the door. It was moving. Little by little it was opened. I strained my eyes but could not see anyone. Now the door was wide open. I could not speak or move. My eyes were fixed in the direction of the door. All at once I saw two forms and they were very indistinct at first. They were coming toward the open door. A little nearer, now they were in the doorway, now inside of the room, and the light of the fire shone so that I could see their faces. The faces were those of Maude and Hartley. They stood there hand in hand looking at me. The hard, triumphant look on Hartley's face had passed away, and there was a sense of joy and rest in it. I had no sensation of fainting, but I cannot describe what I felt or thought other than in the most indistinct way. As they stood there, Maude, loosening her hand from Hartley's, came toward me and bent over me. Putting her hands on either side of my face she kissed me; once, twice, thrice. Then leaving me she went to Hartley and took him by the hand and brought him to me. He reached out his hand to me in the same old loving way and I grasped it. A minute later and they had gone. I sat there in my easy chair, looking at the open door and again I was startled by the ringing of a bell. I sprang to my feet and went toward the door, but the door was shut. I was dazed. Again the bell rang. I opened the door and I was in the hall. The servants had all retired. I

opened the front door, and there was a district messenger boy with a telegram. I went back to the room, and, lighting a gas jet mechanically, signed for the telegram, and the boy was gone. I held it in my hands. I turned it over. I looked at it. Somehow, I hardly dared open it. But at last it was opened and I read: 'Maude died two hours ago of heart disease. Come at once.'

"Crushing the telegram in my hands I fell to the floor. The servants hearing the noise were awakened and found me there. For weeks I was ill with brain fever. In my delirium I was only conscious that Maude and Hartley were with me. I talked to them, and they in turn seemed to talk to me. It was all very strange to the watchers at my bedside.

"At last one day I recovered consciousness, and, opening my eyes, I saw Mollie Hartley sitting by my bedside. She was fanning me. Seeing my inquiring look she got up from her chair, and bent over me and said: 'Now you must be very quiet and not talk until you are a little stronger. We are all taking the best of care of you and the doctor says you are going to get well.' I smiled at her, and said: 'Yes, Mollie, I will do as you say,' and closing my eyes, in a moment was fast asleep.

"Day by day my strength returned. Little by little it came to me that it was best that it should be so; that it was as Hartley had said. *They were one from the beginning.* Mollie had never known of the breach that had taken place between her brother and myself, and she told me that she had a dream on night shortly after she heard that Maude had passed away and I was taken ill. She said she dreamed that her brother and Maude stood by her bedside; that they looked very happy, and she said it almost seemed to her to be real; that they both said to her to go to Warren. 'He needs your help and care.' She said that next day she could not get it out of her mind, and the next night she had the same dream, and so she had come to me and had cared for me through the weeks of my illness.

"It would be rather difficult to describe my state of mind during the weeks that followed. I missed Maude very much, and yet I had a feeling that she had never been in reality so close to me as she had to Hartley. I had never used any undue

influence such as Hartley had suggested just before the boat race; my mind was free and blameless as regards that. Nevertheless, I could not justify my own course; I had known that Hartley loved her and I had come between the dearest friend I had on earth and the woman he loved. I had separated them for a time, but in God's eternal law that separation could not be a permanent one; for whom He hath joined together no man can put asunder.

"The more I thought about it the more fully I became convinced of the truth of Hartley's statement: '*We were one from the beginning,*' and dwelling on that at last brought a sense of peace and rest to my mind, so that instead of dreading Hartley's reappearance I rather longed for it. It was a number of months before I fully regained my strength, then I determined to take a trip to Europe. The morning I was to leave a number of my friends came to the steamer to bid me good-by. Among others was Mollie. As she bade me good-by I noticed that her lip quivered, and I could notice also that tears stood in her eyes.

"The lines had no more than been cast off when I was longing to be back with Mollie. Every day during the voyage I thought of her, and every day she seemed to grow nearer to me. I spent a week of two in London, and then went to Switzerland where I remained six or eight weeks. I spent a year in Europe, drifting about from one place to another. I wanted to return to America, but something held me back. When a boy I had a longing to go to Egypt, and now that I had the opportunity I made up my mind to go there and spend the winter. Arriving at Alexandria I put up at Shepherd's Hotel. During all this time I had seen nothing of Maude or Hartley. The first night after arriving at Alexandria I passed through a peculiar experience.

"I had just retired for the night, when, like a flash, all the life force left me. I was unable to move any part of my body. My first thought was that I had been paralyzed, but a few minutes showed me plainly that I had separated myself from the physical form. My mind at first was filled with a sensation of fear, but that quickly passed away and a sense of free-

dom and lightness came to me such as I had never before experienced in my life. Just then the thought of Mollie came into my mind, and, for a brief space, it seemed as though I was flying through the air. Oh, the exhilaration, the freedom of it all! It was something that defies description. All at once I realized I was in a room and before me was a young girl with arms on the table and head resting in both hands. I could not see her face, but I knew it was Mollie. As I stood there looking at her, I realized that I loved her as I had never loved before in all my life. Just then she dropped her hands to the table and I could see that her face was pale and had a pathetic look. Her lips moved, and I heard her speak very low, but very distinctly. 'Oh, how I wish he would come home. It is so lonely without him.' Then the head dropped down upon the hands on the table, and I could see she was absorbed in thought. How I longed to make myself known to her! Every particle of my being seemed to throb with love for the woman before me. As I stood looking down upon her I became conscious that someone else was in the room. Looking up I saw Hartley and Maude coming toward us. They were both looking radiantly happy. They went to Mollie and I thought: 'Now she must know that they are there,' because she glanced up with a pleased look on her face. But soon I was conscious that she was not aware of their presence. They both bent over and kissed her, then they came to me and they seemed so glad to see me. I talked with them both as plainly as I am talking to you here to-night. It is not necessary that I should dwell on the conversation. There are some things in life that are too sacred to put into words. One thing, however, was certain; that whatever wrong I had done had been fully forgiven. Another thing I cannot refrain from telling you. Just as we were about to separate Hartley said: 'Warren, Mollie loves you very much. If you do not go to her soon she is likely to join us. Watch over her, dear old fellow. I know you will be kind and true to her,' and then, with a good-by and smiles on both their faces they passed out of my sight. An instant later I had left Mollie's presence and was away on my aerial journey.

"I need not tell you of the wonderful experiences I passed through that night. The things I heard and saw surpass all description. Suffice to say that I returned to the body with a realization such as I had never before experienced; that it was only a temple for the living man.

"That night's experience to some degree changed my whole life. The things that the world hold most dear to me are only the shadows of reality.

"Next morning I sent a cablegram to Mollie that I was coming home, and a few days after I left Alexandria, and in less than three weeks was home. Without stopping anywhere I went directly to Mr. Hartley. I rang the bell and was ushered into the parlor. A minute or two later Mollie came into the room. I cannot tell how it all took place, but, somehow, in less than a minute's time I had Mollie in my arms, and there was a sense of happiness in my heart such as I never hoped to experience in life. Some six months later we were married in the same little church and by the same dear old clergyman who had performed the first service. As the years go by Mollie and I become more and more at one in thought and purpose. There is only one thing in my life that I have not talked to her about, and that is the story I have told you to-night. When you noticed me with what looked to you like a smile of recognition on my face, Hartley and Maude were here. They come to me very often, and apart from Mollie and my mother they are dearer to me than anyone else. I have given you the secret of my life; something I thought should never cross my lips to any human being. What I have told you to me is very real, but to you it may seem the phantasy of a disordered mind. Put your own interpretation upon it."

I again assured him that I not only believed in him as a man, but believed that very word he had told me was true. Just then the bell rang and Mrs. Clifford entered. The hour was late, and so, taking my coat and hat, I bade them good-night, thinking, as I went away, that there were more things in heaven and earth than my philosophy had dreamed.

# TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

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## HENRY D. LLOYD—AN APOSTLE OF PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY.

The cause of progress and human enfranchisement sustained a great loss on the 28th of last September when that valiant apostle of social justice, Henry Demarest Lloyd, passed from earth. He fell with his armor on, dying as he had lived, battling for the cause of Democracy. The cold that developed into a fatal attack of pneumonia was contracted while addressing mass-meetings and working to aid the people of Chicago to rid themselves of the oppression of corrupt public service corporations that have long plundered the people and debauched the public servants.

The past fifty years has produced no finer or more inspiring example of a true son of Democracy than was found in the unostentatious life of this tireless toiler for the happiness of others—this self-forgetting American who, with wealth and culture at command, became a voice for the downtrodden and oppressed and the way-shower of Progress along the peaceful highways of justice.

Mr. Lloyd was born in Belleville, New Jersey, May 1, 1847. He was educated at Columbia University, New York City. After graduating, he became a lecturer on Political Economy. He also studied law and was admitted to the New York bar in 1869. For some time he served as secretary of the American Free Trade League, and in 1872 he moved to Chicago where he accepted a position on the *Chicago Tribune*. Here he labored so conscientiously and so ably, that ere long he was promoted to an important position on the editorial staff. He was with the *Tribune* until 1885. These thirteen years in practical American journalism supplementing his University education and his mastery of law was a vital part of the schooling necessary to thoroughly equip him for the great work he was destined to achieve for the cause of Free Institutions and justice to the wealth creators in the titanic struggle between man and money. His journalistic labors had necessarily taken him behind the scenes where he saw on every hand the unmistakable

evidences of a rapidly rising community of wealth—a commercial feudalism whose growth was as phenomenal as its influence was malign. He realized the truth expressed by a fellow journalist as early as 1880, who, in an eastern daily had said, "While the people of the United States have been dreaming of an enlarged and perfected liberty, a tyranny with the heart and structure of the devil-fish had been growing about them."\*

He had time and again seen startling illustrations of the truth of Shakespeare's words:

"In the corrupted currents of this world,  
Offence's gilded hand may shove by justice,  
And oft 'tis seen the wicked prize itself  
Buys out the law."

He had seen with ever increasing alarm the twining of the tentacles of corporate wealth around the capitol at Washington, the State Legislature and the municipal governments. He had seen other tentacles slowly, silently but steadily and surely enwrapping the great daily press, the colleges, and the churches.

He noted the fact, that time and again labor after being starved and goaded to some overt act by the corporations, whose master-spirit had acquired millions of dollars that had been earned by others, was held up to the world as a dangerous element to be watched and treated much as if it were inherently criminal. The wrongs that the toilers endured were either denied or covered up but the sporadic instances of retaliation were grossly exaggerated and treated as typical of a lawless spirit that it was alleged was characteristic of the workers in factory, mine, and mill. All these things were known to be simple facts by the conscientious journalists of wide experience, and he determined to consecrate his life to the cause of imperilled Democracy and oppressed labor, even though in so doing he would be compelled to unmask the great, daring, and powerful criminals, who cloaked oppression, lawlessness, corruption, and robbery under the mantle of gilded hypocrisy and who, while ruthlessly crushing the weak sought to buy prestige and respectability by bribing the powerful and silencing the voice of justice in the church, the college, and state through lavish expenditure of ill-gotten gold. Scores, if not hundreds, of journalists from one end of the land to the other were as well acquainted with the ominous happenings of the day as was Mr.

\**Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, December 2, 1880.



Lloyd. They knew from recent exposures that the integrity of government was being systematically undermined by corporate power. Only a few years before the New York Anti-Monopoly League\* had shown that the people's servants, not only legislators but the judiciary from County Judges to the Justices of the Supreme Court were being systematically obligated to the public service corporations by those most insidious and effective forms of bribery, "free-passes" and "courtesies." They had, moreover, been acquainted through the publication of the Huntington Letters,† of the secret acts of the two great railroad corporations, the Pennsylvania and the Southern Pacific and of the corrupt practising by which they subverted government and corrupted the people's representatives. Moreover, these journalists had not forgotten the high-handed crime perpetrated in the fair San Joaquin Valley, California, which embraced murder and the wholesale robbery of the helpless farmers by the railroad corporation,‡ and the newspaper men knew that these revelations were typical of crimes being perpetrated by the new feudalism of capital on every hand, yet most of them were very poor. They had to depend on their position for the support of their families and they knew only too well what it meant for the poor journalist to offend corporate wealth. Others had fallen under the deadly spell of materialistic pessimism and held that the power of the Octopus was already so great that resistance would be futile, while a third class cared more for ease, popularity, the creature comforts and preferments than for the cause of Justice and Democracy, and so few voices were raised in behalf of honest industry or against the corruption that already imperilled the republic. Happily for the high interest of justice and civilization Mr. Lloyd possessed in addition to ripe culture and a clean heart, a competency that rendered

\*In 1880 the New York State Anti-Trust Monopoly League gained possession of a number of passes given to the people's servants by public service corporations. Among these free passes was one issued by the New York Central Railroad to a Justice of the Supreme Court, while two other passes were issued to a County Judge, one by the City Steamboat Co., and the other by the D. & H. Canal Railroad Co.

†The Huntington letters were put in evidence in a suit instituted at Santa Rosa, California, by the widow of General Colton, to secure money alleged to be due her husband at the time of his death for services rendered to the Huntington Railroad interest. The letters were, at the time of the trial, published verbatim in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and taken together, formed one of the most amazing records of how the railroads have influenced legislation that has ever appeared.

‡The facts of this famous tragedy created a profound impression at the time. They have been made the subject of two notable novels, the "Octopus," by the late Frank Norris, and "Driven from Sea to Sea," by C. C. Post.

him independent of his chosen profession, and, therefore, it was impossible for the corporations to silence him by demanding his dismissal on pain of the withdrawal of advertisements and the patronage that corporate wealth could control.

It was in 1889 that the great crime against honest industry was perpetrated by corporate greed at Spring Valley, Illinois. It was a black deed, one of those blood spots that stain so many pages of the history of corporations in the United States. Perhaps it was no more tragic or inhuman than many other moral crimes that had been perpetrated; certainly it had no such widespread demoralizing or tragic influence as that which marked the growth of such monopolies as the Standard Oil Company, but within the compass of a single growing town, it would be difficult to find more tragedy or hopeless misery due solely to heartless avarice than was witnessed in this once flourishing, and happy village of Spring Valley, now doomed to gratify the insatiable cupidity of a few millionaires. Here was a concrete example of heartless greed—criminal rapacity that was as typical of corporate methods as it was destructive to the genius of Free Government. It was passing into history with little notice being taken of its enormity when suddenly, clear and strong, a voice of protest rang out.

In 1890, Henry D. Lloyd published that wonderful volume, so simple in diction yet so supremely tragic in its statement, "The Strike of the Millionaires Against the Miners."

It is a history of a crime such as might well bring a blush of shame to the cheek of every patriotic American. It is a simple story, told with directness and force, the work of a careful, painstaking, and conscientious historian, rather than the florid creation of a poet. It is a dark, gruesome, and almost incredible story of brutal moral criminality, but at every point it is fortified with conclusive proof of its accuracy. This book produced a profound impression wherever read. It raised the interrogation and exclamation points before corporate rapacity as they had seldom been raised before. It revealed the fact that America possessed a fine scholar, a careful and authoritative writer, who was absolutely fearless in exposing the most powerful criminals. "The Strike of the Millionaires Against the Miners," however, was but the opening skirmish in Mr. Lloyd's great battle against the aggression of predatory wealth, the oppression of the laboring masses and the corruption of the national government. In 1894 appeared that greatest of all arraignments of corporate corruption and lawlessness, "Wealth Against Commonwealth." This volume is well calculated to

strike something akin to terror to the heart of every friend of Justice and Democracy. The revelations it contained were so amazing, and the exposure of criminality that had proved to be superior to law was so astounding, that the reader could not fail to arise from its perusal with a feeling of profound disquietude. Every page evinced the most careful preparation. The exposures were fortified at every point with incontestable proof. In it the criminal history of the Standard Oil Monopoly has been laid bare and proved to be a story of such moral turpitude as finds no parallel in the history of modern criminal rapacity. It is the history of the rise of a mighty power that has cast a portentous shadow over the republic and which has ruthlessly crushed and ruined competitors on every hand, breaking up and rendering penniless scores upon scores of brave, honest, and upright men, whose only offence was the possession of oil-lands and the refusal to yield them up to the "oil octopus" at a nominal price. Here we find laid bare the details of the famous secret conspiracy with the railroads by which the independent oil producers were wantonly robbed by the public carriers for the enrichment of the Standard Oil Company. Here also is laid bare the facts of the blowing up of the Mathew's Refinery, and here is the history of the corrupt practises which this great trust has employed to influence government. In short, it is a revelation of commercial brigandage that has few if any parallels in the history of civilization. These two books did very much to arouse the more thoughtful of our people, but in each instance they tended to produce a most depressing influence on the mind. They left a feeling of hopelessness as to the outlook, revealing as they did the victorious march of corporate wealth triumphing at every turn over the people and the cause of Justice. The feeling of helplessness born of their revelations inclined many to the belief that it was useless to attempt to battle against such powerful and strongly entrenched influences. "Show us the way out of this labyrinth of iniquity where the very air seems to stupify moral energies." Such was the demand on the part of the conscience element, and Mr. Lloyd was quick to appreciate the importance of following his exposures with works of another kind; works that would show the people a rational and peaceful way out of the darkness into the light of democracy.

He knew that a baleful change had come over the public mind during the past fifty years, that wherein the first half of the last century it was the pride of the American people to be regarded as the political and moral leaders of the governments of the

world—the daring innovators and initiators of popular legislation—now a halting timidity, carefully fostered by the corporations and partisan political machinery, had overtaken the electorate. When a measure was proposed to meet the evils in government and the abuses rife on every hand, the first question asked would be “Where has it been attempted?” “Has any other nation tried it?” and if you answered “no,” the objector at once expressed distrust at the proposal. In a word, Mr. Lloyd saw what all thoughtful friends of democracy have beheld with sorrow and alarm, the government of the United States falling from the high position of moral leader of the progressive peoples to that of a camp follower among the nations. This changed condition, he at once set to work to meet.

At his own expense he sailed to Europe, his first thought being that of making an exhaustive study of the working of Direct Legislation in Switzerland, for he had recognized the fact which all the more thoughtful friends of republican institutions have since come to appreciate, that through the Initiative, the Referendum, and Proportional Representation more than through any other reform measures lies the solution of the gravest problems that confront the republic to-day. On reaching Europe, however, his attention was called to the wonderful work being carried on by the Coöperative organizations of Great Britain and Ireland. He therefore turned his attention to this great movement, and after a personal examination extending over several months, he returned to America and prepared his remarkable volume entitled “Labor Co-partnership,” the first comprehensive account of this wonderful economic movement that had appeared on this side of the waters.

Next, Mr. Lloyd left the comforts of his beautiful home and at his own expense sailed to New Zealand where he spent several months in the careful and exhaustive study of the Democratic innovations in that wonderfully progressive New England of the Southern Ocean. On his return, he wrote two works that have become standard authorities in their special sphere, “Newest England,” and “A Country Without Strikes.” In these volumes are described the marked advance made in New Zealand through truly democratic and eminently successful innovations, including government ownership and operation of railways, telegraphs, and telephones, the Postal Savings bank, government insurance, old age pensions, state employment for out-of-works, the abolition of land speculation through taxation and national court conciliation or arbitration for the settlement of labor disputes. These works like “Wealth Against

Commonwealth" are crowded with authoritative facts of inestimable value to reformers.

Later he went to Germany to make a study of the rise of socialism in the land of the Kaiser.

The great service rendered by this clear-headed apostle of Democracy and Social Justice through his written works has been splendidly supplemented by practical labors in behalf of free government.

Mr. Lloyd in common with the more discerning students of Democratic government early saw that corruption by the corporations and the systematic plundering of the people for the enrichment of a few, had been rendered possible by the virtual taking of the municipal, state, and national government away from the control of the people. This had been accomplished by the united action of the public service companies and other monopolies on the one hand and political bosses gaining control of partisan machines and dictating nominations favorable to the interests of predatory wealth on the other. This unholy alliance was each year more completely wresting the government from the electorate and without change in form or name was transforming the republic into a government completely dominated by corporations and bosses. Nowhere was this more in evidence than in municipal politics where public service companies were robbing the people and debauching their representatives, and Mr. Lloyd, whose residence was at Winnetka, Illinois, headed a movement to secure the benefits of direct legislation in so far as his own town government was concerned. He was the master spirit in inaugurating the now famous Winnetka Rule of Procedure by which all nominees were compelled to go on record before election by stating where they stood in reference to leading issues to be brought before the municipality. The complete victory of the Reformers at Winnetka gave great impetus to the good government movement throughout the United States, and in a large way led to the great national movement now being vigorously pushed by the Federation for Majority Rule under the able leadership of Mr. George H. Shibley.

During the great coal strike Mr. Lloyd was chosen as one of the counsel for the miners, and his services at that time were of inestimable value to the cause of organized labor.

The books to which I have called attention, his work for the restoration of democratic government in the place of the rule of corporations and party bosses, and his defense of the rights

of the working men were, however, by no means all the public labors that mark his fruitful life.

For the last thirteen years, I know no apostle of Social Righteousness who has labored more tirelessly or sanely for the cause of justice and peaceful progress than this noble patriot who was in the highest sense, the friend of man and the servant of God.

And above all else, above his splendid works which will live in the literature of Social Progress, above his personal efforts as a public spirited citizen and as a champion of the toilers, rises his fine, true character.

He has gone, but his splendid work and his glorious life remain. He has gone, yet his work is just begun and his influence will grow with the awakening conscience of the coming years. He was noble in life because he lived completely for the happiness of others. He was triumphant in death, because he leaves behind him an untarnished fame and the finest monument that man can bequeath to humanity—work that will continue to bless and elevate the citizens and dignify and ennoble the state.

"Alike are life and death.

When life in death survives

And the uninterrupted breath

Inspires a thousand lives.

Where a star quenched on high

For Ages would its light

Still travelling downward from the sky

Shine on our mortal sight.

So when a great man dies,

For years beyond our ken,

The light he leaves behind him lies

Upon the paths of men."

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## THE IMPERATIVE DEMANDS OF THE AMERICAN FARMER.

The Farmers' National Congress held at Niagara Falls the latter part of September was one of the most important gatherings of recent years. The convention was marked by the conservative temper which usually characterizes agrarian population during periods of good crops and fair prices. This fact which was constantly in evidence made the adoption of the following outspoken resolutions very significant as showing that the most conservative of the wealth creators are becoming

thoroughly tired of governmental subserviency to public service corporations, trusts and monopolies and to indifference in regard to the wants of the people as a whole.

Whereas, One-third of the revenues of Great Britain are derived from a graduated tax upon incomes, the ratio increasing in proportion to the size of the income and

Whereas, By the change of opinion of one Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, the income tax levied by Congress, which has been constitutional for more than 100 years, was suddenly held unconstitutional, thus transferring \$100,000,000 of annual taxation from those most able to bear it and placing it upon those least able to bear it, whereby already in these 10 years the masses have paid \$1,000,000,000 in taxation which the people through their representatives in both houses of Congress had ordered should be paid by income tax. Now, therefore

Resolved, We earnestly petition Congress to enact a constitutional amendment to be submitted to the Legislatures of the several States empowering Congress to levy a graduated income tax.

Resolved, That this Congress respectfully petitions the Federal Congress to pass a constitutional amendment to be submitted to the several Legislatures providing for the election of United States Senators.

Resolved, That we urge upon Congress the establishment of a parcel post, a postal telegraph, and postal savings banks in order that our postoffice may render as complete a service as the postal systems of other civilized lands.

Resolved, That we favor broadening the parcels transportation facilities of the present postal system by increasing its maximum weight, and decreasing the charge from that now prevailing in the third and fourth-class matter.

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Farmers' National Congress that the Federal Congress and the various State Legislatures should enact such additional legislation as may be necessary to control and regulate all such business combinations (commonly called trusts) as combine for the purpose of arbitrarily controlling the prices and output of all products either of the farmer or factory, as may be inimical to the interests of either producer or consumer.

And that such laws as may have been and shall be enacted shall be strictly enforced, and we respectfully request the executive officers, both Federal and State, to appoint and retain in office only those persons who will faithfully execute such laws.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Congress is hereby tendered the Hon. James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, for his efficient and untiring efforts in behalf of the interests of the agricultural people of this country, and for the comprehensive plan upon which he has organized the work of his department.

Resolved, That we heartily endorse the non-partisan movement for

the extension of the use of the referendum, and recommend the subject to the careful consideration of the farmers in all our States.

These resolutions, coming from the most truly conservative element of our population are highly significant. The income tax decision in which the quick change of front on the part of one of the Judges of the Supreme Court resulted in shifting hundreds of millions of dollars of taxation from the very rich and those best able to bear it upon those least able to bear it, is touched upon in a temperate but suggestive manner. According to the old adage, "A word to the wise is sufficient," but unhappily the party bosses feeling the strong trusts and corporations behind them and having been able to disregard and betray the people so often that they have grown to entertain an ill-disguised contempt for the electorate, are not likely to heed the warning of this well-considered remonstrance of patriotic Americans. The demands for parcel-post, postal telegraph, postal savings banks, and for broadening the postal transportation facilities are mild expressions of the overwhelming popular demand for these positive and needed progressive movements and changes, demands that would long since have been heeded had it not been for the fact that the Post-office Department has been subservient to corporate interests where the latter has been positive and determined in their efforts to prevent the people from enjoying the benefits and blessings which governments less tyrannized over by Class Rule and special interest are to-day enjoying.

The trust resolution is more significant for its gentle hint to the administration than for any other thing. "We respectfully request," so runs the resolution, "the executive officers, both Federal and State, to appoint and retain in office, only those persons who will faithfully execute such laws." It is necessary to say that the coal trust and coal railroads will be too considerate to Mr. Knox to call the president's attention to this resolution.

The resolution favorable to Secretary Wilson is just and deserved. Mr. Wilson has made the Agricultural Department an honor to the republic and has placed our nation in a leading position in this respect. The Agricultural Department is as progressive and worthy of praise, as the Post-office Department is behind the times in all matters where corporate interests clash with public interest.

We are especially gratified to see the demand for popular election of United States Senators and the endorsement of the Referendum. The farmers have been slow to realize the im-



portance of the Initiative and Referendum at the present crisis where monopoly interests at every point are seeking to defeat the interest in the masses. When they appreciate the fact that these ideal republican measures will give them the needed power to meet and overthrow the tyranny of corporate Rule, they will be foremost in demanding them, and the resolution in favor of a Referendum indicates the drift of sentiment to be in the way of progress and pure Democracy. In so far as they go, the resolutions are admirably and highly creditable to the Farmer's Congress.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.\*

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**TOLSTOY AND HIS MESSAGE.** By Ernest H. Crosby. Cloth. Pp. 93. Price 50 cents net. New York, Funk & Wagnalls Co.

We are glad to see the growing favor being accorded to brief biographies and studies of the thought and work of the good and great. Biography when well written is one of the most interesting and helpful forms of literature, but unhappily few persons possess the faculty for making those who have really lived and wrought for humane progress half so real or convincing as the great novelists make their principal characters. Too much space is usually given to dry and for the most part profitless details about ancestry, while infrequently the most unimportant and prosaic facts of early life are dwelt upon with tedious minuteness wholly out of proportion to their merits. In the brief brochure we escape this latter fault, even though the limited space assigned to the externals of life may prevent the author from bringing the reader into so close and sympathetic personal touch with the great man or woman as could be desired. Yet, as a rule, it is not so much in the facts of the physical life, aside from their bearing upon the consistency of the character and the personal expressions of the author's thought that vitally concerns us. The character, the thought and the acts that are the fruitage of the thought—the outblossoming of the real life in conduct, these are the supreme points of vital interest and value in the career of the real leaders of civilization, and these demands are, as a rule, admirably met in the brief biographies and studies that are now rapidly gaining public favor.

Perhaps the most noted recent work of this character is Ernest H. Crosby's new study of his great master, "Count Leo Tolstoy and His Message." The biographical facts are tantalizingly few, but they serve to introduce us to the real man, and are the key to the later life and the unique philosophy of the great Russian.

Count Tolstoy was born into one of the highly aristocratic families of Russia. He was the heir to great estates, and had before him all those things which the young who see in life nothing beyond the horizon of physical enjoyment and achievements on the material plane are wont to imagine the essentials to the happy life. But in the web and woof of his being was a deep soul hunger that craved the higher things of life. Emerson tells us that "The fiend that man harries is love of the best," and certain it is that the angel of a noble discontent ever haunted the Russian boy. He strove to live nobly, but almost every influence that environed his early years favored loose conduct and way-

\*Books intended for review in *THE ARENA* should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

ward living. The morals of the Russian court and aristocracy were so bad as to render it almost impossible for a child reared in the atmosphere of high social circles to escape the blight of dissipation or immorality. At length an incident occurred that awakened young Tolstoy's sense of justice, and he beheld the essential injustice of the social order. At this time, he took a positive upward step, and later, by a series of dramatic incidents, he was successively led, step by step, into the light of a high pure life. His great victory, however, came after much wandering through the highways and byways, and after he had passed through college and the schooling of war in the Crimea. The sketch of his struggle out of the darkness of egoism into the light of altruism, and the finding of his true self after he had been so distracted by doubts and tumultuous mental conflicts that he barely escaped committing suicide, is simply and charmingly told by Mr. Crosby, and through these passages the reader is led into such intimate rapport with the great Apostle of Renunciation that he follows with deep interest the author's luminous exposition of his message, which is one of the most inspiring and needed discussions that has appeared in months.

Mr. Crosby has preserved the critical spirit throughout his work. In the close of his book he thus sums up the striking contrasts of this wonderful life:

"And here we leave this great teacher—great especially in his candor and simplicity. A strange figure—this peasant nobleman, this aristocrat, born into the ruling class of an aristocracy, who condemns all government and caste; this veteran of two wars who proscribes all bloodshed, this keen sportsman turned vegetarian, this landlord who follows Henry George, this man of wealth who will have nothing to do with money, this famous novelist who thinks that he wasted his time in writing most of his novels, this rigid moralist, one of whose books at least, the *Kreutzer Sonata*, was placed under the ban of the American Post-Office. That same dramatic instinct which made him a great novelist, which impelled Sir Henry Irving to rank his two plays among the best of the past century, and which, as we have seen, has so often led him to find lessons in the active world around him—this same instinct has made of this least theatrical and most self-forgetful of men the dramatic prefigurement in his own person of a reunited race, set free by love from the shackles of caste and violence. As it was with the prophets of old, so with him, there is a deeper significance in his life, in the tragedy of himself, than in the burden of his spoken message. He is the protagonist to-day of the drama of the human soul. A stage which can put forward such a protagonist has no reason for despair."

Whether the reader is ready to follow the austere prophet of Russia in all his conclusions or not, no one can read his message and its meaning as given by Mr. Crosby without having his soul nourished, his moral nature strengthened, and his aspirations and ideals exalted. The book is instinct with spiritual vitality. It can not fail to affect the sensitive and serious mind that reaches upward, but that feels the weight of the materialism of modern life much as the bracing mountain air affects the physical constitution of one who has been ener-

vated by the miasma of the low lands. It is a book which every reader of *THE ARENA* should possess, and after reading it he should see that it finds its way into the hands of friends who are seeking something finer and truer than husks of conventionalism and present-day dogmatic and formal religion.

**MAZZINI: THE PROPHET OF THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY.** By Louis J. Rozenberg. Cloth. Pp. 86. Chicago, Ill., Charles H. Kerr & Co.

The principal criticism we would make against this little work is its brevity. The subject is so timely and vital, and Mr. Rozenberg, though in thorough sympathy with Mazzini, evinces such intelligent discrimination that had he given five times the space to the theme, the work would have been none too long.

Mazzini is destined to become more and more a guide and counselor and an inspirer to those who love and have faith, who think and feel. Not merely because he was a prophet soul over-mastered by the divine afflatus as surely as was St. Paul over-mastered by the heavenly illumination on the way to Damascus, but because he was at once an idealist who dared to live his dream, an apostle of exalted faith, who showed his faith by his works, a man to whom the voice of duty was the voice of God and one who consecrated his whole existence to the service of humanity. We know of no nineteenth century thinker so filled with enthusiasm for humanity, or more wholly unselfish in his devotion to the cause of Democracy than Mazzini. He was preëminently a prophet, and, as Mr. Rozenberg points out, the prophet plays a cardinal role among the contributors to civilization and benefactors of humanity. "They are the keepers of the fire of faith. They encourage us and lend us treasures of hope. They girdle us with moral strength and awaken us whenever our senses of duty slumber. They are the heaven sent orators, the inspirers upon earth, the light bearers of the ages." Mazzini's views on the religion of his time and the coming religion are thus admirably summed up by our author:

"To Mazzini, who considered current religion to consist mainly of symbols and rites, it seemed that the existing creeds had little life. To him they seemed to belong absolutely to the past. 'Perhaps in religion, as in politics,' he says, 'the age of the symbol is passing away, and a solemn manifestation may be approaching of the idea as yet hidden in that symbol. Perhaps the discovery of a new relation—that of the individual to humanity—may lay the foundation of a new religious bond, as the relation of the individual with God has been the soul of Christianity.' . . . Mazzini's conception of religion, then—as you can readily infer from what is cited—was a religion that would tend to the immediate embetterment of man. . . . 'We wish him,' he says, in that essay, 'to have more love, more feeling for the beautiful, the great and the true; that the ideal which he pursues shall be purer, more divine; that he shall feel his own dignity, shall have more respect for his immortal soul.' . . . In his essay, 'Faith and the Future,' he says: 'I have faith in God, the power of truth, and in the historic

logic of things. I feel in my inmost heart that the delay is not for long. The principle which was the soul of the old world is exhausted. It is our part to clear the way for the new principle, and should we perish in the undertaking, it shall yet be cleared."

Our author quotes Victor Hugo's epigrammatic characterization, "Jesus wept and Voltaire smiled!" as descriptive of those two great voices of protest, and he adds:

"Mazzini felt. This is Mazzini summed up. A tear is the monument of Jesus, a smile that of Voltaire, a pulsation of the heart that of Mazzini.

"He did not always see clearly, but he always felt intensely. I repeat, Mazzini felt. He felt for the poor, he felt for the oppressed, he felt for the ignorant, for the superstitious, for the enslaved. He felt for those who build the palaces and live in huts; for those who print the books and have no occasion to read; for those who make the clothes and go in rags; for those who create the useful and get the useless; for those who produce the most and own the least; and out of that feeling came a cry, a cry of the heart perhaps, more than of the head, but a thundering cry none the less. A cry which impelled Pius IX to leave Rome in 1849 in the middle of the night; a cry which made the kings of Europe tremble on their thrones; a cry whose echo becomes louder with each vibration of the social wind-wave.

"As Mazzini would not have kings own bodies, so he would not have priests own souls. As he opposed government by brute force, so he opposed government by superstition and fear. He was one of the most candid Republicans of our age; one of the most ardent lovers of freedom of the nineteenth century. He was not a single man, he was, he is, an epoch, a chapter in history. He is the incarnation of the struggling genius of Italy. He is the prophet of the rising religion.

"Yes, he, if any man of our age, was one of those chosen sons of God, who was impelled by an inner force to come forth and tell the people, the cynical and sceptical people of Europe, that while Papacy is extinct, religion endures forever; that while it is true that the old forms of religion are dying, Religion *per se* is eternal; that though injustice is prevalent, justice is, after all, destined to triumph; that there is a sacred law of right; that there is a law which governs this universe; that there is a law of progress; that the 'kingdom of heaven' is at hand, and that if we will work for it, we will reach it."

These quotations illustrate the style and the view-point of the author. The little book rings true at every point. It is so good that we regret its brevity.

THE NEW THOUGHT SIMPLIFIED. By Henry Wood. Cloth. Pp. 187. Price 80 cents net; by mail 88 cents. Boston, Lee & Shepard.

Mr. Wood, to a greater degree than any other present day essayist with whom we are acquainted, invests his writings with a charm that is compelling in its influence over the reader. Clarity of thought, simplicity in language, and a finished style are in all his works so combined that subjects which in the hands of less competent authors or less finished masters of composition would be involved and perplexing, are made not only perfectly clear and intelligible, but charmingly rational and engaging.

His new book is a masterpiece in these respects. The mind that is naturally unresponsive to metaphysical or transcendental philosophy will find here a clear cut and wonderfully simple yet luminous presentation of the "New Thought Philosophy" that is as free from technical or cumbersome terms as it is of involved sentences and verbose phraseology which marks so much metaphysical literature.

The volume contains twenty-three chapters and an appendix containing practical mental exercises that will be of aid to those seeking mastery of thought and through this the mastership of the body. Among the leading topics discussed in the volume are "The Law of Laws," "Thought Habit," "Thought Selection," "How to get into the New Thought," "The Comely Human Body," "The Right Idea of God," "Faith," "Scientific Prayer," "Overcoming Sleeplessness," "Conscious and Unconscious Varieties of Faith Cure." Six of the chapters deal with the "New Thought" in relation to "The Bible," "The Church," "Christian Science," "Religion," "Modern Reform," and the "Medical Profession."

The broad, rational, tolerant and candid spirit that permeates the work greatly enhances its worth for philosophical students. It is a book that has long been needed, and we rejoice to know that it has been written by a thinker so well qualified to present it in the best possible manner. It is a book that cannot fail to make for sanity, health and happiness, a book that is exalting and wholesome, and one that should be read by every person interested in great New Thought or Transcendental movements of our day.

**TO-MORROW'S TANGLE.** By Geraldine Bonner. Illustrated. Pp. 458. Price \$1.50. Indianapolis, Ind., The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

"To-morrow's Tangle" is a bright, well-written novel of California life during the bonanza mining days after the discovery of the Comstock lode. The story takes the reader off the beaten track of fiction. In many respects it is refreshingly original as well as ingenuous, something very delightful to the reviewer who is constantly called upon to peruse romances which are either imitations or imitations of imitations.

The story opens on the burning desert plains of Utah. We are introduced to a scene in which pathos is only over-shadowed by tragedy; a Mormon with two wives is crossing the plains to California. The members of the little family are almost dead from heat and fatigue. The sun, whose rays have been pitiless during the day, is lurid in setting; its very glory seems to have about it something baleful. A little child dies and another is born.

From this tragic night on the plains the scene is shifted to the gold fields of California. The mother of the little girl who was born in the desert is at the door of death, but her brutal husband orders her on after she has rested a few minutes in a miner's cabin. She remonstrates in vain. Clearly she would die on the road, but her lord and master is obdurate and one of the two miners living in the cabin is

so deeply moved by sympathy at sight of the apparently dying and wholly wretched, woe-begone looking mother with the starved child, that after trying to persuade the husband to leave the wife at the cabin until he could return to her with a vehicle, he accepts the Mormon's offer to buy his wife in exchange for two horses. Moreau, the miner who accepts this strange offer, is impelled to the generous deed purely out of sympathy.

Seldom has novelist drawn a picture of a woman less attractive than that of the sick, starved and wretched mother with a strange, hunted, and cowed expression on her wan and fleshless cheeks. Later Moreau's mining partner steals all the gold they have collected during the season and disappears, and winter settles over the cottage shutting out the outer world. Notwithstanding the fact the woman is the first wife of the Mormon whose name is Shackleton, Moreau marries her. And the little daughter of Shackleton is brought up as Moreau's child, and is well educated. She develops into a splendid young woman, very beautiful and possessing a superior singing voice. This is the prelude.

The story deals with the life of the wonderfully attractive daughter after her reputed father dies, and her real father has become a multi-millionaire. Here are tangles and snarls, cuts and cross-cuts, especially after the death of the mother, who, in her last hours, tells the daughter who her real father is.

The romance is one of absorbing interest. There are some highly dramatic situations, some rude awakenings for the innocent but high-minded maiden, and many very exciting scenes.

And then there is the sunshine after the clouds and storms. A great peace that comes with the presence of the whole-hearted love of a noble man who is a fine type of the best new world manhood—a hard working, kind, thoughtful, self-forgetting, brave yet gentle and deeply affectionate nature. To me, one of the chief charms of the book is found in the ending, where the gifted girl becomes the devoted wife of the unpretentious worker, dowered with true nobility, before the worth of which the millions of Shackleton and a splendid career as a prima donna that was offered to the girl under circumstances that she felt she could not accept, dwarf into pitiful insignificance.

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PEGGY O'NEIL. By Alfred Henry Lewis. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 494. Price \$1.50. Philadelphia, Penn., Drexel Biddle.

This is one of the brightest and most readable of the historical novels of the present year. The story deals largely with Secretary Eaton's beautiful young wife, whose maiden name was Peggy O'Neil. As the reader of history will remember, this famous beauty became the social storm center during the first administration of President Jackson. She had been a tavern keeper's daughter, and when quite young had married one Timberlake, a purser on a United States man-of-war. Later, her sea-faring husband committed suicide when on the Mediterranean Sea and the beautiful young widow became an object

of envy and hatred among the less beautiful maidens and matrons of Washington. Her easy, frank, and vivacious nature, her thoughtless and perhaps at times indiscreet acts furnished a desired opportunity for gossip and scandal among those who wished to destroy any possible influence she might exert over marriagable men in the Nation's Capital. The wife of General Jackson, whom it will be remembered died before the President set out for Washington to assume the high duties to which he had been called, had known, loved, and highly respected Peggy, and this fact, as much as his natural chivalrous spirit, made General Jackson a firm friend and defender of her whom he regarded as shamefully wronged. Now, at this time John C. Calhoun aspired to the presidency and his ambitious wife, the social leader among the aristocratic elements of the city, became the head of an intrigue against Peggy which, according to Mr. Lewis, was part and parcel of the political intrigue carried forward by the partisans of Calhoun and aimed against President Jackson. These facts form the historic ground work upon which the author has constructed his romance.

The glimpses of Washington life at this period are excellent, and the character drawings are for the most part admirable. This is especially true of General Jackson and of some of the minor characters, notably, Noah, the Hebrew journalist, who was one of Jackson's ardent supporters, and it is refreshing to find a writer depicting this well-known and public spirited Israelite with the sympathetic interest of one who seeks to do justice to a character which has too frequently been the butt of partisan hate and of racial antipathy.

Nowhere, however, does Mr. Lewis's superior handiwork as a character delineator appear to such excellent advantage as in his portrayal of the negro "Jim." Only one who well knows the negro life and is thoroughly familiar with his peculiar forms of speech and expressions could have given so fine a pen-picture of the old-time darky servant as is here found.

There is no special plot and the blood curdling elements and melodramatic claptrap which abound in so many of the modern historical romances are happily absent, yet the story is full of action and dramatic interest, and it abounds in bright epigrams. Indeed, I know of no journalist or novelist of the present who possesses the gift of expressing a great deal in a brief, bright-pointed epigram in such a degree as Mr. Lewis, and this rare gift gives an element of brilliancy and interest to the volume not found in most modern historical romances.



## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

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**THE PARSIFAL OF RICHARD WAGNER:**—The presentation of "Parsifal" in the United States will enable thousands and tens of thousands of our people to hear and see this wonderful musical drama, who otherwise would never have the opportunity of enjoying the last, and by many considered the crowning masterpiece of the greatest musical genius of the nineteenth century. Many friends and admirers of Richard Wagner who have either witnessed "Parsifal," or who have made a critical study of the music drama, believe that it is one of the noblest and most exalting creations ever placed on any stage—that it is a work that cannot fail to inspire and ennoble all spectators susceptible to high, fine, spiritual or ethical lessons. If this be true, it seems to us that though we may sympathize with the widow of the great composer in the sentimental desire to retain "Parsifal" at Bayreuth and make the little city and its famous theatre a Mecca for a fortunate few, the ethical demands of the hour, the great need for positive and vital teachings that will reach the popular imagination, is such as to overbalance any question of sentiment or exclusion in a case like this, where the work is one of those great products of genius which properly or rightly belong to the world. The lessons inculcated by "Parsifal" are lessons that are supremely important at the present time, for the spell of Klingsor is over a large proportion of society, and to-day, as seldom before, civilization calls for the service of everything calculated to exalt and stimulate the spiritual side of life and give it supremacy over the animal and material planes.

**PROFESSOR MAXEY ON RECIPROCITY AND PROTECTION:**—Seldom has the vexed question of "Protection and Reciprocity" been so luminously treated in the compass of a few pages as in Professor Maxey's able contribution to this number of *THE ARENA*. The issue raised is an important one. Too long has the interest of American trade and commerce, as well as the real interest of the American people, been sacrificed to the selfish demands of small groups representing special interests which are fostered by special privileges. These interests in consideration for liberal campaign funds have been able to defeat reciprocity, or, in other words, they have been enabled to buy protection which is essentially antagonistic to the interest of the people and to the commerce of the United States.

**THE BELGIUM SYSTEM OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION:**—This month we publish the first paper of the series of contributions by Robert Tyson, editor of the *Proportional Representation Review*, and the ablest authority on the subject of "Proportional Representation" in America. The opening article treats of "Proportional

Representation" in Belgium. It will be followed by a highly interesting contribution giving the result of the practical workings of this reform in Belgium.

**THE CRIMINAL TREATMENT OF CRIME:**—The marked and magnificent results following the sane, rational and humane treatment of early or chance offenders against the laws is admirably presented by Hon. Harris P. Cooley, Director of Public Service of Cleveland, Ohio, in this issue of *THE ARENA*. Mr. Cooley, like Mr. Ingram, the Director of Public Lighting of Detroit, who so ably discussed "Municipal Lighting" in our October number, is a representative of the new *progressive* and *conscience* school of Democratic Statesmanship. When Mayor Johnson was called to the head of the Municipal government of Cleveland, he selected Mr. Cooley as Director of Charities and Corrections. With the recent change in the form of municipal government, this office passed to the Department of Public Service. Mr. Cooley then became Director in that department while his special charge continues to be the Department of Charities and Corrections. His splendid service has attracted the attention of humanitarians in many places, and the excellent results following his wise, humane, and truly statesmanlike action demonstrates what can be done to lessen crime and save the unfortunate, where heart is united with head and the religion of the Nazarene is present in the administration of justice.

**THE REPUBLIC AND NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FOUR:**—This is one of our series of papers dealing with the supreme issue, Plutocracy or Democracy. It is a bold but truthful description of conditions that exist and are threatening the republic, as it has never before been threatened. There are no foes so deadly as those of one's own house, none so dangerous as those who strike at the vitals, while the words of "Hail Cæsar!" are on the tongue or the "Kiss of Judas on the lips." Mr. Hendricks, who is at present a well-known member of the bar of New York City, was born in Fleming County, Kentucky, March 22, 1855, educated by his father, Rev. James P. Hendrick, D.D., and graduated from Center College, of Kentucky, class of 1873. Admitted to the bar June 8, 1876, member of the Kentucky Legislature, 1881-82, Elector for the State at large 1884, and for the Ninth Congressional District of Kentucky in 1888. Member of the Kentucky Constitutional Convention, 1890. Elected Attorney-General of Kentucky August, 1891, and served to January, 1896. On retiring from office he received from the full bench of the Kentucky court of Appeals the singular honor of an address, in which the court records its sense of the value of his services and high estimate of his worth as a man and his ability as a lawyer.

At the close of his term as Attorney-General he was employed as counsel for Kentucky in the Supreme Court of the United States in the Franchise Tax cases, which he won. The principle established in

these cases added a million dollars of new revenue annually to the treasury of Kentucky.

**THE RULE OF THE PEOPLE VERSUS THE RULE OF THE CORPORATIONS:**—Every patriotic American should read "The Failure of Representative Government," by Eltweed Pomeroy, A.M., in this issue, containing as it does so many citations from recent revelations and disclosures of the control of various branches of government by corporations and rings. The author, as most of our readers are aware, is President of the National Direct Legislation League and editor of the *Direct Legislation Record*. For many years he has been recognized as one of the foremost exponents of Majority Rule in the new world.

**FLORENTINE DAYS:**—Our readers will enjoy the delightful sketch of Florence from the pen of the gifted author, journalist, and poet, Lilian Whiting, which appears in this issue. Miss Whiting has recently returned from a prolonged visit in Italy, during which Florence naturally claimed much of her time. Like Athens and Rome, Florence is one of the intellectual capitals of the world, whose influence will be felt so long as man values art, literature, and moral worth. Here Michael Angelo and Da Vinci wrought in marble and on canvas. Here Savonarola aroused the dormant and all but paralyzed moral energies and the love of liberty in the Florentine Republic. Here Robert Browning and his gifted wife spent many of the most fruitful years of their beautiful life, and these are but representatives of the aristocracy of brain and soul which have made Florence forever dear to lovers of the beautiful, the good, and the true.

**OUR PSYCHOLOGICAL STORY:**—In this issue, Doctor Charles Brodie Patterson, our senior editor, contributes a "psychological story" which cannot fail to prove of special interest to our readers, as it deals in a deeply thoughtful manner with problems and truths that are more and more engrossing the attention of advanced students of psychology and psychic science. Doctor Patterson has made the philosophy of being a life study. He recognizes the supreme act emphasized by all the greatest ethical teachers of the ages, that whatsoever a man soweth that shall he surely reap, and that law prevails throughout the moral as well as the physical universe, and he furthermore appreciates what the broadest and finest thinkers of our age are coming to see more clearly than the advanced guard of any other period has realized, that the influence of our thoughts and deeds act and react upon us in ways which we little imagine, and long after we suppose their possible influence has ceased to be exerted. This story is well calculated to make the most thoughtless persons pause before committing any deed which is contrary to the promptings of the higher self, or the conscience side of his life.

## THE JANUARY ARENA.

## LITERARY FEATURES.

Among the interesting literary features which will mark the January issue of *THE ARENA* will be the opening paper in Mr. Charles Malloy's brilliant series of essays on the "Poetry of Ralph Waldo Emerson." This paper will be devoted to the "Sphinx," one of the greatest, if not the greatest of Emerson's poems. This series of papers as we have before announced, will deal with the "Philosophy of Life" as was wonderfully impearled in the verses of the "Concord Philosopher." The expositions will be enlivened by the introduction of many pleasing anecdotes and personal reminiscences of Mr. Emerson. Charles Malloy is recognized as the ablest exponent of the poetry of Emerson in the new world. He has made a life study of the thought and of our greatest philosopher.

In the January issue, we will publish the first story of Miss Will Allen Dromgoole's series of twelve short stories of Southern Life, written expressly for *THE ARENA*. These stories will be bright and entertaining, full of humor and pathos and marked by that intensely human element which has rendered the stories of this author so dear to tens of thousands of discerning readers.

A character sketch of Miss Dromgoole, giving a pen picture of the little Tennessee author, an outline of her life, and a discussion of her leading works will also be a feature of this number.

**AGNOSTICISM AND ITS GREATEST AMERICAN EXPONENT:**—"The Genius, Philosophy, Humanity and Influence of Robert G. Ingersoll," by Doctor Herman Kittredge, of Washington, D. C., will be a striking feature of the January *ARENA*. No summary of a life, no eulogy or tribute has appeared since the death of the great agnostic that is so well worthy to stand side by side with the most eloquent and most famous writings of Robert G. Ingersoll, as is this simple review of the "Life work and influence of the most eloquent author and the greatest exponent of free thought of the last century." In its beauty of expression, its wealth of imagery, its flowing and rhythmic sentences, its fine discrimination in regard to words, and its poetic quality, this essay is unique among recent magazine contributions, and cannot fail to be the source of pleasure and delight to all the friends and admirers of Colonel Ingersoll.

**THE OTHER SIDE:**—This paper will be replied to in the February *ARENA* by the famous New England Methodist Divine, the Rev. James Boyd Brady, Ph.D., D.D., who will deal with "Agnosticism and the Influence of Colonel Ingersoll" as viewed by an orthodox clergyman. This paper cannot fail to be widely read and much discussed.

## PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

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The "PROSPECTUS of THE ARENA for 1904," which has been prepared by the Editors, outlines a few of the features which will render this Magazine more attractive and interesting during the coming year than ever before. But it is necessarily very incomplete, inasmuch as it is impossible to tell what new and timely articles may be accepted for publication after a "Prospectus" has been issued. Every mail brings new manuscripts—every day brings new ideas; and in a Magazine like THE ARENA the articles must be timely and "up-to-date," they must deal with the great questions which constantly arise—with the paramount issues of the moment. The topics of discussion yesterday give place to the more important ones of to-day, and these, in turn, are supplanted by those which arise to-morrow; and, although the general policy of the publication remains unchanged, the varying topics of general interest require the Editors to be constantly upon the alert to keep the Magazine not only abreast of the times but always in advance—not to follow but to lead in PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT.

It is best, also, for many reasons, not always to announce in detail, all of the special plans which are in view. During the coming year THE ARENA will publish a series of articles starting in their topics and fearless in their treatment of them; but it would be manifestly unwise to announce these at this time. Many of the ablest men and women in this country and abroad will contribute to THE ARENA; and what they have to say will be worthy of the most careful consideration.

The great issues of the day must be recognized—they must be met thoughtfully, intelligently, fearlessly—they "will not down;" and it is the part of WISDOM to realize the present rapidly-growing evils which menace not only this Country but the World, and seek, by calling public attention to them now,

TO ENACT SUCH WISE LEGISLATION as will avert the serious troubles which otherwise seem to be inevitable!

THE ARENA unfurls its banner: "ALL THE WORLD FOR ALL THE PEOPLE;" and it wants YOUR support, it asks for YOUR subscription, to help it in the great fight in which it is engaged—for REFORM, for UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD, for PROGRESS!

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Among the business men (and women!) of the country there are none who work harder, and yet whose work seems to be less appreciated, than the NEWSDEALERS. To them is due the circulation throughout the United States not only of the News of the day, but the forcible Arguments of the great Editors, the Appeals to Reason of the Advanced Thinkers, which it would otherwise be difficult to procure. Their work is important and should be considered. That we may have the latest News of the World at our breakfast table the Newsdealer begins his work before sunrise; and when our day's work is done the Newsdealer is still at his stand to supply us with our copy of the evening paper or THE ARENA, which we may read with quiet restfulness and satisfaction under our lamp at home, without a thought of the Newsman (or woman!) who works on late into the night! In stormy weather, in the winter's cold, in the heat of midsummer, he is at his post; he deserves success, he deserves our thoughtful appreciation, and he should have our support.

In justice to the Newsdealer THE ALLIANCE PUBLISHING COMPANY will discontinue as quickly as existing contracts permit—but certainly not later than DECEMBER 31ST, next—all "Combination" and "Clubbing Rates," and all "Premium Offers," unless they are made for his advantage; and we ask YOU to hand him YOUR subscriptions to our two Magazines, THE ARENA and MIND (except for personal reasons you prefer to send them to us direct) that he may receive the commission which we allow to Agents, and become interested in the circulation of these two great publications.

CHARLES A. MONTGOMERY.

New York, Nov. 10, 1903.

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